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THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. II, No. 1

JUNE, 1915

A CONSTITUTION OF DEMOCRACY — WISCONSIN, 1847

The political revolution of 1828 opened a period of twelve years in which the Mississippi valley, speaking through the Jacksonian organization, controlled the destinies of the United States. The movement saw itself as a revolt of the people against autocracy and aristocracy; it was in fact an uprising of the frontier against the older communities. In the long run, as in every such revolt it reached conclusions which it sought to perpetuate in the form of constitutional law. Its democratic aspirations were mingled, almost beyond disentanglement, with the zeal of a new community for easy wealth, and with the resentment of a debtor frontier against the agencies of capital and law. But it left upon American constitutional law an impress that lasted for two generations.

The constitutional contributions of Jacksonian democracy are not to be measured by changes in the constitution of the United States. That document had received its basic interpretation before the deaths of James Madison and John Marshall, in the middle thirties. Although many democrats and many southerners professed themselves to believe that the supreme court and the federal government were overriding the state and the citizen, Jacksonian democracy had little quarrel with the theory of nationalism. The frontier was the home of the democrats; it had been the field of the activities of the nation. It accepted the legal doctrines of nationalism in the forties and fifties, and confined its own constitutional development to a readjustment of its local institutions. The propositions for amendment to the

federal constitution were most numerous in matters of detail covering the appointment, removal, and pay of public servants, and none on these or other topics was ratified between 1804 and 1865.¹

In the state constitutions of the Mississippi valley between the panics of 1837 and 1857 are to be found the evidences of the reactions of Jacksonian democracy on government. Before 1837 the party was too young, and life was too rosy in its promise, for introspection and amendment. After 1857 a new party readjustment had come to the nation, and the old issues were transformed. But between these panics, and connected with them, is a period of interpretation and theory, in which the "ultraism of the age"² was seeking to perpetuate itself in the Mississippi valley, and indeed throughout the nation. Every state from Kentucky north made its attempt at constitutional revision. Wisconsin, still a territory, made a constitution in 1846, and another, under which it became a state, in 1847. Iowa, likewise a territory, also rejected its first constitution of 1844, to accept its second, of 1846. Missouri had made a new fundamental law in 1845, but rejected it at the polls. Illinois adopted a new constitution which it framed in 1847, as did Kentucky in 1849, Ohio and Michigan in 1850, and Indiana in 1851.

Not only were the constitutions of the Mississippi valley revised to meet the experiences of the new democracy, but the revisions wore well. Says McMaster: "That the financial, the industrial, the economic conditions through which the people were passing, that their changed ideas of the duties of the State, their juster conception of the social and political rights of man, their struggles for a better life, should find expression in their constitutions of Government, as well as in the statute-books was inevitable."³ Confidence in the people was basic in these constitutions. "The majority of the people always do right, they cannot be deceived," wrote one of the democrats, exultant in his election to a minor office.⁴

¹ H. V. Ames, *Proposed amendments to the constitution of the United States* (American Historical Association, *Annual report*, 1896), 20, 325, 366.

² *Charleston* [South Carolina] *Courier*, August 18, 1845.

³ J. B. McMaster, *History of the people of the United States* (New York, 1884-1913), 7:162.

⁴ J. G. Davis, Rockville, Indiana, April 3, 1833, to G. Cornelius, Pittsburg, Kentucky, manuscript letter in the possession of J. G. D. Mack.

The states were establishing in this period, throughout the union, a durable type of local government. Of the eight new constitutions adopted between 1829 and 1838, the average life was thirty-two years. There were twenty constitutions adopted in the United States between 1838 and 1859; of these six had an average life of only eighteen and two-thirds years because of the changes occasioned by the civil war; and four were renewed in an average of twenty-seven and one-half years from other causes. The remaining ten constitutions of this period outlasted the century, and eight of them were yet in force in 1915: Rhode Island, 1842; New Jersey, 1844; Wisconsin, 1847; Indiana, 1850;⁵ Iowa, 1857; Minnesota, 1857; Oregon, 1857; and Kansas, 1859. Two, Michigan, 1850, and Ohio, 1859, lasted more than half a century before they were replaced. All the upper Mississippi valley states framed constitutions and expressed in permanent form the democratic ideals of the democratic party.⁶

The most permanent of these western Jacksonian constitutions was that of Wisconsin, under which the territory became a state in 1848. In 1914 it was still in force, and in that year a decisive expression of opinion was given by the people against any considerable modification of it.⁷ It shows in its provisions the forces that were at large in the second quarter of the nineteenth century in the democratic party and democratic society. It is longer than constitutions of earlier periods, longer even than the average of its own period, and illustrates the prevailing tendency to write distrust of the legislative, executive, and judiciary into fundamental law.⁸

The settlement of the Northwest, where the head of the great lakes approaches the upper Mississippi valley, made little progress before the panic of 1837. Only the beginnings of occupation of Iowa and Wisconsin had been made before that time. With cheap land easily obtainable in Illinois, Indiana, and Mis-

⁵ J. A. Woodburn, "Constitution making in Indiana," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, 10:237-255 (September, 1914).

⁶ Emlin McClain, "The constitutional convention and the issues before it," in B. F. Shambaugh, *Fiftieth anniversary of the constitution of Iowa* (1907), 164.

⁷ Ten "progressive" amendments were defeated by heavy popular majorities, in November, 1914.

⁸ Of thirteen constitutions adopted 1776-1780, the average length is 9.9 pages of Thorpe; thirteen adopted 1781-1810 average 12.7 pages; nine adopted 1811-1821 average 15.2 pages; twenty-two adopted 1822-1852 average 19.5 pages.

souri, under the land law of 1820, or from states that had received it as a gift from the United States, there was small temptation for the pioneer to push beyond these states. The land soaked up the emigrants until its best sections were saturated; then and then only the wave followed the easiest routes on, into remoter fields. Before 1837 the skeleton of government had been created north-west of Illinois, but only the skeleton.

The prospective admission of Michigan in 1836 led congress to reorganize the territory between that state and the Missouri river as the territory of Wisconsin. Already a few settlers had come through the lakes to the Chicago-Milwaukee shore, or up the Mississippi to the Black Hawk purchase and the lead mines around Galena, Dubuque, and Mineral Point. In 1838 Wisconsin territory was divided, Iowa being created in its trans-Mississippi section, and the population on both sides of the river began to grow rapidly. Iowa was nearer to settled regions than Wisconsin, and once the development began, Iowa grew more homogeneously than its parent. By 1846 Iowa was ready for admission, with a population of 96,000,⁹ drawn largely from Missouri, Illinois, Kentucky, and the Ohio valley. Wisconsin was ready two later years, with a larger but less homogeneous population. Its western counties resembled the social admixture of Iowa. Its Michigan shore had received a preponderance from New York and Ohio, Canada and New England. Even in 1846 its eastern and western regions had not coalesced, and between Madison and Lake Mills the traveler along the territorial road found a wide zone — a social vacuum — of open lands.¹⁰ In both states, however, the democratic ideas of the Mississippi valley prevailed, and can be measured by the evidence of the new constitutions.

Both Iowa and Wisconsin drew much of their population from regions that had passed through the acute frontier stage about 1820, had aided the Jacksonian campaigns of 1824 and 1828, and had suffered economic distress in the panic of 1837. This distress had started many settlers towards the Northwest. "The great rage even here in this part of Ohio," wrote a New York emigrant in 1837, "is to sell & go West! The country here

⁹ *The census returns of the different counties of the state of Iowa*, 1859, insert, 3.

¹⁰ *Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette*, September 14, 1846.

scarcely looks like new country as here are very few Log huts to be seen & thickly settled as Long Island.”¹¹ Predisposed to democracy they were governed by democrats, since Jackson, Van Buren, Tyler, and Polk appointed most of the territorial officials, who in turn organized the territorial parties. Even the few whigs who ruled among them were democratic, and the appointees of a frontier hero, William Henry Harrison.

The first Iowa constitutional convention met in 1844, with the democrats in control of more than two-thirds of its delegates. It provided for democratic publicity by admitting editors to “seats within the bar of this House,” chose a president who realized that Iowa was “in the midst of an important revolution,”¹² and listened complacently while one of its delegates approved the doctrine of the Rhode Island clergyman who had prayed in a public meeting for “the election of Polk and Dallas, and the triumph of Democratic principles.”¹³ The resulting constitution was defeated because of the double weight of whig opposition to a democratic document, and the obnoxious boundary which congress was trying to force upon Iowa.

The second Iowa convention sat in 1846. It, too, was strongly democratic, and its constitution reëmbodied the ideals of Jacksonianism. In the canvass for ratification the whigs continued in opposition, but the boundary question had been eliminated through the surrender of congress, and the constitution was adopted. Two months after its adoption the rest of the upriver region, Wisconsin, took up the similar task of framing a democratic constitution for a frontier state, and assembled in convention in the village of Madison.

The movement for statehood in Wisconsin, as in Iowa, began earlier among the politicians than among the citizens at large. The force of pioneer conditions was to make the average citizen somewhat indifferent to formal law and legal institutions. The official, however, was not only professionally interested in the creation of jobs, but was in a position to see the inadequacy of

¹¹ G. M. Smith, Carthage, Ohio, February 22, 1837, to E. A. Smith, Hempstead, Long Island, manuscript letter in the possession of J. G. D. Mack.

¹² B. F. Shambaugh, *History of the constitutions of Iowa* (Des Moines, 1902), 176-178.

¹³ *Iowa Capital Reporter*, quoted in B. F. Shambaugh, *Fragments of debates of the Iowa constitutional conventions of 1844 and 1846* (Iowa City, 1900), 178.

territorial machinery and the need for more definite institutions. Some of the officials tended to grow out of democratic mold and become what their fellow citizens regarded as too autocratic. When Arthur St. Clair wrangled with the Jeffersonian democrats in Ohio there was no surprise, for St. Clair was an old school federalist. But in Iowa in 1839 the democratic territorial house resolved that its democratic governor, Robert Lucas, was "unfit to be the ruler of a free people."¹⁴ This same Lucas talked statehood for Iowa long before the people accepted the notion. Henry Dodge did the same across the river in Wisconsin.

As early as 1838 Governor Henry Dodge recommended that a vote on statehood be taken in Wisconsin territory. He continued in this belief, but not until 1841 would the legislature consider the matter seriously; in that year a referendum on the subject polled only 591 votes, of which 499 were adverse.¹⁵ In 1843 and again in 1844 later referendums were taken, and statehood was each time defeated. Only in 1846 did a feeling for autonomy spread widely through the territory. Early in this year the legislature provided for holding a constitutional convention, while congress coöperated, in June, by passing an enabling act. Like other sections of the old Northwest, Wisconsin did not feel the need of an enabling act as a condition precedent to constitutional construction. It relied upon the general pledge of the ordinance of 1787 as sufficient authority. The people of the territory ratified the call for a convention by an overwhelming vote in April, 1846. The census taken that summer revealed a population of about 155,000 in the territory, as against 18,000 in 1838.¹⁶

The Wisconsin convention that met on October 5, 1846, was a democratic body performing a public task in the spirit of a party

¹⁴ Shambaugh, *History of the constitutions of Iowa*, 140.

¹⁵ F. L. Holmes, "First constitutional convention in Wisconsin, 1846," in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1905, pp. 227-251, with an excellent bibliography.

¹⁶ *Census enumeration of the state of Wisconsin*, 1905, p. vi; see *Census enumeration of the state of Wisconsin*, 1895, pp. vii, x, xi, for shaded population maps; cf. R. G. Thwaites, "The first census of Wisconsin territory," in *Wisconsin historical collections*, 13:247-270. In 1846 the population was 153,277, with three counties unreported. Proclamation of Governor Henry Dodge, August 1, 1846, in *Wisconsin Democrat*, August 1, 1846.

platform.¹⁷ Like both Iowa conventions, like the Louisiana convention of 1844-1845, and the Texas convention of 1845, it believed that its party interests were the interests of society. Its model was the work of the New York convention that sat in the summer of 1846. Prosperity was again upon the country and men looked forward to a long period of development under the safeguards of democratic principles. "The day of 'depression' has gone by. The last year witnessed a great and increasing improvement in the general business of the country, and the cry of 'hard times' is no more heard in the land."¹⁸ In the resulting Wisconsin constitution are preserved records of the hard times and the prosperity, the influx of immigrants and the southern antecedents of southwest Wisconsin, the spirit of the frontier, and the temper of the democratic party.¹⁹

"Most of the members of the Convention are Locos [*locofocos* or *democrats*] of the radical stamp,"²⁰ wrote a neighboring editor a week after the body assembled. It was a sound judgment, for although the body included "the Retrograding Democracy, the Progressive Democracy, and the Whigs"²¹ it was under the control of the progressive, young democracy wing, whose members were derided as "Tadpoles" and "Barnburners," and who frankly differentiated themselves from the "Rip Van Winkles of Old Hunkerism."²² The "striking dissimilarity between the habits and customs of the people of the Mississippi valley and the old Eastern States,"²³ was reflected in the sections of Wisconsin, and a clear tendency existed among Wisconsinians of southern antecedents to oppose the aims of conservative democrats. The southwesterners were unable to elect their nominee, Moses M. Strong, of Mineral Point, as president of the convention, but they succeeded in obtaining a man of their own opinions,

¹⁷ There is no stenographic report of the debates, but there is a *Journal of the convention to form a constitution for the state of Wisconsin* (Madison, 1847).

¹⁸ *Baltimore Sun*, January 2, 1845.

¹⁹ A valuable guide to the materials upon the convention is Florence E. Baker, "A bibliographical account of the Wisconsin constitutional conventions," in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1897, pp. 123-159.

²⁰ *Lake County* [Illinois] *Herald*, quoted in *Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette*, October 12, 1846.

²¹ *Wisconsin Democrat* [Madison], October 10, 1846.

²² *Ibid.*, January 27, 1846.

²³ *Ibid.*, November 28, 1846.

Don A. J. Upham, of Milwaukee, for that office. Upham was opposed to banks, and had the support throughout the convention of a journal started in Madison early in 1846 to advance the interests of the radicals, the *Wisconsin Democrat*.²⁴ "A 'Tadpole' as we understand it, is a defaulter,"²⁵ said the *Madison Argus*, with a bitterness increased by its inability to meet the competition of the *Democrat*.

The early procedure of the convention contained no peculiarities. It appointed standing committees to consider various aspects of the constitution and slipped into regular habits as easily as if constitution-making were a daily practice for its members. Within a few days the committees began to report tentative articles, and real debate was entered upon.

It had been anticipated that the great issues before the convention would be judiciary and finance,²⁶ and the report presented from the committee on banking by Edward G. Ryan, of Racine, precipitated the great debate. Ryan had already determined upon the outlines of his banking section when he was appointed chairman of the committee on October 8, three days after the assembling of the convention.²⁷ The next morning he reported his draft to the convention, without assembling his committee or, apparently, even consulting his associates.²⁸ The recent failure of the Oakland County Bank, of Michigan, "one of the last of the 'Wild Cat' brood,"²⁹ had provided a text for the democrats who demanded the extinction of all banks. "Let our neighbors of the Sentinel ask the farmers 'shall we have banks in Wisconsin?' 'No!' will be their united hearty response,"³⁰ declared the *Milwaukee Courier*, adding that throughout the lead region merchants, mechanics, and laborers joined in the repudiation. "Draco, who wrote his code in blood was a mild and humane legislator compared with Mr. E. G. Ryan,"³¹ declared the

²⁴ It appeared January 10, 1846, expressing its aim in its first issue; cf. *Madison Argus*, May 25, 1847; *Milwaukee Sentinel*, January 22, 1846; Moses M. Strong, *History of the territory of Wisconsin* (Madison, 1885), 508.

²⁵ *Madison Argus*, October 5, 1847.

²⁶ *Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette*, September 22, 1846.

²⁷ *Journal of the convention*, 1846, p. 24.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 38; statement of M. S. Gibson, of Fond du Lac.

²⁹ *Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette*, October 17, 1846.

³⁰ *Milwaukee Courier*, October 14, 1846.

³¹ *Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette*, October 15, 1846.

Sentinel when it read his proposed article, which prohibited the incorporation of banks, the issuance of notes as money, and the receiving or passing of bank paper, under heavy and specific penalties.³²

With the introduction of the banking section the definitive struggle of the convention was begun. Its opponents offered as alternative a system of free banking under general laws, while John H. Tweedy, of Milwaukee, a young whig with a growing influence, pressed upon the convention the free system that New York was on the point of adopting in the constitution just framed.³³ "How many settlers are there now in our Territory," inquired the leading whig paper, "who have been compelled to borrow the money, with which they bought their lands, at 15, 20, 25, aye 50 percent, interest? — Do they think that money would command such exorbitant rates if we had good banking institutions here?"³⁴ But the older residents of the territory had too keen a recollection of the depreciation and bankruptcy that followed the panic of 1837 to yield to such appeals. Texas, in 1845, had prohibited banks, and the president of its convention had praised Jackson most because "he had the honor of giving the blow which will eventually destroy them [*banks*] on this continent."³⁵ The antagonism had spread up the Mississippi valley. The unratified Missouri constitution of 1845 had flatly forbidden the creation of any bank of issue.³⁶ Iowa, in 1844, had required that no bank charter be issued until approved by popular vote; and in 1846 had gone further, and had forbidden the creation of any bank.³⁷ And Illinois, in 1847, was in the act of restricting the creation of banks to those whose charters had been accepted by popular vote.³⁸

³² *Journal of the convention*, 1846, p. 27.

³³ *Ibid.*, 60; *Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette*, October 9, 22, 1846; C. J. Lincoln, *Constitutional history of New York* (1906), 2: 196.

³⁴ *Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette*, October 17, 1846.

³⁵ Thomas J. Rusk, in *Texas convention debates*, 1845, p. 461; F. L. Paxson, "The constitution of Texas, 1845," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 1915.

³⁶ *Missouri convention journal*, 1845, ap. 52.

³⁷ Shambaugh, *History of the constitutions of Iowa*, 226, 303.

³⁸ *Journal of the convention . . . altering, amending, or revising the constitution of the state of Illinois* (Springfield, 1847), 565. In 1862 another Illinois convention framed a constitution, known by republicans as "the Egyptian swindle," because of its popularity in the southern end of the state, and inserted in it, by demo-

The sectional interests of Wisconsin territory thrust a plane of cleavage through the democratic party which in the other western states was nearly unanimous in its hostility to banks. Many of the newcomers were from the eastern states and were in sympathy with the hunker faction of the dominant party. Some of these tended to act with the Wisconsin whigs. A Milwaukee correspondent of Moses M. Strong admitted that "on Banks and Banking there is some difference of opinion among Democrats;" but his wish, as late as December, 1846, still fathered the thought that "*the voice of the Democracy says no Banks.*"²⁹

Moses M. Strong, Ryan, and the antibanking extremists controlled the final phrasing of the article. The pains and penalties were ultimately omitted, but small bills were left under the ban, those of ten dollars being prohibited after 1847 and those under twenty dollars after 1849. The factions developed by the banking debate continued throughout the session.

The rest of the constitution was subordinate in its interest to the banking provision. A framework similar to that of other states was readily agreed upon. Much comfort was found in the decisions, often quoted, of the Iowa, Missouri, and New York conventions. Only here and there did novelties creep in. Judiciary and suffrage represented problems on which all the new constitutions had to take stand; homestead exemption and married women's property rights reflected the radicalism that was in the saddle.

The election or appointment of judges was the question at the crux of the judiciary problem. The eastern members of the convention came from states in which long-time appointive judges administered the law. The western members had had a wider experience with the new democratic theory of short term and election. But uniformity of opinion was absent. Ryan, later to be a great chief justice of Wisconsin, was bitterly opposed to the elective principle, although he did much to shape the other

eratic votes, a complete prohibition of banks and bank notes. O. M. Dickerson, *The Illinois constitutional convention of 1862* (University of Illinois studies, 1, no. 9—Urbana, 1905), 404.

²⁹ J. W. Helfenstein, Milwaukee, to Moses M. Strong, December 2, 1846, in Moses M. Strong MSS. in Wisconsin Historical Society.

details of the article.⁴⁰ The radical *Milwaukee Courier*, though itself preferring election, was willing to print certain letters of one "Ormond," advocating appointment — and such tolerance of opinions was not usual in the Wisconsin papers of the day.⁴¹

There was a general agreement with "Ormond" that the constitution "must be Democratic in order to satisfy the people of Wisconsin." As to what was democratic, there was a tendency to look to New York, where men were studying the Mississippi precedent of 1832. Mississippi had framed its second constitution in this year, adopting the elective principle for judges. J. A. Quitman, a New Yorker who had associated himself with Mississippi and who later became its governor, wrote in 1845 to the editor of the *Democratic Review*⁴² that although opposed to this method of choice at first he had come to believe it entirely good. John Bigelow⁴³ was using this letter, with other democratic materials, in a series of papers on constitution-making that he wrote for the *Democratic Review* about this time, and that now remain the best general statements of democratic theory. And Bigelow was a barnburner, or progressive. It was another victory for the liberal faction in Wisconsin when the convention determined that the courts should be filled by election rather than by "the old hunker method of appointment."⁴⁴ Ryan, though he opposed election now, lived to approve his defeat.

The eagerness of all factions to conciliate and get the votes of immigrants made the definition of the suffrage franchise a matter of political importance. The convention itself, under the territorial law which called it, had been chosen by white males, twenty-one years of age, citizens of the United States or aliens who had filed their declaration of intention to become citizens, who had resided six months in the territory and ten days in the county.⁴⁵ Every month population was jumping upward, and

⁴⁰ Moses, *History of the territory of Wisconsin*, 516; John B. Winslow, *Story of a great court* (Chicago, 1912), 5.

⁴¹ *Milwaukee Courier*, August 14, September 30, 1846.

⁴² *Democratic Review*, 418 (June, 1846).

⁴³ John Bigelow, *Retrospections of an active life* (New York, 1909), 1:670.

⁴⁴ *Wisconsin Democrat*, October 31, 1846.

⁴⁵ *Laws of the territory of Wisconsin*, 1846, p. 9. The second Wisconsin convention was chosen by electors having the same qualification, but eliminated the offensive oath from the constitution which it made. *Laws of the territory of Wisconsin*, special session, 1847, p. 4.

by its distribution into unexpected regions was affecting the political balance. Between the censuses of June, 1846, and December, 1847, the growth was from 155,000 to 210,000,⁴⁶ the increase including nearly enough voters, under the liberal election law, to give control to whichever faction they should support. Many of the newcomers, whose votes all factions wanted to secure, were foreign born, complicating the problem of residence with that of nativism.

In the political breakup of the thirties, native Americanism came to the front as it has often done in such periods of party dissolution. In general the whig party, which was in the East the party of conservatism and property, was in sympathy with nativism and the protest against the foreigner; but in Wisconsin there is small difference between the whigs and democrats, since both parties exerted themselves to welcome the unnaturalized.

The convention worked at length over the question of extending the suffrage to Negroes, but, without serious division, it fixed the qualifications for whites. It extended to one year the residence term for all, and required, in addition, of aliens who had filed their intention papers, an oath to support the constitution of the United States.⁴⁷ To many of the foreigners this oath was an affront. They had been allowed to vote for members of the convention itself on residence, but now they were to be required to meet an additional test before voting upon the adoption of the constitution. The United States naturalization law, under which they had made their declaration of intention, did not require an oath of allegiance at this point.⁴⁸

The oath was retained in the article finally adopted, in spite of protests, but the schedule, in section nine, relieved from the oath persons already in Wisconsin who had been eligible to vote for members of the convention.⁴⁹ This concession seems to have accomplished its purpose, since among the few counties voting "aye" on the adoption of the constitution was Washington county, into which the foreigners had "commenced to swarm"

⁴⁶ *Madison Argus*, January 11, 1848; April 18, 1848.

⁴⁷ *Journal of the convention to form a constitution for the state of Wisconsin, with a sketch of the debates* (Madison, 1848), 604.

⁴⁸ F. G. Franklin, *The legislative history of naturalization in the United States from the revolutionary war to 1861* (Chicago, 1906).

⁴⁹ *Journal of the convention with debates*, 1847, p. 649.

in 1841, and where Germans "became the predominant race as early as 1850."⁵⁰

In no respects did the constitution reflect the marginal reforms of the day more sharply than in the article on homestead exemption and married women's rights. In the previous half century imprisonment for debt had been under fire, and clauses forbidding such punishment are to be found in many of the early constitutions. The frontiersmen now advanced the restriction of the forcible debt-collecting process one stage further in the interests of their society. In the panic of 1837, and its aftermath, they had seen the danger of eviction. They knew the low prices prevailing at forced sales, and many of them had taken part in discouraging speculators from buying foreclosed lands. Forced sales meant to them the loss of the equities, in which alone were the accumulations upon which they based their hope of future prosperity. Texas, in 1845, with a population drawn from Tennessee and its vicinity, had adopted a clear exemption clause, allowing to each citizen a minimum of property which no creditor could attach. California was to take up the principle in 1849. Wisconsin now accepted it. "So it should be," said the *Louisville Democrat*, commenting upon the Texas clause; "If a man's *moral* worth will not entitle him to credit, the possession of property should not add to his credibility."⁵¹ Before the Wisconsin convention met, every democratic paper in the territory, except the hunker organ, the *Madison Argus*, was reported as favoring the principle of exemption of a reasonable amount of property from forced sale,⁵² and many of them reprinted the same approving arguments that Bigelow had used in his article in the *Democratic Review*.⁵³ In Michigan the legislature was preparing to embody the principle in a statute,⁵⁴ and in future years the idea was to become an undisputed part of the guarantees that were habitually stated in the bills of rights. But when adopted for Wisconsin, the whigs interpreted

⁵⁰ *History of Washington and Ozaukee counties, Wisconsin*, 557.

⁵¹ Quoted in the *Mineral Point [Wisconsin] Democrat*, October 15, 1845.

⁵² *Wisconsin Democrat*, August 22, 1846.

⁵³ Holmes, "First constitutional convention in Wisconsin," in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1905, p. 243.

⁵⁴ *Kalamazoo [Michigan] Gazette*, quoted in *Milwaukee Courier*, August 26, 1846; *Southport [Wisconsin] American*, May 12, 1848.

exemption as repudiation, and the conservative democrats, already out of sympathy with the faction in control of the convention, made it an additional ground for complaint.

Marshall M. Strong, of Racine, was a consistent opponent of the more progressive measures, and upon the last, the recognition of the right of married women to the independent control of their own property, his indignation became so explosive that on December 7 he resigned his seat in the convention, and went home to organize the defeat of the constitution.⁵⁵ His secession marks the open split in his party in the territory, and so far as the constitution is concerned is the beginning of the end.

Just where the married women's clause originated is not clear. It appeared first in Texas in 1845,⁵⁶ and was advertised by Bigelow's approval in the *Democratic Review*. It may have been suggested to Texas by certain separate-estate provisions of Spanish law, but whatever its source, it found quick response throughout the frontier, where was already a tendency to improve the status of women, and where in the next generation the colleges were opened to them, and in the next, the franchise. In vain the opponents of the clause cited Scripture in the hope of proving marriage to be an indivisible partnership, into which all the property of the woman ought to be merged. When the article was approved in convention, whigs and hunkers alike found in it additional reason for keeping up their attack upon the whole constitution.

The Wisconsin convention met on October 15, 1846, and adjourned on December 17.⁵⁷ It provided that its constitution should come before the people in the following April, but the prospect of ratification was already slight. The bolt of Strong, of Racine, was too great a blow to be offset even by the violent efforts of his fellow-townsmen, Ryan. "To him [*Strong*] chief-

⁵⁵ *Journal of the convention*, 1846, p. 428; Strong, *History of the territory of Wisconsin*, 525-529; cf. *Racine Advocate*, quoted in *Wisconsin Democrat*, April 15, 1847.

⁵⁶ *Texas convention debates*, 1845, pp. 600 *et seq.*

⁵⁷ In the absence of a stenographic report of debates, the occasional speeches that were given out by their makers and were printed in the local papers, have great value in measuring the forces at play in the convention. There is a bibliography of these published speeches in Florence E. Baker, "A bibliographical account of the Wisconsin constitutional conventions," in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1897, pp. 123-159.

ly," wrote the conservative Milwaukee correspondent of the *Madison Argus*, "will belong the honor of saving 'our beloved Wisconsin' from being converted into a Fourier phalanx — a playground for lunatics and idiots."⁵⁸ But Ryan kept up his courage and his advocacy. In December he wrote to Moses M. Strong: "We are going to have a hard pull here to carry the Constitution: but we shall yet be able to do it handsomely in almost all the County. Your namesake here says & does nothing so far as I can learn. . . I am clear that the party stands or falls with the Constitution."⁵⁹

The party was already threatening to fall without the constitution. Polk had weakened his hold upon the West by his veto of the river and harbor bill in 1846. He had alienated many of the eastern democrats by forcing a new, low tariff through congress at the same time. His whig generals, in the pending Mexican war, were injuring the administration when they were inactive and were threatening it when they were successful. Taylor, by his victory at Buena Vista, on Washington's birthday, 1847, elevated himself to the head of the presidential column of countless whig papers. And in Wisconsin the cleavage between the democratic factions was widened when the emigrants from New York formed an "Excelsior" society in Milwaukee and emphasized their difference from the southwesterners. A new balance was felt in Wisconsin. As Byron Kilbourn wrote later in the spring: "The Territory has been represented from the west and north exclusively, while the S. E. has more people than both, and as important interests to care for."⁶⁰

By the end of March, 1847, the "rage for the Constitution" had "swallowed up all other rages, and now itself rages triumphant. Constitution meetings and Anti Constitution meetings are the order of the day."⁶¹ Ryan, who was fighting an uphill battle among the easterners, was becoming less optimistic. "The opposition may talk about married women & exemption, but here along the Lake Shore at all events, the real opposition is to the

⁵⁸ *Madison Argus*, March 9, 1847.

⁵⁹ E. G. Ryan, Racine, to Moses M. Strong, December 27, 1846, in Strong MSS., in Wisconsin Historical Society.

⁶⁰ B. Kilbourn, Milwaukee, to Moses M. Strong, June 1, 1847, in Strong MSS., in Wisconsin Historical Society.

⁶¹ *Madison Argus*, March 30, 1847.

restrictions against banks, Internal Impt & State debt. A new Convention, elected as it would be by the opponents of the present Constitution if they succeed now, would give us all the old brood of Corruption.”⁶² Another of the correspondents of Moses M. Strong wrote a little later, from Madison, that he had found “opponents, who fearlessly took ground in favor of the establishment of banks, regular wild cats, in this state, and declared that the Constitution must be defeated for their establishment. The opponents are open east of this in declaring and preaching for banks, probably they think you of the west will not hear of it in time to counteract them. So take care. Tell the boys what the eastern bankites are at and make old Iowa [county] toe the mark, and put her veto to the banking, swindling, operations of Mitchell⁶³ and his hireling. If this constitution be rejected there will not be another one formed in Wisconsin which will have that clause.”⁶⁴ Another democrat, writing from a northern county to Morgan L. Martin, the territorial delegate to congress, declared: “I must tell you what you ought to have known long before, that is that the people of this Section are much and *very strongly* in favor of the exemption, and they expect their representatives to go to the death for it. . . Especially are the *Democrats* in favor of it because it is a Democratic doctrine.”⁶⁵ In Milwaukee the advocates of the constitution were singing at their rallies:

“The Federal party can’t endure,
 So much indulgence to the Poor;
 The Bank Democracy begrudges
 The People’s power to choose their judges;
 The Married woman’s clause they say,
 With grief will turn each husband grey;

⁶² E. G. Ryan, Racine, to Moses M. Strong, February 18, 1847, in Strong MSS., in Wisconsin Historical Society.

⁶³ The Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company, of Milwaukee, did a general banking business under the direction of Alexander Mitchell, and provided Wisconsin with a paper currency. Its charter was repealed by the legislature in 1846, but it continued in its business in spite of this, and upon it was focused the hatred of the antibank group.

⁶⁴ J. G. Knapp, Madison, to Moses M. Strong, March 21, 1847, in Strong MSS., in Wisconsin Historical Society.

⁶⁵ Anonymous, Fond du Lac, to Morgan L. Martin, January 3, 1847, in Wisconsin MSS., 12C17, in Wisconsin Historical Society.

But still the worst of all disasters,
Is banishing their dear 'shin-plasters.' ”⁶⁶

“Take it as a whole,” said the *Argus*, which was lukewarm in its support, “we believe it to be the most liberal document of the kind ever submitted to the people of any state.”⁶⁷

The election, held on April 6, 1847, justified the hopes of the whigs and their hunker allies. The constitution was defeated in every county in the territory except Brown and Iowa, in which the old settlers were still in power,⁶⁸ and Washington, with its German population. And all the counties that rejected the constitution were among the larger majority that voted “no” on the separate article submitted on the right of Negroes to vote. This article was a concession to the northerners among the eastern counties, and only these gave it many votes. The territory relapsed into its domestic politics again, with statehood indefinitely postponed, and with the democratic party strained in every joint. “Let us unite once more,” pleaded the *Argus* on election day, “and show a firm front to the enemies of equal rights — the federal bank party.”⁶⁹

The six months which followed the defeat of the first constitution were marked by reflection and party reorganization in Wisconsin. The only effective cause for rejection, in the constitution itself, was the antibank article. Other sections had slight influence, if any, upon the outcome. If the democratic party had remained a unit it is doubtful if even the bank article could have defeated the constitution. The whigs played skilfully upon the dissensions in the dominant party, and common origin made coöperation between the whigs and eastern democrats more easy than it might otherwise have been.

Talk of a new convention began before the first constitution was rejected. Marshall M. Strong advocated it, and all supported it, once the election was over. Whatever its internal quarrels, Wisconsin desired to become a state. Governor Henry Dodge appraised the intensity of this desire in a trip he made through the territory in the summer of 1847, and on September

⁶⁶ *Wisconsin Democrat*, March 20, 1847.

⁶⁷ *Madison Argus*, March 30, 1847.

⁶⁸ Holmes, “First constitutional convention in Wisconsin,” in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1905, has a map showing the distribution of the vote.

⁶⁹ *Madison Argus*, April 6, 1847.

27⁷⁰ he called the legislature to meet in special session in October, in order to enact a new law for a new convention. Meanwhile the chief interests of the territory had been the increase of population,⁷¹ in the southeast, between Janesville and Milwaukee,⁷² and the territorial delegate election.

Morgan L. Martin, of Green Bay, was territorial delegate in congress from 1845 to 1847. He desired to be nominated to succeed himself, but his ambitions were opposed by the counter ambitions of Moses M. Strong, who had been trying in vain to get himself reappointed as United States district attorney for Wisconsin,⁷³ and who was the leader of the antibank radicals, as well as spokesman for the southwest. In spite of lukewarm support, or even open antagonism from the east, Strong secured the nomination in July, 1847. Martin returned to Green Bay, a victim of the "Tadpoles," who were "malignant in reviling the old democracy and especially yourself and friends."⁷⁴ John H. Tweedy, of Milwaukee, was nominated by the whigs a week later to oppose Moses M. Strong, and was elected in September.

Tweedy had a good following among the whigs, but was even more aided by democratic friction and the various personal antagonisms to Strong.⁷⁵ His canvass was memorable because he was absent throughout it, he having taken the nomination upon the understanding that he was to be left free to go outside the territory on personal business.⁷⁶ The whigs accepted him on these terms, and met with principles and an absentee candidate the attack of Strong, who stumped the territory.

⁷⁰ Proclamation in *Madison Argus*, September 28, 1847.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, October 18, 1847; J. A. Barber, Lancaster, Wisconsin, to George W. Lakin, in Lakin MSS., in Wisconsin Historical Society; Strong, *History of the territory of Wisconsin*, 563.

⁷² The first freshman class at Beloit College was organized November 4, 1847. (*Beloit College catalogue*, 1914, p. 21.) Lawrence Institute, on the Fox river below lake Winnebago, had been chartered in the same year. W. A. Goodspeed, *History of Outagamie county, Wisconsin* (1911), 535.

⁷³ A. C. Dodge, Washington, D. C., to Moses M. Strong, May 13, 1846, in Strong MSS., in Wisconsin Historical Society.

⁷⁴ A. A. Tenney, of the *Madison Argus*, to Morgan L. Martin, August 28, 1847, in Wisconsin MSS., 12C81, in Wisconsin Historical Society.

⁷⁵ Democratic central committee of Walworth county, to Moses M. Strong, August 30, 1847, in Strong MSS., in Wisconsin Historical Society.

⁷⁶ *Madison Express*, August 24, 1847 (a whig paper).

Strong preached radicalism up and down Wisconsin. He had the paper support of his organization, but experienced many individual defections. The success of Tweedy was an omen of the approaching decomposition of the democratic party, locally and nationally. The vote indicated a declining interest in politics due to schisms. Fewer persons voted in September, 1847, than had voted in the preceding April, although the population of the territory grew unceasingly.

Even the worst opponents of Strong had not wanted to carry revolt thus far, and the defeat sobered the party for the time being. Few realized that the slavery issue was soon to make impracticable a close affiliation between eastern and southern democrats. In the canvass, Strong had tried to stop the drift towards Tweedy by charging him with abolitionism. But now personal feelings were temporarily set aside, and in the second convention election, in November, 1847, the democrats again secured a majority of the members. How far the defeat of the constitution of 1846 was due to principle, and how far to these factions, is revealed by the character of the second constitution. The schisms that disrupted Wisconsin were spreading elsewhere. Polk's veto of the river and harbor bill had produced a great internal improvements convention at Chicago in July, 1847, where it was made clear that the Northwest would not assent to the southern doctrines of narrow construction.⁷⁷ Tariff, internal improvements, and slavery were proving themselves undigested issues for the democracy, and the name of Zachary Taylor was acquiring an ominous significance for James K. Polk.

The new constitution was far from being an amended version of the old one.⁷⁸ The two democratic factions were unreconciled in spite of their good working majority,⁷⁹ and the whigs were often able to hold the balance of power. "The Milwaukee K's," said the *Wisconsin Democrat*, meaning Kilbourn and King, the editor of the *Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette*, "are regarded as the Siamese twins of the Convention — a separation

⁷⁷ *Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette*, August 6, 1846; *Madison Argus*, July 13, 20, 1847; *Chicago Daily Democrat*, quoted in *Wisconsin Democrat*, July 17, 1847.

⁷⁸ The convention met December 15, 1847. *Journal of the convention to form a constitution for the state of Wisconsin, with a sketch of the debates* (Madison, 1848).

⁷⁹ Strong, *History of the territory of Wisconsin*, 562.

would be fatal to both.” “Byron Kilbourn,” it continued, “is so well known in the Territory that his name has become almost synonymous with political tergiversation and intrigue.”⁸⁰ It was Kilbourn who, at the opening of the convention after the election of Morgan L. Martin as president, tried to persuade the body to content itself with revising the controverted sections of the first constitution — those on judiciary, bank, exemption, and the rights of married women.⁸¹ He was voted down, though he was one of the distinct leaders in the convention,⁸² and the new constitution was as different from the first as either was from the constitution of any nearby state.

A comparison of the two constitutions, section by section, shows that almost no sentence was saved from the first without change. From preamble to signatures it was a new draft. But most of the changes were only verbal and in arrangement. The skeleton of government was slightly altered, and even the disputed provisions were changed less than was to be expected.

The banking article was completely revised as was inevitable. In place of the sweeping prohibition of banks, the legislature was now authorized to take a referendum on the question of banks or no banks; and should the vote be affirmative it was authorized to pass a “general banking law, with such restrictions and under such regulations as they may deem expedient and proper for the security of the bill holders.” But no such law was to be effective until ratified by the people at a general election.⁸³ Under this procedure state banks were soon admitted into Wisconsin; but the triumphant advocates of banks had not dared to go beyond this bare and devious concession to the banks.

The judiciary article remained almost unchanged. The principle of elective judges was becoming better grounded every year, and whatever influence it may have had in defeating the first constitution, it was none the less repeated in the second. The married women’s clause was omitted entirely, but nothing

⁸⁰ *Wisconsin Democrat*, January 1, 1848.

⁸¹ *Journal of the convention with debates*, 1847, p. 8; *Wisconsin Democrat*, December 18, 1847.

⁸² J. A. Noonan, Milwaukee, to Morgan L. Martin, December 12, 1847, in Wisconsin MSS., in Wisconsin Historical Society.

⁸³ F. N. Thorpe, *American charters, constitutions, and organic laws* (Washington, 1909), 7:4093.

was put into the constitution forbidding the legislature to do by law what had created so great a noise when done by constitution; and the legislature soon responded to the sentiment of the day and used this privilege.

The exemption clause was also omitted, but into the bill of rights was incorporated a new section at the instigation of Martin: "17. The privilege of the debtor to enjoy the necessary comforts of life, shall be recognized by wholesome laws, exempting a reasonable amount of property from seizure, or sale for the payment of any debt, or liability hereafter contracted."⁸⁴ The cause had gained strength since 1846. Michigan, Georgia, Connecticut, and Texas had passed or were passing laws to this effect, and more than one Wisconsin democrat believed that all that was essential in the section of the repudiated constitution was saved in the shorter section of the new bill of rights.⁸⁵

The new constitution was submitted to the swelling electorate in March, 1848, and there was some apprehension as to its fate. "There was an effort made a few days ago by some of our Tadpole friends to unite with the Whigs and get up a systematic opposition to the Constitution," wrote one of the Milwaukee conservatives to Martin in a private letter.⁸⁶ But the opposition failed to materialize. The progressives were opposed to banks, but every month threw them further into the minority on this item, and they all wanted statehood. Their chief organ wrote, "the instrument is better than we expected from the body that framed it,"⁸⁷ and urged its ratification. Criticism faded away, and though the vote was small the majority was overwhelming in favor of the constitution.⁸⁸

It was, after all, factional politics that defeated the former document, fomented but not created by the extravagant attack upon the banks. Tweedy's election revealed to the democrats the dangers of internecine feuds. They patched up their dif-

⁸⁴ Thorpe, *Constitutions*, 7:4078.

⁸⁵ W. Chase, Ceresco, Wisconsin, February 14, 1848, to M. L. Martin, in Wisconsin MSS., 13C36, in Wisconsin Historical Society.

⁸⁶ J. A. Noonan, Milwaukee, to M. L. Martin, January 8, 1848, in Wisconsin MSS., 13C17, in Wisconsin Historical Society.

⁸⁷ *Wisconsin Democrat*, March 11, 1848.

⁸⁸ A. M. Thomson, *Political history of Wisconsin* (Milwaukee, 1900), 56; Strong, *History of the territory of Wisconsin*, 556.

ferences, elected a compromise governor in 1848, in the person of Nelson Dewey, "a thorough radical and consistent democrat,"⁸⁹ and retained for a time their partisan control of the state and its representation. But their control was weakening; not again until 1893 had Wisconsin two democrats in the United States Senate.⁹⁰ Their constitution marks the high water mark of democracy in the Northwest, before the tide began to ebb.

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⁸⁹ *Wisconsin Democrat*, April 22, 1848.

⁹⁰ *New York Nation*, February 9, 1893, p. 76.

SETTLEMENT OF MICHIGAN TERRITORY

One of the most important influences in the settlement of Michigan territory was the war of 1812, which had effects both good and ill. Temporarily, it was a serious drawback. Fear of the Indians practically depopulated the territory during the war and the settlers returning found their homes in ruins.¹ The scarcity of money was a serious embarrassment both to business and to intending settlers. The general stagnation of business is said to have resembled that which followed the crisis of 1837.² The *Detroit Gazette* of August 9, 1822, contains a typical example of the many complaints against the continued scarcity of money and the low price of grain. One good effect of the war was to attract attention to Michigan through the prominent part taken by Detroit. It made evident the military need of better roads³ and led directly to the first improvements connecting Detroit with the Ohio valley. Many soldiers from Ohio, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and Virginia who had fought on the Michigan frontier remained in the territory as settlers and wrote to friends in the East about the opportunities the country afforded.⁴ One of these was Lewis Cass, who as governor of Michigan territory from 1813 to 1831 used his great energies to promote its settlement.⁵

An indirect result of the war of 1812 was the unfavorable report widely circulated about Michigan lands. In 1815, Ed-

¹ W. L. G. Smith, *Life and times of Lewis Cass* (New York, 1856), 107; *Journal of the legislative council*, 1826, p. 6; *American state papers: military affairs*, 1: 510; *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, April 4, 1832, giving a report of a select committee of congress on the losses of Michigan during the war.

² *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 1: 381.

³ News of the battle of Tippecanoe on the Wabash just before the outbreak of the war, November 7, 1811, was not received at Detroit until a month later. *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 1: 780.

⁴ F. J. Turner, "The colonization of the West, 1820-1830," in *American Historical Review*, 11: 307; *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 23: 482.

⁵ A. C. McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass* (Boston, 1891), 127-129; J. H. Lanman, *History of Michigan* (New York, 1839), 236.

ward Tiffin, surveyor general for the Northwest, reported to the general government that there "would not be more than one acre out of a hundred, if there would be one out of a thousand that would, in any case, admit of cultivation;" for, he said, "the intermediate space between the swamps and lakes, which is probably nearly one half of the country, is, with a very few exceptions, a poor barren, sandy land, on which scarcely any vegetation grows, except very small scrubby oaks."⁶ The purpose of the survey upon which this report was based was to promote the early disposition of the Michigan bounty lands authorized by congress for compensation to the soldiers of the war.⁷ The surveyors could have known and may have been influenced, at least indirectly, by the unfavorable report made by Monroe to Jefferson prior to the organization of the Northwest territory, who after reconnoitering in parts of the Northwest wrote: "A great part of the territory is miserably poor, especially that near the Lakes Michigan and Erie. . . The districts, therefore, within which these fall will never contain a sufficient number of inhabitants to entitle them to membership in the confederacy."⁸

As a result of the Tiffin report, President Madison recommended to congress, that since the lands in Michigan were so covered with swamps and lakes, or otherwise unfit for cultivation that only a small proportion could be applied to the intended grants, other lands should be designated to take the place of Michigan's proportion of the military bounty lands.⁹ Accordingly three-fourths of that amount were ordered to be surveyed in the rival state of Illinois.¹⁰ The government's disfavor towards Michigan lands doubtless became widely known, as the newspapers of the day emphasized the doings of congress, and as will appear later many eastern people were then specially anxious to know about the West. School geographies contained maps with

⁶ *American state papers: public lands*, 3: 164-165.

⁷ *Statutes at large*, 1: 728-730. For the relation of Cass to this survey, see McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, 94-95; A. C. McLaughlin, *The influence of Governor Cass on the development of the Northwest* (American Historical Association, *Papers*, 3), 315; T. M. Cooley, *Michigan* (Boston, 1885), 193. For newspaper characterization of the Tiffin report see an editorial in the *Detroit Gazette* for July 24, 1818.

⁸ J. Monroe, *Writings* (S. M. Hamilton, ed.—New York, 1898), 1: 117.

⁹ Special message of February 6, 1816.

¹⁰ *Statutes at large*, 3: 332.

the words "Interminable Swamp" across the interior of Michigan.¹¹ Morse's *Geography* which was considered an authority and was widely used featured this idea until a late period.¹² Morse's *Traveller's guide* represented sand hills "extending into the interior as far as the dividing ridge . . . sometimes crowned with a few stunted trees, and a scanty vegetation, but generally bare, and thrown by the wind into a thousand fantastic shapes."¹³

The immediate effects upon settlement were of course unfavorable. The traveler William Darby, writing from Detroit in August, 1818, says that during more than a month in which he had been traveling between Geneva, New York, and Detroit, he had seen hundreds going west, but "not one in fifty with the intention of settling in Michigan Territory."¹⁴ For the time being the tide of immigration turned aside from Michigan with its "interminable swamp" and "sand hills" and favored Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

One of the earliest and strongest influences to counteract these reports was the Lewis Cass expedition of 1820. Cass warmly criticised the Tiffin report, writing to the general government that the lands of Michigan had been "grossly misrepresented."¹⁵ Upon his motion new surveys were begun in the vicinity of Detroit in 1816 and public sales were opened for the surveyed portion in 1818. In the same year an exploring party apparently under his auspices dispelled illusions about the country back of Detroit.¹⁶ In 1819 national aid was secured for an extended examination of the soil, minerals, and Indian conditions over a route of some five thousand miles through the interior, accomplished in 1820.¹⁷ The result gave to men vitally

¹¹ *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 1: 381; 22: 542.

¹² Cooley, *Michigan*, 192-193.

¹³ J. Morse, *Traveller's guide* (New Haven, 1826), 169.

¹⁴ W. Darby, *A tour from the city of New-York to Detroit in the Michigan territory. . . 1818* (New York, 1819), 200.

¹⁵ McLaughlin, *Influence of Cass on the development of the Northwest*, 347.

¹⁶ See an article in the *Detroit Gazette* for July 18, 1823, referring to the exploration of 1818 in the rear of Detroit, attributing the enterprise largely to the interest of Cass.

¹⁷ Smith, *Life and times of Lewis Cass*, contains much of the preliminary correspondence with Calhoun, then secretary of war, about the expedition. The official journal of the expedition kept by James Duane Doty, secretary of the territorial legislature of Michigan, is contained in *Wisconsin historical collections*, 13: 163 *et seq.*

connected with the government of the territory and influential with the national government a first-hand knowledge of the region where the Tiffin surveyors were supposed to have worked, and impressed upon them more firmly a lesson of the war of 1812, the need of a national military road between Detroit and Chicago. Since the expedition was made partly under national auspices, its report had a semiofficial character. The interest which it excited is indicated by the sale within thirty days of the entire edition of Schoolcraft's *Summary narrative*, published in 1821 at Albany, which is said to have found its way also to Europe.¹⁸

Accounts of travel through Michigan preceding Cass's expedition were on the whole too general to have much influence with settlers, yet there were some exceptions. Estwick Evans wrote in his *Pedestrious tour* in 1818: "In travelling more than four thousand miles, in the western parts of the United States, I met no tract of country which, upon the whole, impressed my mind so favorably as the Michigan Territory. . . The soil of the territory is generally fertile, and a considerable proportion of it is very rich."¹⁹ Of "Travels" before 1837 the most important for the correction of false impressions about Michigan were those of McKenney, Hoffman, and Martineau. Some of the early guidebooks for travelers and settlers were very favorable to Michigan. An important one of these was by Samuel R. Brown, published at Auburn, New York, in 1817. There appeared in London in 1820 an anonymous *Guide for English emigrants to America* obviously based upon it.²⁰

See also Henry R. Schoolcraft's *Summary narrative of an exploratory expedition to the sources of the Mississippi river in 1820* (Albany, 1821). Good brief accounts may be found in McLaughlin's *Lewis Cass*, 115-119; J. V. Campbell, *Outlines of the political history of Michigan* (Detroit, 1876), 400-404; W. T. Young, *Sketch of the life and public services of General Lewis Cass* (Detroit, 1852), 85-88; *Detroit Gazette*, May 26, 1820.

¹⁸ *Outlines of the life and character of General Lewis Cass* (Albany, 1848), 24.

¹⁹ E. Evans, *Pedestrious tour*, 119, quoted from R. G. Thwaites, *Early western travels* (Cleveland, 1904-1907), 8: 220. Evans' work was published at Concord, New Hampshire, in 1819.

²⁰ The *English Guide* gives to Ohio thirty-five pages, to Indiana nineteen, to Michigan ten, and to Illinois nine. Compare pages 688, 689, 694 respectively with pages 155, 156-157, and 165 in S. R. Brown, *The western gazetteer* (Auburn, 1817). See also J. Melish's *A geographical description of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1818), 137, where the climate is described as "temperate and healthy" and the soil "gen-

Newspaper articles favorable to Michigan early found their way through the eastern press. For example the *New York Spectator* is quoted in the *Detroit Gazette* of March 21, 1823, as saying in regard to the belief that Michigan offered favorable opportunities to emigrants: "Perhaps no stronger argument can be urged in support of this belief than merely to state the fact that a barrel of potashes, flour, or other produce can be transported from Detroit to Buffalo with as little expense through Lake Erie as a like quantity can be transported by land in the western part of this state to the canal from places which lie twenty-five or thirty miles from the canal route."²¹ The motive which actuated at least some New York papers is seen in a quotation from the *Buffalo Journal* (1825): "When it is considered that all the fruits of that vast region are to reach the sea coast by Lake Erie and the New York Canal (the junction of whose waters is formed in our village) and that the corresponding returns of goods are to reach their destination by the same route, we may naturally be supposed to look with some degree of rapture on the present growth and increasing population of Michigan."²²

By about 1825 the effects of the Tiffin report in the East had begun to wane. That year is marked by the appearance of John Farmer's maps and gazetteers of Michigan published at Detroit, which it is said had by 1830 reached a demand in the local markets of Boston, Providence, Hartford, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Washington, Albany, Rochester, Buffalo, Cleveland, and Erie, that could hardly be supplied.²³ Many copies of

erally rich and fertile." The ignorance of the interior is revealed by the statement that "in the center, the land is high, from whence there is a descent in all "directions," and an equal poverty of knowledge is revealed in the articles in the *Detroit Gazette* prior to 1820, which while they try to favor the lands are limited in descriptive matter to those close to the eastern shore. See for another instance the numbers of November 21, 1817, May 7 and 14, November 26, and December 3, 1819.

²¹ See other quotations in the *Detroit Gazette* for May 4, 1821; June 7, 1822; July 18, 1823; and September 19, 1823.

²² Quoted in the *Detroit Gazette*, September 20, 1825.

²³ S. Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan* (Detroit, 1890), 1: 335, 698. There is a photograph of the John Farmer map of 1826 in *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 38: opposite p. 636. A little before appeared Orange Risdon's map, a copy of which is in the same volume opposite p. 635. Risdon published much of his data, obtained by travel in the territory in 1823, in several eastern newspapers, according to the *Detroit Gazette*, January 16, 1824. Another map of about this time

the *Detroit Gazette*, founded at Detroit in 1817, had found their way to the East.²⁴ Other counter-influences were letters from successful pioneers, published in eastern papers, reports made by settlers revisiting their old homes in the East, the circulars of land speculators, and not least the later reports of the United States surveyors and their personal interest in promoting settlement. New editions of Morse's *Geography* were favorable to Michigan.²⁵ There is evidence in shipments of flour from Michigan to the East as early as 1833 and in the increase of population shown by the censuses of 1830, 1834, and 1837 that by the date of Michigan's admission to the union the popular opinion about her lands had been fairly reversed.

Along with the unfavorable reports about lands had gone ill tidings of the continued Indian depredations. The massacres at the river Raisin and at Fort Dearborn had impressed especially the minds of women and children and in 1832 the Black Hawk war caused rumors of a possible invasion of Michigan and of a rising of the Indians.²⁶ It would be true to human nature to suppose that these fears and desires would often cause the head of a family to hesitate about emigrating to Michigan, but in reality the spirit of the Michigan Indians was cowed by the American success in the recent war and their ferocity had largely burned out. The *Detroit Gazette* attempted to allay fears by setting forth the groundlessness of the prevalent anticipations of renewed Indian hostilities.²⁷

was made by Philu E. Judd, of which a copy is in the same volume opposite p. 634. The making of these maps is indicative of the new impulse to immigration which came about the time of the opening of the Erie canal.

²⁴ Other Detroit newspapers of the period were the *Michigan Herald*, the *Detroit Courier*, the *Detroit Journal and Courier*, the *Northwestern Journal*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, and the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*. For a list of Michigan newspapers for this period with critical comment see Farmer, *History of Detroit*, 1: 670-677. An account of the *Detroit Gazette* is given on pp. 671-672. The issue of the *Detroit Gazette* for November 21, 1823, states that six copies are sent weekly to subscribers in Washington.

²⁵ *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 4: 480-481.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ See editorial for April 3, 1818. Also a good general description of the character and condition of the Indians of eastern Michigan by a contemporary in the *Gazette*, February 8, 1822. For relations of the settlers and the Indians see Harriet Martineau, *Society in America* (London, 1837), 1: 329; 2: 25. *Detroit Gazette*, May 29, 1818, June 11, 1819; *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 38: 655-658;

The relation of the national government with the Michigan Indians was complicated by their dissatisfaction with the treaty of 1807, by their recent alliance with the British against the Americans, and by the belief of the Indians in the power and generosity of the British because of the continued distribution of large quantities of presents among them.²⁸ In 1829 sixty tons of presents were thus distributed in which the Michigan Indians shared.²⁹ This policy appears to have been followed as late as 1839, in attempts to defeat the American treaties with the Indians.³⁰ The situation required a government agent of great patience and tact who thoroughly understood the Indian character and who should have a genuine sympathetic interest. Cass possessed these qualifications in a marked degree and in his capacity as Indian agent rendered exceptional services to the settlement of Michigan, negotiating a score of treaties.³¹

The Indian title to the lower peninsula was with slight exceptions, extinguished by four treaties, those of 1807, 1819, 1821, and 1836. The so-called treaty of Detroit (1807) ceded southeastern Michigan, west as far as the principal meridian and north as far as a line running from a point on the western boundary of the present Shiawassee county northeasterly to White Rock, on lake Huron.³² In 1819 the treaty of Saginaw ceded a large part of central Michigan including the remainder of the Saginaw region and extending as far north as the headwaters of the Thund-

report of the surveyors of the Chicago road, *Detroit Gazette*, March 18 and 25, 1825. For the civil status of the Indian and his relation to the states of the union, see decisions cited in T. Donaldson's *Public domain* (Washington, 1881), 240.

²⁸ See a statement by Cass to the secretary of war, October 21, 1820, in Schoolcraft's *Summary narrative*, 280. The Indians are represented as generally friendly, but less so as the point of contact with the British is approached. See accounts of their visits to Malden in the *Detroit Gazette*, November 21, 1823; August 2, 1825. The latter contains a long editorial on the policy of the British.

²⁹ McLaughlin, *Influence of Cass on the development of the Northwest*, 323.

³⁰ McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, 108, 110.

³¹ Smith, *Life and times of Lewis Cass*, 128-130; *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 2: 224; Schoolcraft, *Summary narrative*, 79-80; R. B. Ross and G. B. Catlin, *Landmarks of Detroit* (Detroit, 1898), 358-359; L. M. Mathews, *Expansion of New England* (Boston, 1909), 231; Bureau of American ethnology, *Eighteenth annual report*, pt. 2, *passim*.

³² *Ibid.*, 674. Prior to this time there had been in the hands of the government only a narrow strip six miles wide along the water front extending from the Raisin to the vicinity of lake St. Clair, which was ceded in 1795. *Ibid.*, 654.

er Bay river.³³ Practically all the land still remaining south of the Grand river was ceded in 1821 by the treaty of Chicago,³⁴ and nearly all remaining north of it by the treaty of Washington in 1836.³⁵ In these treaties numerous small pieces of land were reserved to the Indian tribes and some grants were made to individuals of Indian descent.³⁶ The reservations were ceded as settlement pressed upon them, and the tribal Indians were removed to western reservations about 1840.³⁷

The most serious check upon settlement due to the Indians since the war of 1812 came from an uprising of the Sauk and Foxes under Black Hawk in 1832.³⁸ The Indians had just passed over the Chicago trail homeward bound from Malden where they had received their annual presents from the British, among them arms and ammunition. The circumstances suggested to Michigan settlers that as a natural maneuver the Indians would retreat along the Chicago road into Canada, as a safer base of operations, in which case there might be expected depredations along the road and possibly an uprising of the Potawatomi. Memories of Indian horrors spread panic especially among the women and children. Travel on the road fell off rapidly and intending settlers turned to Ohio.³⁹ A letter from a militia

³³ The southern boundary of the cession extended west from the prime meridian to the vicinity of Kalamazoo. Bureau of American ethnology, *Eighteenth annual report*, pt. 2: 698.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 702.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 756. For the principal minor treaties affecting the lower peninsula see *ibid.*, 699, 740, 764, and the *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 2: 72, 131, 677. The former contains colored plates showing the areas of the different cessions. There is a fairly accurate map showing the four larger cessions in *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 26: opposite p. 275.

³⁶ Bureau of American ethnology, *Eighteenth annual report*, pt. 2: 702; *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 26: 291.

³⁷ See report of Henry R. Schoolcraft, acting superintendent of Indian affairs, on the removal of the Indians from Michigan, in *Michigan joint documents*, 1841, no. 1, pp. 61-86. The question of removal was advocated by Isaac McCoy, of the Baptist mission near Niles, from the time white settlement began to encroach upon the mission. See his statement of the motives of removal in his *History of the Baptist Indian missions* (Washington, 1840), 265, 321, 323. See also an article by Lewis Cass on removal of Indians, in the *North American Review* for January 1830 (30: 62-121).

³⁸ There is a brief, judicial account of the Black Hawk war in *Magazine of Western History*, 5.

³⁹ *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 6: 239; 18: 606; 30: 456. H. P. Collins, *A twentieth century history and biographical record of Branch county, Michigan* (Chicago, 1906), 27, 29.

leader written in 1832 from White Pigeon in St. Joseph county, says: "The injury done to this part of the territory by the exaggerated reports of danger from the hostile bands of Indians will not be cured for two years to come, and the unnecessary movements of our militia are calculated to spread far and near this alarm." Michigan militia were mustered at Niles but they did not leave Michigan, as Black Hawk was defeated and captured by the United States troops before he reached Chicago when the resistance of his followers collapsed.⁴⁰

But the results of this outbreak for the settlement of Michigan were not wholly bad. Accounts of the "war" in newspapers, pamphlets, and books called attention to the country occupied by the Sauk and Fox Indians westward from Michigan, and the summary way in which the national government had demonstrated its control of the Indians gave renewed assurance to intending settlers, especially to foreigners, whose imaginations had exaggerated the danger from the Indians.⁴¹

The influence of the Black Hawk war is difficult to separate from that of the cholera epidemic of the same year. It was probably the cholera as much as fear of the Indians that checked travel on the Chicago road.⁴² A large part of the troops under Scott sent against Black Hawk died of cholera in and about Detroit, and others, panic stricken, deserted. It is estimated that half of the entire force died.⁴³ The ravages elsewhere in Michigan seem to have been equally severe. Many settlements established armed guards, allowing no one to pass in or out. Fences were built across the roads from Detroit, and travelers were halted at the point of the gun.⁴⁴

A very important task of the national government in the interests of settlement for which the extinction of Indian titles and the military protection of the frontier were preliminary

⁴⁰ *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 1: 234, 235.

⁴¹ H. F. Thomas, *History of Allegan county* (Chicago, 1907), 31.

⁴² Collin, *History of Branch county*, 30. There was a repetition of the epidemic in 1834, making a combination of influences that was felt until 1835. These epidemics spread westward from Asia, reaching Michigan through Canada.

⁴³ Campbell, *Political history of Michigan*, 440.

⁴⁴ *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 28: 169; Farmer, *History of Detroit*, 1: 49; Ross and Catlin, *Landmarks of Detroit*, 380-382; *Detroit Free Press*, July 19, 1832.

was the survey and sale of lands. Cass had accompanied his criticism of the Tiffin survey with urgent advice to the government for an immediate surveying of lands in the vicinity of Detroit and the establishment of a land office as soon as the surveys should advance far enough. A petition circulated at his instance and signed by prominent men in the territory in 1818 secured the government's attention, and public sales were opened in 1818.⁴⁵

By 1818 two years of work on the new surveys had made practically all the land in the present eastern shore counties ready for the market.⁴⁶ By 1821 more than two and a quarter millions of acres had been surveyed, and a decade later about ten million acres of the seventeen and a half million that had been ceded to the government.⁴⁷

As the surveys advanced and more land was ready for the market, new land offices were established; at Monroe in 1823, at White Pigeon in 1831, at Kalamazoo in 1834, and at Flint and Ionia in 1836. The first represents a movement of population into the country of the Raisin river valley, the second out along the Chicago road, the third along the territorial road, the

⁴⁵ Smith, *Life and times of Lewis Cass*, 113; McLaughlin, *Influence of Cass on the development of the Northwest*, 318; McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, 96. For phases of the land question prior to 1818 see *American state papers: public lands*, 1: 248, 267-269, 282.

⁴⁶ For brief descriptions of the rectangular system of survey in Michigan see H. F. Walling, *Atlas of Michigan* (Detroit, 1873), 6-7 — commonly known as Tackabury's *Atlas*, from the name of the publisher; J. T. Blois, *Gazetteer of Michigan* (New York, 1838), 65-70. Besides its obvious importance in enabling settlers to locate their lands, this system had significance for local government. The base line in Michigan follows along the northern boundary of Wayne county due west and forms the boundary between counties throughout its entire length. At distances of twenty-four miles on each side, other parallels form similar boundaries throughout most of their length. Eastern and western county boundaries are formed by meridians running at right angles, in many cases making counties almost exact squares. Similarly, parallels and meridians divide the counties into squares of six miles on a side, forming "government townships" which in most cases have become units for township governments. This result was secured by the policy of following the township lines in establishing the original areas for township government, however unequal these areas might be, which makes easier the use of the organization of township government to measure, in a general way, comparative rates of settlement in different areas.

⁴⁷ *American state papers: public lands*, 3: 533; *Historical and scientific sketches of Michigan* (Detroit, 1834), 165. The field notes of the surveyors, deposited at Lansing in 1857 upon the completion of the survey of Michigan, are of first importance for early physiographic conditions.

fourth into the Saginaw valley, the fifth into the Grand river region.⁴⁸ The opening of the land office at Kalamazoo in 1834 marks the beginning of a new period in the settlement of western Michigan.⁴⁹

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The laws regulating the sales of land in Michigan before 1820 were not conducive to the best interests of settlement. The claims of the squatter were not only not recognized but his land and improvements were legally liable to forfeiture.⁵⁰ The settler of small means was at a decided disadvantage, since the lands were sold only in comparatively large parcels and at auction to the highest bidder. The fact that land could be bought on credit encouraged speculation, and the best land would tend to go into the hands of a few men of large actual or prospective means. The family man of small means with intention to settle was not likely to speculate even on credit, since his death or the deferment of payments for other reasons would forfeit both lands and improvements. He was more likely to await his chance at the expiration of the given term of sale, when the unsold lands would be put on the market at two dollars an acre, fifty cents at the time of entry and the balance in one, two, and three years, with interest.⁵¹ In order to avoid the cost and difficulties of collecting arrears and check speculation, to open the best land on equal terms to all, to avoid the poor man's having to forfeit lands for deferred payments and to enable him to buy in small parcels, the credit system was by act of congress (1820) to be discontinued; ⁵² all lands were to be sold at \$1.25 the acre and in parcels as small as eighty acres.

⁴⁸ For jurisdiction see Blois, *Gazetteer of Michigan*, 71-73; *Detroit Gazette*, July 18, 1823; Risdon's map of Michigan (1825).

⁴⁹ *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 18: 612.

⁵⁰ *Magazine of Western History*, 6: 397.

⁵¹ Donaldson, *Public domain*, 203-205; *History of Oakland county* (Philadelphia, 1876), 130; *Detroit Gazette*, May 8, 1818.

⁵² *Statutes at large*, 3: 566. See a monograph by Emerich, on "The credit system and the public domain," in Vanderbilt Southern Historical Society, *Publications*, no. 3, quoted by Mr. Turner in "The colonization of the West," in *American Historical Review*, 11: 313, n. 2. The *Detroit Gazette* of September 24, 1819, hints at a condition which may have stimulated the repeal of the credit system. A writer signing himself "Franklin" suggests that the immense indebtedness of the people of the West to the government for the land, due to the credit system, may form cause for separation from the union to escape the debt; especially if the people are shown that the original states had no right to the land and that the West is eminently fitted for independence.

It still remained to give legal protection to the squatter. The squatter was the extreme advance guard of settlement whose services often took the keen edge from the hardships of later comers accustomed to the settled life of an old community. In a rude way, by a custom that had the effect of law, the squatters instituted a degree of self-protection. A settler who would disregard the right of a squatter to purchase his claim when it came on the market would soon find it unpleasant to stay in the community.⁵³ But the speculator was not easily made amenable to this custom and often took advantage of his immunity to beat the squatter out of a home. Congressional attention to this abuse began effectively with the preemption act of 1830.⁵⁴

It would be expected, under the influence of the Erie canal, the acceleration of steam navigation on lake Erie, and the survey of the Chicago road, that sales would rapidly increase from 1825 to 1830. What took place was quite the opposite.⁵⁵ The sales at the Detroit land office may be taken as typical. In 1820 there were sold at that office 2,860 acres, and sales ran rapidly up from 7,444 acres in 1821 to 20,068 in 1822. The increase continued until 1825, when they reached 92,332 acres. From this point there was a steady falling off until 1830 when 70,441 acres were sold, but with a sudden impulse sales mounted in the following year to 217,943 acres. Then probably under the influence of the Black Hawk war and the epidemics of cholera in 1832 and 1834, there was a gradual decline until 1835 when sales suddenly leaped to 405,331 acres, and in 1836 to nearly one and a half million acres.⁵⁶ In the year 1835-1836 Michigan shared in a phenomenon of increased land sales that was national in extent, and

⁵³ *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 6: 424; L. H. Glover, *A twentieth century history of Cass county, Michigan* (Chicago, 1906), 107.

⁵⁴ Donaldson, *Public domain*, 214, 215. There is a brief treatment of "The national preemption system," in *Magazine of Western History*, 6: 396-399.

⁵⁵ The amounts of sale for the whole territory from 1830-1834 were: 1831: 252,-211.44 acres; 1832: 316,081.89 acres; 1833: 447,780.17 acres; 1834: 351,951.32 acres. (*American state papers: public lands*, 6: 628; 7: 329-330.) The *Detroit Gazette* of June 20, 1826, attributes the falling off in amount of purchases in 1826 to hard times in the East, making it difficult for intending emigrants to convert their produce and property into ready money. A retardation of immigration due to this cause was anticipated in the same paper for May 23, 1826.

⁵⁶ Blois, *Gazetteer of Michigan*, 74; J. P. MacCabe, *Directory of the city of Detroit* (Detroit, 1837), 86. Obviously the amount of sales given by Blois for 1833 is an error, probably typographical.

the largest total of sales was made in Michigan.⁵⁷ This seems plausibly explained by the comparatively small amount of land remaining unsold in the older areas and the comparatively slight knowledge of lands farther west; also by the stage of Michigan's settlement, her lands being accessible with comparative ease and well enough known to be properly valued.⁵⁸

There was undoubtedly a large element of speculation in these purchases even before 1835. According to an apparently authoritative account speculation had reached only "a gentle breeze" in 1834, but increased "to a gale in 1835, to a storm in 1836, to a change of wind and an adverse tornado in 1837."⁵⁹ A serious financial crisis as a result of Jackson's financial policy appears to have been anticipated in Michigan as early as 1833. "We regret to find," says the editor of the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, November 27, "that a general feeling of apprehension is felt and expressed by the city papers, of serious embarrassment in the money market." Other editorial protests and prophecies followed.⁶⁰ But money, in bank notes,⁶¹ became as plentiful "as strawberries in June"⁶² and everybody continued to seem prosperous. Banks were chartered at all the principal centers of settlement and increased in number rapidly after the general banking law of 1837.⁶³ Under this law, which among other things provided "that whenever any person or persons, resident of this State, shall be desirous of establishing a bank, such person or persons shall be at liberty to meet without interruption, open books and subscribe to the capital stock of such bank," much unscrupulous swindling appears to have taken place. Many banks, whose promoters had little or no intention of redeeming their notes, were set up at points difficult to reach or to find; capital was often not paid in; notes were issued in

⁵⁷ Donaldson, *Public domain*, 215, 216; R. Adams, "Agriculture in Michigan," in Michigan Political Science Association, *Publications*, 3: 173.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 4: 174.

⁶⁰ For example, the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, April 9, 1834; the *Detroit Journal and Courier*, September 12, 1835.

⁶¹ See description of the "financial zoology" of the time — wild cat, red dog, etc. — in *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 1: 190; and *History of Hillsdale county* (Philadelphia, 1880), 41.

⁶² See Harriet Martineau's experience, June, 1836, in *Society in America*, 1: 327.

⁶³ *Session laws*, 1838, p. 24.

gross excess; security was frequently poor, or not furnished; and the bank inspectors were imposed upon by all sorts of trickery.⁶⁴

The crisis was precipitated in the East by the issue of Jackson's specie circular on July 11, 1836. The effect was not long in reaching Michigan. The *Detroit Daily Advertiser* of October 15 observes that "the banks of Detroit do not discount the best paper which is offered. This has been the case for several months past." Public officers were authorized by the circular to receive only coin; bank notes therefore would not buy government land. But the real crisis came when Michigan banks, in 1837, began to suspend specie payments⁶⁵ and rapidly to fail. Bank notes became so valueless that in grim humor some investors who but a little while before were supposedly rich used them for wall paper.⁶⁶ Land became a drug on the market and panic prices prevailed.⁶⁷ The laboring and farming classes appear to have been the heaviest losers, not having the means to keep abreast of news regarding the condition of the banks.⁶⁸ But the crisis was not an unmixed evil for settlement. The immense speculations and immigrations of the period stimulated by easy money had brought great numbers of settlers before the crash came who still remained to aid the new state to recover from disaster and help build a prosperous commonwealth.

Even more striking than land sales, as illustrating the rate of settlement in Michigan, are the very rapid changes that were made in the means of transportation, both from the East to Michigan and from the lake shores to the interior. A period within a dozen years witnessed a transformation from the birch-bark canoe to steam navigation on the great lakes, and from the Indian trail to the railroad.⁶⁹ While such changes were partly

⁶⁴ *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 38: 160. See also *ibid.*, 32: 254; *Magazine of Western History*, 3: 202; Cooley, *Michigan*, 268-269; Ross and Catlin, *Landmarks of Detroit*, 439.

⁶⁵ H. M. Utley and B. M. Cutcheon, *Michigan as province, territory and state* (New York, 1906), 3: 88.

⁶⁶ According to tradition, Louis Campau of Grand Rapids papered the cupola of his house with them saying: "If you won't circulate, you shall stay still." *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 30: 294. See also *ibid.*, 22: 547.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 38: 368-369; *History of Hillsdale county*, 42.

⁶⁸ *Michigan as province, territory and state*, 3: 105; Cooley, *Michigan*, 272-273.

⁶⁹ *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 9: 165.

a cause of settlement they were largely the result of the demands of settlement, actual as well as prospective.⁷⁰

The navigation of the great lakes by steam marks a new era in the settlement of Michigan. Significant was it that the first steamboat from Buffalo arrived at Detroit in 1818, the year of the opening of public land sales there. According to the *Detroit Gazette* for June 2 and 23, 1820, the usual time from Buffalo to Detroit was two and a half days and the fare fifteen dollars. The fare from Detroit to Mackinac was twenty dollars. The trip could be made from Boston to Detroit in fifteen days. The *Gazette* of May 8, 1818, states the cost of transporting goods from Albany to Detroit as four dollars and a half per hundred weight. In 1825-1826 there came a sudden impulse, apparently due to the opening of the Erie canal, when the number of steamers on lake Erie increased from one to six.⁷¹ In 1836 ninety steamers are said to have arrived at Detroit in May bearing settlers to Michigan and the West.⁷²

The growth of steamboat travel may be measured by the number of passengers. The first trip of *Walk-in-the-Water* in 1818 brought to Detroit twenty-nine passengers. The *Superior*, which took her place after she was wrecked in 1821, brought ninety-four passengers in 1822.⁷³ In 1830, from April 1 to May 12, twenty-four hundred intending settlers were landed at Detroit.⁷⁴ In the following year in one week, in May, steamboat

⁷⁰ There is a good general survey of the early improvements of transportation in Michigan in R. Adams, "Agriculture in Michigan," in Michigan Political Science Association, *Publications*, 3: 177-183. The *Detroit Gazette* of April 9, 1824, laments the small interest in road building, affirming that roads are improved only where absolutely necessary and there only enough to make them barely passable. For use of the canoe on Michigan waters see *Magazine of Western History*, 11: 389, 390; *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 3: 125. See J. L. Ringwalt, *Development of transportation systems in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1888), 5-15 for the early systems of water transportation. For the French Canadian pony cart and ox team see *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 1: 383-384; 22: 487; *Magazine of Western History*, 6: 391.

⁷¹ Farmer, *History of Detroit*, 1: 909. Another account gives three for 1827. *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 35: 273. There is a good treatment of navigation on lake Erie before 1829 in *ibid.*, 4: 79.

⁷² Farmer, *History of Detroit*, 1: 909.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Detroit Journal*, May 12, 1830, quoted in Michigan Political Science Association, *Publications*, 4: 521.

arrivals numbered about two thousand.⁷⁵ In 1834 in one day, October 7, there arrived at the same port nine hundred passengers.⁷⁶

The growing importance of the region of the great lakes is reflected in tourist's guidebooks. It was about 1830, apparently, when the trip on the great lakes began to be considered worth while by tourists, but not until about 1837 do we find it very heartily recommended.⁷⁷ Lake navigation was considerably hampered by the necessity of closing down for some four or five months in the winter.⁷⁸ Usually, boats began to arrive at Detroit from Buffalo the last of April or the first of May,⁷⁹ and continued to arrive until late in November.

The settlement of the western part of Michigan was much aided by the comparative ease of transportation afforded by lakes Huron and Michigan, especially for household goods and heavy merchandise. Goods were landed at the river mouths and thence transported in canoes, pole boats, or small steamers up the rivers. *Walk-in-the-Water*, in 1819, took freight and passengers to Mackinac,⁸⁰ a trip that was widely anticipated with much curiosity. The *Detroit Gazette* of May 14, 1819, quotes from a New York paper: "The swift steamboat Walk-in-the-Water is intended to make a voyage, early in the summer, from Buffalo, on Lake Erie, to Michilimackinac on Lake Huron, for the conveyance of company. The trip has so near a resemblance to the famous Argonautic expedition in the heroic ages of Greece, that expectation is quite alive on the subject. Many of our most distinguished citizens are said to have already engaged their passage for this splendid adventure." There was subsequently a considerable commerce by steam on the upper lakes.⁸¹ According to an editorial in the *Detroit Journal and Courier* of July 1, 1835, "a trip on the upper lakes at this season

⁷⁵ *Detroit Free Press*, May 19, 1831, quoted in Farmer, *History of Detroit*, 1: 335.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ E. Channing and M. T. Lansing, *Story of the great lakes* (New York, 1909), 268.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 268, 271; *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, December 20, 1836.

⁷⁹ *Detroit Gazette*, May 12, 1820; May 18, 1821; April 4, 1823; April 2, 1824.

⁸⁰ Campbell, *Political history of Michigan*, 400.

⁸¹ *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 21: 336. For boats on lake Michigan see the *Detroit Gazette* of August 29, 1817, which announces the intended departure of the schooner *Hercules* for Mackinac and Chicago. The same paper for

has become quite fashionable. The establishment of a regular line of first rate Steam Boats between Buffalo and Chicago affords a fine opportunity for travellers to visit the rich scenery so beautifully described by Cass, Schoolcraft and others.”⁸²

The opening of the Erie canal, completing an all-water route between Michigan and the Atlantic ocean, gave to lake navigation and to western settlement a new impulse. This canal was begun about the time that *Walk-in-the-Water* arrived at Detroit, and opened to traffic seven years later.⁸³ It is very probable that settlement was largely stimulated by anticipation of what this would mean.⁸⁴ The significance of it for the settlement of Michigan was that it changed the direction of western emigration from the Ohio valley to the line of the canal and the great lakes.⁸⁵ Michigan would therefore profit directly from the interception of many settlers who had originally intended to go farther west. Especially would this be favored by the national survey of the Chicago road about the same time. Transportation on the canal was comparatively cheap,⁸⁶ and great numbers of New England and New York pioneers who came to Michigan after 1825 speak of having used the canal boat to Buffalo.

The favorite route overland from the east to lake Erie was May 18, 1821, says that fourteen schooners recently left Detroit laden with merchandise and produce for Michillimackinac and ports on lake Michigan. The *Northwestern Journal*, December 2, 1829, records a trip by the schooner *Detroit* from Chicago to Detroit in twenty-three days. The first mention of a steamboat trip on lake Michigan was one to Green Bay in 1830, mentioned in the *Northwestern Journal* for July 14, 1830. See also *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 12: 317; 30: 573 *et seq.*; Collin, *History of Branch county*, 34; Turner, “The colonization of the West,” in *American Historical Review*, 11: 312.

⁸² Harriet Martineau, however, made the trip from Chicago to Buffalo in June, 1836, in the sailing vessel, *Milwaukee*, which she says was the only sailing vessel available. *Society in America*, 2:2.

⁸³ Channing and Lansing, *Story of the great lakes*, 251-265. The *Detroit Gazette* for August 16, 1817, quoting from the *Albany Daily Advertiser*, notes that work is progressing on the Erie canal—“The Grand Western Canal.” Five hundred men are reported at work.

⁸⁴ T. E. Wing, *History of Monroe county, Michigan* (New York, 1890), 200.

⁸⁵ Collin, *History of Branch county*, 33. The effect of the greater capacity of the canal and lake transportation was such that the northern route had taken precedence over the southern by about 1832, as shown by the transportation of troops for the Black Hawk war. *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 38: 145.

⁸⁶ Turner “The colonization of the West,” in *American Historical Review*, 11: 312.

by way of the Mohawk and Genesee turnpike,⁸⁷ from the terminus of which the traveler might take his choice of routes along either the northern or southern shores of lake Erie. In both cases he would have to cross the many streams flowing into the lake from either side, and would be aided little by bridges.⁸⁸ Swamps, if not numerous, were not scarce. Little improvement seems to have been made in the Canadian route since Sir William Johnson required in 1761 thirty-nine full days to move a small body of troops in the most favorable season from Niagara to Detroit.⁸⁹ General Hull, approaching from the other direction in 1812, moved his troops but an average of four miles a day from the rapids of the Maumee to Detroit.⁹⁰

In the improvement of Michigan rivers and in attempts to build canals, not very much was done before 1837, but in the years immediately following a very great number of such improvements were undertaken by the territorial and state governments of Michigan. That such elaborate attention should be given to canal and river navigation can be understood best in the light of the success of the Erie canal and of the difficulties attending land transportation before the day of the railroad.⁹¹

The first improvements of roads in Michigan were made by the national government for military purposes. The earliest of these, naturally, were made where the need seemed greatest. The war of 1812 had taught the strategic importance of connect-

⁸⁷ Turner, "The colonization of the West," in *American Historical Review*, 11: 311. In *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 38: 591-592, is given a good brief discussion of early routes from the east to the central west. See also *ibid.*, 38: 142.

⁸⁸ *Magazine of Western History*, 2: 578-580.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 579. Compare a trip made by lumber wagon in 1835. F. Ellis, *History of Livingston county* (Philadelphia, 1880), 138.

⁹⁰ *Magazine of Western History*, 2: 580.

⁹¹ The completion of the Erie canal set other states to making canals often when there was little chance of successful operation. (Ringwalt, *Early transportation*, 45, 46.) The *Detroit Gazette* of February 4, 1835, gives an account of a public meeting in Detroit to consider the project of a canal "from Cranberry Marsh or some other eligible point." The same paper for June 12, 1827, gives a long report of a town meeting held at Dexter, in Washtenaw county, to consider the prospect for a canal from Detroit to lake Michigan. The attention of congress was called to that project in 1830 by Hon. John Biddle, according to the *Northwestern Journal* of February 10, 1830. See Governor Mason's message in *Michigan house journal*, 1837, p. 12, for routes recommended for canals in Michigan; for the Saginaw canal, *Michigan house documents*, 1837, no. 9, p. 17; for the Clinton and Kalamazoo canal, *ibid.*, (G), 68.

ing Detroit with the Ohio valley. The first road established therefore in 1818 extended from Detroit through Monroe to the rapids of the Miami. The first line of stages began to run over this road shortly after the Erie canal was opened.⁹² By 1830 there was a continuous road though of very primitive character, along the entire water front south of lake Huron.⁹³

The earliest road inland was that built over the Saginaw trail to connect Detroit with a point favorable for a military post among the Indians near the head of Saginaw bay. A road over this route was contemplated by Cass as early as 1815.⁹⁴ A stage line seems to have begun regular trips over it from Pontiac to Detroit in 1826.⁹⁵

The most important of the inland routes in this period was the Chicago road, which grew out of the military need of connecting the forts at Detroit and Chicago. This road in its service to settlement was practically an extension of the Erie canal and was to become a great axis of settlement in southern Michigan.⁹⁶

⁹² Wing, *History of Monroe county*, 137. See Cass's letter to the war department in *American state papers: miscellaneous*, 2: 596; also the *Detroit Gazette* of January 30, 1818, urging a national road between Detroit and Sandusky. The condition of travel on that route in 1818 is described by Estwick Evans, from personal observation, in Thwaites, *Early western travels*, 8: 209. The position of the first road is shown on the Risdon map of 1825 as running from one to three miles from the shore. Apparently its improvement was very slow. Monroe citizens complained in 1822 that it was almost impassable for wagons even in good weather on account of logs, stumps, and deep holes, in fall and spring almost impassable on horseback. (*Detroit Gazette*, April 19, 1822. See Cass's description of its condition in 1826; *ibid.*, January 31, 1826.) The stage line started that year appears to have been soon obliged to discontinue. (*Ibid.*, August 15, 1826.) It had carried passengers from Detroit to Ohio since February apparently at the rate of four cents a mile. (*Ibid.*, February 7, 1826.) Another stage line, carrying passengers at six and a fourth cents a mile, between Detroit and Monroe, seems to have begun immediately on the failure of the old one. *Ibid.*, August 22, 1826.

⁹³ *Northwestern Journal*, January 6, 1830. Three stages a week appear to have been running between Detroit and Mt. Clemens by 1834. *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, March 26.

⁹⁴ Farmer, *History of Detroit*, 1: 925.

⁹⁵ *Michigan Herald*, April 5, 1826. A number of stage lines were started that year, apparently indicating the impulse to immigration given by the Erie canal. See the *Detroit Gazette* of that year for February 7, April 4, and May 23.

⁹⁶ Collin, *History of Branch county*, 25, 42. For the services of Lewis Cass and Father Gabriel Richard in behalf of this improvement see *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 1: 37; 6: 238; 21: 440; *Statutes at large*, 4: 135; editorial comment in the *Detroit Gazette* of May 14, 1824.

The route chosen was marked out by the old trail which the Indians had beaten hard in their annual visits from the west to receive British presents at Malden.⁹⁷ The road ran from Detroit in almost a direct line to Ypsilanti, entering Lenawee county and bending there nearly due west; thence entering Hillsdale county it passed through it and Branch county in a southwesterly direction to St. Joseph county, and threading the southern part of St. Joseph and Cass counties left the territory through the southwestern corner of Berrien.⁹⁸ The stage companies improved the roads enough to get their coaches through, but it was not until after the Black Hawk war that serious work was done on it by the government as far west as Cass county.⁹⁹ Harriet Martineau says of the road between Detroit and Ypsilanti in 1836: "Juggernaut's car would have been 'broke to bits' on such a road"; beyond Jonesville in Hillsdale county it was "more deplorable than ever."¹⁰⁰ Occasionally all had to dismount and walk, and then "such hopping and jumping; such slipping and sliding; such looks of despair from the middle of a pond; such shifting of logs, and carrying of planks, and handing along the fallen trunks of trees!" A writer in the *Detroit Daily Advertiser* of December 24, 1836, says of the Detroit end of the road: "The road from this to Ypsilanti looks at certain times as if it had been the route of a retreating army, so great is the number of wrecks of different kinds which it exhibits."

The territorial government authorized several roads in this period, the most important of which was the "territorial road," a name apparently given to distinguish it from the national turnpike. This was also early known as the St. Joseph's road, from the Indian trail through the Kalamazoo valley whose line it

⁹⁷ *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 8: 195; Collin, *History of Branch county*, 35.

⁹⁸ *Michigan Herald*, June 14, 1825; *Detroit Gazette*, December 13, 1825; Risdon's map of Michigan (1825); Farmer's map of Michigan (1835). For the condition of the road at different times see *Northwestern Journal*, January 6, May 20, 1830; *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, March 30, 1831, October 26, 1831; *Detroit Free Press*, November 3, 1831; *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 1: 48; 2: 389. See also items and advertisements in the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser* for March 30, May 11, and June 1, 1831. The rate of passenger transportation appears to have been four cents a mile.

⁹⁹ Glover, *History of Cass county*, 166.

¹⁰⁰ *Society in America*, 1: 318, 322, 325, 326.

followed approximately.¹⁰¹ It was authorized in 1829.¹⁰² Its supposed importance for settlement is indicated in a report to Governor Cass made by the commissioners who laid out its course in 1830: "To show that this must be the most important road in the Territory it is only necessary to state its course is direct from Detroit to the mouth of the St. Joseph, and the distance thirty miles less than by the Chicago road — that it passes near the center of the peninsula, through a rich tract of country, and no less than seven county centers, while the Chicago road takes a more circuitous route near the Indiana line, studiously avoiding county centers."¹⁰³ A stage line appears to have been established in 1834, to connect with steamboats about to begin running from St. Joseph to Chicago; it was proposed to make the entire distance from Detroit to Chicago in five days.¹⁰⁴ The condition of the road at the close of this period was apparently not as good as that of the Chicago road, and apparently not as much traveled. Harriet Martineau, who passed along the Chicago road in going west from Detroit in June, 1836, intended to take the "upper road" returning, but received news at Chicago that it had been made impassable by the rains. She returned by the lakes, the rest of the party by the Chicago road.¹⁰⁵

The agitation in Michigan for railroads began surprisingly early, and a number were chartered by the territorial government, a significant comment on the rate of settlement and the enterprise of the settlers. Stephenson's *Rocket* was still in the experimental stage in England,¹⁰⁶ and only a few miles of railroad had been built in the most enterprising sections of the eastern states. Articles on these railroads began to appear in the

¹⁰¹ See Risdon's map (1825).

¹⁰² *Territorial laws*, 2: 744.

¹⁰³ The *Northwestern Journal*, April 21, 1830. See also a description of the advantages along its route in the same paper for May 5, 1830. These notices undoubtedly helped to attract attention to the settlement of the Kalamazoo valley.

¹⁰⁴ *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, June 4, 1834.

¹⁰⁵ *Society in America*, 2: 2. Mr. Lew Allen Chase has made a judicious selection of material to illustrate the larger features of the roads, travel, and traffic in Michigan during the territorial period in *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 38: 593. See *Session laws*, 1835-1836, pp. 90-102, for some sixty roads authorized by the legislature.

¹⁰⁶ *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 1: 132.

Detroit papers in 1830, and charters were from that time sought from the territorial government, doubtless in some instances by speculators for the purpose of encouraging the sale of lands along a proposed route or at a proposed terminal. The charter of 1830 to the Pontiac and Detroit railway company is the oldest in the Northwest territory.¹⁰⁷ "We advise those capitalists," says the *Detroit Courier* of August 7, 1833, "who have been so grievously disappointed in consequence of not obtaining stock in the Utica and Schenectady railroad to bring hither their funds and forthwith take preliminary steps to invest the same in a railroad from Detroit to Chicago." An editorial in the same paper for October 30 comments on the rapidly increasing travel between Detroit and Ypsilanti and the bad condition of the wagon road as cogent reasons for a railway between those points.

But before much had been done on that line, enterprising men of Adrian and Port Lawrence (Toledo), began active preparation for rail connections between lake Erie and the navigable waters of the Kalamazoo river. Immigration through Port Lawrence was increasing, and the idea of directing its course through Lenawee county as well as reducing the price of imports and giving an easier outlet for farm products, formed a powerful incentive to action. So bad was the road then existing between these points, it was said, that wagons would often plow to the box in the mud, from which the oxen could scarcely extricate them.¹⁰⁸ The first cars over this first railroad in Michigan were operated in 1836, by horse power, but the effect on the price of commodities was immediate. For example, Syracuse salt fell from fifteen dollars to nine dollars per barrel, and other heavy supplies in proportion.¹⁰⁹

In 1834 was surveyed the line of the Detroit and St. Joseph railroad, approximately along the line of the territorial road.¹¹⁰ Undoubtedly the success of the Erie and Kalamazoo railroad from Adrian to Toledo, giving the interior an outlet in that di-

¹⁰⁷ Farmer, *History of Detroit*, 1: 893; *Territorial laws*, 3: 844.

¹⁰⁸ *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 38: 493, 499.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 492. The financial stress following 1837 hopelessly bankrupted the road, and in 1848 it was leased in perpetuity to the Michigan Southern railroad company.

¹¹⁰ *Michigan house documents*, 1837, no. 9, p. 2; and no. 9 (B), 29, 31. See description of the route in the *Detroit Journal and Courier*, July 8, 1835. This was the beginning of the later Michigan Central railroad.

rection and appearing to endanger the commercial interests of Detroit, did much to hasten the work on the St. Joseph road.¹¹¹ When it was taken over by the state in 1837 nearly one hundred and seventeen thousand dollars had been expended on it, for which there had been done thirteen miles of grading and most of the clearing and grubbing between Detroit and Ypsilanti.¹¹² Contemporary appreciation of the importance of this road is shown by its completion to Ypsilanti in 1836.¹¹³

To be sure, these first roads in Michigan were very primitive affairs, strap-railed and operated by horse power. The first locomotive, that used in 1837 on the Erie and Kalamazoo road between Adrian and Toledo, was comparatively a toy.¹¹⁴ The train on this line appears to have been fairly typical. The first passenger coach was called the "Pleasure Car," described as top heavy and always jumping the track. Passenger trains consisted of an engine and one coach which carried about twenty persons. The seats were benches along the sides of the coach and the door was on the side. There were no steps, the coaches being low and accessible from the ground. Later, double-decker coaches were introduced, the upper deck, for women, being furnished with sheepskin covered seats, while the lower deck, for the men, had only wooden seats. These cars would carry thirty-two passengers, sixteen on each deck. The first engines were about twenty horse power and six cars made a good sized freight train. The freight cars held only about two tons. The first train crews consisted of a fireman and an engineer. The fuel

¹¹¹ See editorials in the *Detroit Daily Advertiser* of July 26, August 12, and November 28, 1836.

¹¹² *Michigan house documents*, 1837, no. 9, p. 9. See for the projected system of internal improvements, *Session laws*, 1837, pp. 130-133; *House journal*, 1837, pp. 11-14, 114; *House documents*, 1837, no. 9, p. 1. For an expression of the popular sentiment see constitutional sanction in *Michigan legislative manual*, 1837, p. 45, art. 13, sec. 3.

¹¹³ For an account of the festivities celebrating the arrival of the first train at Ypsilanti, see *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 35: 394. A copy of the invitation issued by the commission of internal improvements to Mr. Ball to "take a seat in the cars" on this first trip is contained in *ibid.*, 38: 101. For the Southern railroad from Monroe westward on the line of the later Michigan Southern railroad, see *Michigan house documents*, 1837, no. 9, pp. 4-7; for the Northern railroad, on the later Detroit, Grand Haven, and Milwaukee road, see *ibid.*, 13-16.

¹¹⁴ *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 1: 232, 236; Farmer, *History of Detroit*, 1: 893.

was wood taken from the forests en route. Water for the engine was procured from the ditches.¹¹⁵

A word may be said about the government of the territory as an influence on settlement. Not much can be said of it as an asset in this relation. The opportunity for abuses, practically with immunity, were abundant, the powers of the government being ill-defined and the officials distant from Washington, with only themselves to report their conduct. Legislative, executive, and judicial powers were vested practically in the same persons, a small junto of four composed of the governor and three judges. Rarely were they in agreement; many are the accounts of their frequent and bitter broils. Many were the protests from the people.¹¹⁶ It is said that the citizens of Detroit were so disgusted with this misrule that they refused to vote for councilmen after the first election in 1806. Frequently they expressed their indignation through grand juries.¹¹⁷ In 1809 by this means they petitioned congress for a change in the form of government, asking for an elective legislature and a delegate to congress; but that body was busily engaged with the foreign affairs preceding the war of 1812, and not until the close of that conflict was a larger share in local government secured.¹¹⁸

The movement for a change in the form of the territorial government was strongly advocated in the *Detroit Gazette* with the purpose of "encouraging immigration, inducing settlement and developing the resources of the Territory." The increased expense would be an investment sure of rich returns, argues "Cincinnatus," in that paper for November 21, 1817, advocating change to a form "more congenial to the principles and feeling of the American people." "The government of this Territory, in its formation, is despotic — as it exists at present, it is anarchy," declares another writer.¹¹⁹ Governor Cass, thoroughly

¹¹⁵ Descriptions adapted from *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 38: 495-496. See *Michigan house documents*, 1837, no. 9 (A), 14-15, for a description of the process of building one of these primitive roads. A picture of the first train over the road from Detroit to Dearborn is given in *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 4: 516, and of the Erie and Kalamazoo train in *ibid.*, 38: opposite p. 494.

¹¹⁶ Ross and Catlin, *Landmarks of Detroit*, 283.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 288, 290-291.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 289.

¹¹⁹ October 28. See also the *Detroit Gazette* of 1817 for October 10, November 28, December 5, 12, 26, and January 2, 1818, for a series of articles on the misrule of the

democratic, desired complete popular rule, to be consummated for the territory as rapidly as the will of the people should permit.¹²⁰ But the French, suffering from the ravages of war, hated nothing so much as taxes, and had not the feeling for popular government characteristic of the "Yankee" immigrants. It was apparently the strength of their vote in 1818 that defeated the attempt to effect a change to the second grade of territorial government.¹²¹

The territory first elected a delegate to congress in 1819, when it was provided that all white males who had resided in Michigan one year prior to the date of election and who paid a territorial or county tax might vote at the election.¹²² The second important change was in 1823, when the legislative council was established, in the election of whose members the people were given a partial voice.¹²³ The complaints against the territorial officials published in the *Detroit Gazette* preceding this change make an almost continuous series of articles and editorials.¹²⁴ In fact they are continuous from its founding in 1817. These writings quoted in the eastern papers were detrimental to the immigration of those at least who were particular about living under good government. The *New York Commercial Advertiser*, quoted in the *Detroit Gazette* of December 27, 1822, declares that "Michigan is the worst governed State or Territory in the Union if half is true that has been published in the last three or four years and never contradicted."¹²⁵ In 1827 congress provided

governor and judges, signed "Rousseau." A writer in the issue of December 19, 1817, regrets the influence such writings must have on immigration. In the issue for January 13, 1818, a strong editorial sets forth the advantages of the second grade of territorial government.

¹²⁰ *Journal of the legislative council*, 1824, p. 8; *ibid.*, 1826, pp. 5-6.

¹²¹ *Detroit Gazette*, October 2, 1818; Campbell, *Political history of Michigan*, 391; Smith, *Life and times of Lewis Cass*, 113.

¹²² *Statutes at large*, 3: 482; *Detroit Gazette*, May 28, 1819.

¹²³ *Statutes at large*, 3: 769.

¹²⁴ The editorials first became trenchant in 1820. See a criticism of the editorial silence on abuses in the *Gazette* for August 11, 1820, followed August 25 by an editorial demand for an account, by the treasurer of the territory, of the expenditure of public money for the last five years.

¹²⁵ Judge Woodward was the center of the attack on the judges; see the severe and specific arraignment in the *Gazette* for November 1 and 8, 1822; but he published his defense in eastern papers, which led the *Gazette* to say that he appeared more desirous of being thought clean at Washington than in Michigan.

for the complete popular election of the legislative council, which was subject, however, to a check by the governor's veto and to congressional approval.¹²⁶ The territorial government thus inaugurated continued until the election of state officers in 1836.

The agitation for a change to state government began actively about 1831. An editorial in the *Detroit Gazette* for October 8, 1824, had prophesied that in view of the present progress of settlement, Michigan would be eligible for statehood in 1826. But progress was not quite so rapid. The *Detroit Free Press* of September 8, 1831, forecast a sufficient population "in a year or so." In 1832 a vote taken on the issue was favorable, though small, but congress declined to consider it.¹²⁷ As in 1818 and 1823 the French Canadians' fear of increase in taxes again furnished the strength of the negative vote.¹²⁸ The small size of the favorable majority indicated probably less a lack of interest on the part of eastern settlers than the distraction of attention from it by the cholera epidemic and the rumors of Indian uprisings. Regarding the franchise, it is worthy of note that for this occasion it was extended beyond the qualified electors to all males of age, excepting Indians and Negroes.¹²⁹

Increasing numbers in 1833-1834 again revived the agitation for statehood, and symptoms appeared of the attitude Michigan was to take in the later conflict over admission. "Even if congress omits to act in the case," says the editor of the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, October 29, 1834, "and appear to decline admitting her into the Union as a boon, we shall probably soon have proof that she may demand it as a right."¹³⁰ A census taken in 1834 revealed a population of 87,278.¹³¹ In 1835 a state constitution was adopted, a complete state government

¹²⁶ *Statutes at large*, 4: 200. The *Detroit Gazette* of June 18, 1824, contains very favorable comment on the recent work of the legislative council, publishing from this time forth the proceedings and laws of the council and the speeches of the governor.

¹²⁷ *Detroit Free Press*, October 18, 1832; *Detroit Courier*, March 13, 1833; Ross and Catlin, *Landmarks of Detroit*, 376.

¹²⁸ *Detroit Free Press*, October 11, 1832; *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 22: 484; 28: 171.

¹²⁹ Campbell, *Political history of Michigan*, 435.

¹³⁰ See other editorial discussions in the same paper for November 5, 12, 19, 26, December 4, etc., 1834, and frequently from then forward.

¹³¹ Blois, *Gazetteer of Michigan*, 150.

was elected, and Michigan claimed under the ordinance of 1787 to be a state, awaiting only congressional action on its right to admission into the union. The popular sentiment in favor of state government is reflected in the vote of six to one for the adoption of the new constitution in 1835, and as settlement increased in 1835-1836 mainly from New York and New England, the sentiment for statehood brought from the older states grew stronger in Michigan. For over a year, however, Michigan continued to be technically a territory, at least not a state in the union, though its people lived under the new constitution.¹³² The constitution adopted may fairly be taken to express the general feeling of the people regarding popular rights. Among other things, it required that a voter must be a white male, above twenty-one years of age, a citizen or resident in Michigan at the time of the adoption of the constitution, and a resident of the state six months preceding the election.¹³³ The franchise was extended to all aliens then in Michigan, but a residence of five years was required of new comers.¹³⁴ Alpheus White, a native of Ireland, appears to have been largely instrumental in getting an extension of the suffrage to aliens then residing in the territory.¹³⁵

Settlers coming from the East to Michigan must have recognized in the laws of the territory much with which they were familiar, since by reason of their origin the laws reflected on the whole the spirit of the East.¹³⁶ A writer who has made a special

¹³² There is a good brief analysis of the constitution of 1835 in Cooley's *Michigan*, 299-303; also in *Michigan as province, territory and state*, 3: 43-53. The issue of the admission of Michigan afforded an instructive expression of state rights in the West, taking some time to settle because of being compromised with the slavery question, the admission of Arkansas, and the boundary controversy with Ohio.

A good brief digest of the legislation of 1835-1837 bearing upon the settlement and development of Michigan is contained in *ibid.*, 69, 77-89. See also the two volumes of *Session laws*, 1835-1836, and 1837.

¹³³ *Michigan legislative manual*, 1837, p. 30.

¹³⁴ Michigan Political Science Association, *Publications*, 1: 130; a number of newspaper articles appeared in 1836 bearing on the right of foreign immigrants to vote. See the *Detroit Journal and Courier*, July 1, 1835.

¹³⁵ *Michigan biographies* (Lansing, 1888), 685.

¹³⁶ In some cases the intent of congress to restrict the legislation of the governor and judges to such as could be found on the statute books of the states was frustrated by an ingenious patchwork method of piecing together sentences and phrases from those laws. This was one of the abuses complained of.

study of this feature, finds that they were derived in about equal proportions from Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, and Virginia.¹³⁷ Punishment at the whipping post was derived from the laws of Vermont.¹³⁸ As late as 1832 a public whipping of fifteen lashes on the bare back appears to have been administered in the public square of Monroe village.¹³⁹ At the close of the period a movement for the abolition of imprisonment for debt had gained headway, of which the publication of Whittier's poem, "The prisoner for debt" in a Detroit paper is a reflection, and in 1837 a law was passed to that effect.¹⁴⁰

Of first rate importance to settlement were the provisions for county, township, and village government. The establishment of counties ran far ahead of settlement, it being the intention apparently to invite settlement and to avoid the difficulties that would attend the running of county lines after settlers should have located farms.¹⁴¹ In a rough way, the rate of county organization may be taken to indicate the rate of settlement.¹⁴² Popular participation in county government was granted by congress in 1825, when the qualified electors were authorized to choose all county officers except judges.¹⁴³

The democratic character of local government was no small inducement to settlers, especially to the freedom-loving foreigner who came hither to enjoy what he could not obtain in the

¹³⁷ E. W. Bemis, *Local government in Michigan and the Northwest* (Johns Hopkins University studies, 1st ser., 5 — Baltimore, 1883), 10. At the close of most of the territorial laws is a statement of the source from which they are derived, usually naming merely the state.

¹³⁸ Mathews, *Expansion of New England*, 223.

¹³⁹ Wing, *History of Monroe county*, 140; punishment by whipping was abolished in the territory by statute in 1831. *Territorial laws*, 3: 904.

¹⁴⁰ *Session laws*, 1837, p. 299. However, Chief Justice Fletcher, in the work known from its compiler as "Fletcher's Code," embodied the old law, and the new one was reenacted in 1839. *Session laws*, 1839, p. 76.

¹⁴¹ *Territorial laws*, 2: 798-800; *Detroit Gazette*, editorial of September 13, 1822.

¹⁴² A very good brief study of the expansion of Michigan based on county organization has been made by Mr. Mark W. Jefferson in *Report of the Michigan Academy of Science*, 1902, pp. 88-91. See plates in Farmer's *History of Detroit*, 1: 119, 120. For the establishment of the first counties and their unequal areas, see W. L. Jenks, in *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 38: 447; also *Territorial laws*, 1: 121, 122, 323, 325, 327, 328; 2: 295.

¹⁴³ *Statutes at large*, 4: 80; for legislation affecting the establishment of county seats, see *Territorial laws*, 3: 840; *Session laws*, 1835-1836, p. 81; *ibid.*, 1837, pp. 268, 287.

fatherland. In 1825 congress gave to the governor and council of the territory the power to divide the counties into townships,¹⁴⁴ and in the year 1827 this power was extensively used.¹⁴⁵ Township government sometimes preceded county government by a number of years, as in Grand Blanc township in Genesee county,¹⁴⁶ and Allegan township in Allegan county.¹⁴⁷ The Michigan town meeting combined with the powers of the New England town meeting the organization of the New York county board.¹⁴⁸

The successive variations in the areas of the political townships has naturally much significance as an indication of settlement. The earliest of these townships were sometimes of great extent. Some of them included several counties, as the township of Greene, humorously famous among pioneers¹⁴⁹ for its size. Frequently the first political township in a county was coterminous with the county, and this large township would be later subdivided along the lines of the government townships into political townships of varying areas.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁴ Lanman, *History of Michigan*, 228.

¹⁴⁵ *Territorial laws*, 2: 477. See comments of the *Detroit Gazette* of March 6, 1827, on the proceedings of the legislative council regarding township government. Their opinion of the importance of the subject is attested by the time given to it, greater than to any other measure since the organization of the council. *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 3: 434.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 3: 434.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 17: 558.

¹⁴⁸ Mathews, *Expansion of New England*, 236, quoting E. W. Bemis, *Local government in Michigan and the Northwest*, 14-17; cf. *Territorial laws*, 2: 317, 640. See the discussion in the *Detroit Gazette*, February 27, 1827, for contemporary opinion as to the respective merits of the New England and New York plans of township government. The *Michigan Herald* of January 17, 1827, states that a majority of citizens prefer the New York system of township government because cheaper and more convenient; the same paper for February 28, 1827, contains an article against the New York plan.

¹⁴⁹ *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 10: 63; *Territorial laws*, 2: 787. For the very extensive townships in northern counties see *ibid.*, 2: 480-481.

¹⁵⁰ As a small political area organized on petition of the people for township government, the township indexes population on a smaller scale than does the county; hence it is supplementary as a measure of settlement within the counties. The name, date, position, size, and boundaries of a township may tell much. The date and position of the first townships that were organized in a county are quite certain evidence of where the bulk of the population was distributed, and the relative rate of township organization is fairly dependable as a means of contrasting the larger features of settlement within the counties. The names and boundaries of townships may often give a clue to the motives of settlement and to the sources of the popula-

In the educational and cultural advantages offered by Michigan territory there was not much to invite settlers.¹⁵¹ The importance of this element as an inducement to settlers, however, should be duly appreciated. Many of the leading pioneers had been educated in eastern schools and colleges, and the universal respect for education is shown by the social status of the teacher, which was equal to that of the minister, lawyer, or physician. The influence of the devoted pioneer priests and preachers, like Father Gabriel Richard, John Monteith, and John D. Pierce, in elevating the general tone of social life must have been considerable.¹⁵² It was probably a general sentiment among intending emigrants that was reflected in an editorial of the *Northwestern Journal* of January 13, 1830, commenting on the "multiplication of schools, of places of worship, of religious teachers, and the improvement of the moral habits of the people"; to the effect that "there are very many by whom a satisfactory answer to the questions 'can we educate our children there, and enjoy ourselves and secure to them the blessings of Sabbath instruction,' would be demanded before they would determine to emigrate."

Though the foundations of Michigan's public school system, at least in practice, were laid after Michigan became a state, something was done by legislation in the earlier period. National land grants for schools provided a part of the financial basis both for primary and higher education.¹⁵³ Governor Cass had the thorough-going New England sense of the importance of educating the masses as a basis for citizenship and did his

tion. But caution must be used in basing judgments upon the relative areas of township. Relative size, area for area, is likely to be very misleading and should be compared with other evidence. Small townships naturally give the impression of density of population and the larger ones the impression of sparseness. A township diagram of any county for any census will invariably give evidence that relativity of area is not of itself a safe guide to relative density of population. Townships have varied in size for sundry reasons — physiographic, ethnic, economic, and social — and various other conditions have influenced feeling about who should be included in the townships.

¹⁵¹ *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 7: 36-51.

¹⁵² J. D. Hoyt and R. C. Ford, *John D. Pierce, founder of the Michigan school system* (Ypsilanti, 1905), 40-41, 44-46.

¹⁵³ A. C. McLaughlin, *History of higher education in Michigan* (Washington, 1891), 17, 18; *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 7: 19.

utmost to promote schools.¹⁵⁴ It is probable that his inspiration was back of the apparent awakening of interest in public education reflected in the legislation of 1827 providing for common schools in the townships.¹⁵⁵

However, the log school house built by the settlers, meagerly equipped, and probably frequently officered by school masters of the type of Ichabod Crane, remained throughout this period the sole public educational advantage within reach of the vast majority of children.¹⁵⁶ Academies appeared at Pontiac, Ann Arbor, and a few other centers of settlement.¹⁵⁷ The Ann Arbor Academy had a considerable reputation, drawing pupils from prominent families in Detroit.¹⁵⁸ Some slight beginnings that looked towards a university made their appearance.¹⁵⁹ Toward the end of the period there were formulated those plans of Isaac E. Crary and John D. Pierce which, appearing first in spirit in the state constitution of 1835, were brought to practical realization by the earliest state legislation,¹⁶⁰ and were to mean much for later settlement.

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¹⁵⁴ McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, 123, citing *Journal of the legislative council*, 1826, pp. 5-6.

¹⁵⁵ *Territorial laws*, 2: 472; see also *ibid.*, 3: 1012, 1377. A brief review of territorial school legislation in Michigan is given in *Michigan joint documents*, 1880, pp. 307-309; and of the organization of the territorial school system in Hoyt and Ford, *John D. Pierce*, 47-52.

¹⁵⁶ *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 1:429. See the sketch of a typical pioneer school of about this time at Ypsilanti, probably of the better type, "Annual report of the superintendent of public instruction, 1880," in *Michigan joint documents*, 1880, pp. 306-307. The visitation was made in 1839 by the editor of an eastern school paper, *The Common School Assistant*, in whose columns for September of that year his report appeared — good teachers, but poor ventilation, bad desks and seats, windows poor, ceilings low, and the settlers unwilling to have any change made.

¹⁵⁷ *Territorial laws*, 3: 849, 879, 881, 975, 992, 1069, 1120, 1205, 1379.

¹⁵⁸ *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 1: 400.

¹⁵⁹ *Territorial laws*, 1: 879, 2: 104; McLaughlin, *Higher education in Michigan*, 29-31; *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 7: 37; M. B. Hinsdale and I. N. Demmon, *History of the University of Michigan*, *passim*; *Michigan joint documents*, 1880, pp. 353-355, 358, 360-363.

¹⁶⁰ *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 1: 38; 5: 184-187; McLaughlin, *Higher education in Michigan*, 34-35; *Michigan legislative manual*, 1837, pp. 43, 44, art. 10, sec. 2, 3. Hoyt and Ford, *John D. Pierce*, 79-87; *Michigan joint documents*, 1880, pp. 309-313.

THE METHODS AND OPERATIONS OF THE SCIOTO GROUP OF SPECULATORS

[*Continued*]

The speculations of the Scioto group at home can be classified only roughly, and typical illustrations given. These will show how they acquired and speculated in claims of the United States against a solvent foreign firm, how they acquired claims against the United States from insolvent American firms, their methods of disposing of Scioto stock for assets in other enterprises made possible by their political influence, the part played by them in the campaign in favor of assumption, and the methods employed in Ohio and Maine land speculations.

The Amsterdam house of De la Lande and Fynze was established about 1783 with a capital stock of two hundred and sixty-five thousand *florins* of which the two partners subscribed only twenty-five thousand. Its purpose was to carry on trade with North America. Three years later Frederick William Geyer founded the London house of Geyer, De la Lande, and Fynze, capitalized at forty thousand pounds. Goods were shipped by this firm to William Foster and company of Boston, Shaler and Sabor of New York, and Duncan Ingraham of Philadelphia.⁵¹ But even before the establishment of the London firm a letter from the board of treasury, September 7, 1785, to congress inclosing one from De la Lande and Fynze showed the firm to be insolvent and indebted to the United States. A committee of Messrs. Kean, Pettit, and Vining reported that the board of treasury be advised to take measures to secure the debt.⁵² The means of securing a settlement, however, were not discovered for three years, when in 1788 one of the Scioto group learned *sub rosa* from Jan Willinks and the Staphorsts in Amsterdam that the insolvent firm had advanced three-fourths of the capital of the London house and had loaned to it United States securi-

⁵¹ Craigie papers, 1:21.

⁵² Papers of the continental congress, no. 19, 3:403.

ties. The information was passed on to Christopher Gore who memorialized congress on May 15 as attorney to Samuel Rogers of London, "proprietor of the residue of such estate as shall remain after paying the debts due to the British creditors."⁵³ The memorialist prayed "that a committee of the Honorable Congress, or the Board of Treasury may be authorized to enquire into the circumstances, and to take such order in the premises as the nature of the case may render advisable."⁵⁴ Whereupon a committee, consisting of Dane, Clarke, and Hamilton, reported the following resolution which was passed June 2, 1788: "Resolved that the Board of Treasury be and they are hereby authorized to negotiate and settle with De la Lande and Fynze or any other person appearing to negotiate and settle the same the claims and demands which the United States have against the said De la Lande and Fynze, and to compound and settle the same on such terms as they may Judge most for the Interest of the said States taking into consideration all the circumstances relative to the said Debt."⁵⁵

The claim was assigned to Christopher Gore.⁵⁶ Gore soon transferred the claim to the Scioto group and desired a letter each day as to the progress of events.⁵⁷ The transfer had to be approved by Joseph Hall, John Lowell, S. H. Parsons, and Harrison G. Otis, all doubtless creditors of De la Lande and Fynze or attorneys for them. Since the firm had conducted a business valued at one hundred thousand pounds, the Scioto group congratulated themselves in getting the claim from rival speculators.⁵⁸ A year and a half later Craigie secured a United States claim against the London house of Geyer, De la Lande, and Fynze with assets close to eighty-five thousand dollars, and seemingly obtained a settlement by levying on property in Baltimore.⁵⁹

In the case of the failure of John Holker and company of Philadelphia the Scioto associates took over their assets com-

⁵³ Papers of the continental congress, no. 41, 3:560.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 19, 3:405; *Journals of congress*, 4:819.

⁵⁶ Craigie papers, 2:49.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1:85.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:85; 2:68.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:73; Papers of the continental congress, no. 59, 4:216.

prising a claim against the United States and land claims, and Colonel Duer dealt directly with Holker's creditors, organizing for the purpose a special board⁶⁰ of trustees of the creditors on which Hamilton was named.⁶¹ The case has its interest because Holker seems to have acquired by exchange for claims against the United States some Scioto shares, and also a very firm conviction that one Scioto trustee (Craigie) had treated him harshly. The fact is clear that Holker was systematically deceived over the prospects of the success of the Scioto venture.⁶² When the unfortunate French emigrants arrived, Holker was told that the outlook was bright and that the turn of events ought to better his situation. Later, in reply to his question as to how much his Scioto shares were worth, Craigie replied with a magnificent burst of candor that they were worth just as much as his own. It is to be noted by those who have commiserated over much with the unfortunate Frenchmen that they eventually got something for their money; but there were native Americans who certainly got nothing at all.

The James Jarvis case and its ramifications offer a wide field for investigation and can only be outlined here to illustrate the methods of the group under consideration. Late in 1786 numerous proposals were made to the board of treasury with reference to furnishing copper and copper coins to the United States treasury. Among others came one from James Jarvis, associated with Parker in London under the name of Jarvis and Parker. He made the proposition that it was to the public's interest to purchase copper already coined rather than to buy copper and coin it. He offered to deliver three hundred tons of copper coin within three years and receive therefor "the obligation or obligations of the Continent, expressing the amount as loaned from the Subscribed [Jarvis] for the term of ten, fifteen or twenty years, at the rate of six p centum p annum interest — Two pounds and one quarter avordupois being computed at four shillings and six pence sterling, or at one Federal dollar. . . .

⁶⁰ Craigie papers, 1:14, 31 *et seq.* Cf. Papers of the continental congress, no. 59, 4:128, 131.

⁶¹ Craigie papers, 1:31. The trustees were William Seaton, John Murray, Alexander Hamilton, Jonathan Burrell, John Ross, and John Holker. Papers of the continental congress, no. 59, 4:221.

⁶² Craigie papers, 1:31, 50, 57.

As the Continent is in possession of a quantity of copper and no doubt would wish to enjoy the benefit of coining, if any; The Subscriber offers to receive the copper, and deliver for it to the Board of Treasury *coined copper*; and with the same Advantages to the Public, as if coined at their own mint: and which advantage should be ascertained at the commencement of the contract, by the Board of Treasury & the subscriber.”⁶³

Upon receiving various propositions submitted to it, the board favored that offered by Mr. Jarvis and so reported to congress.⁶⁴ A committee consisting of Messrs. King, Pierce, Clarke, and Pettit “carefully investigated the Subject” and reported in favor of “a Contract for the supply of Three hundred Tons of Copper Coin of the Federal Standard, on the general outlines of the proposition made by Mr. James Jarvis — Provided, That an augmentation can be obtained of the Premium, provided by that Gentleman, and that the monies arising from the Contract be sacredly appropriated towards the Reduction of the Domestic Debt.”⁶⁵

With minor modifications congress authorized the board of treasury to sign the contract; the delegates from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania (excepting Meredith and Armstrong) and Georgia (excepting Fen) voted for the measure; those from Delaware, Virginia, and North Carolina and including the above-named exceptions voted against it.⁶⁶ It was later estimated that, if carried out, Mr. Jarvis would have received seventy-five per cent profit on his investment;⁶⁷ the design of the coin proposed by the board of treasury contained on one side the highly appropriate legend: “Mind your Business,” as later used on the Franklin penny.⁶⁸

The true inwardness of the transaction has its interesting revelation. In November, 1790, Jarvis protested certain claims made by Duer on him; the copper contract and the transfer of

⁶³ Papers of the continental congress, 139:491.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 473 *et seq.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 26:639.

⁶⁶ *Journals of congress*, 4:739.

⁶⁷ Papers of the continental congress, 139:675.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 26:645. *New York Daily Advertiser*, November 12, 1787; *Columbian Magazine*, April, 1788, p. 200.

land company stock are of interest to us here. "It is with reluctance," Jarvis writes to Melanethon Smith and Andrew Craigie, "that anything is said by me on the subject of the copper contract; and if in doing it I impeach Mr. D. [*Duer*] in any respect, I have the consolation to know that my assertions are true & that he cannot presume to deny them: —

"Mr. D. saw my proposals, if *accepted*, would give me the power of great benefit; and therefore demanded a share in the business; & which I consented to, provided he would pledge himself to be at least dormant, & secret with respect to people out of doors — there were many reasons to instigate these conditions — I knew Mr. D. was engaged in a sort of a treaty with others; and tho' I did not want his assistance, I wished him not interested against me — from Mr. D's official situation, he must necessarily know all applications made to the Board of Treasury — Whether this was the interest of the United States, I shall not presume to determine!

"Mr. D. had ever said, that it was not proper for him to enter into written engagements, and that in all events he would confide in my honor, to pay him in the event of my contract, his proportion of advantage.

"It is but justice to Mr. D. to acknowledge, that in no stage of my application did he interfere, after the understanding between us, nor can he be chargeable with planning or arranging, in any respect, but in drafting the contract; which the Board of treasury order'd him to do at his own house, in conjunction with myself — for this purpose we met, when the first article he proposed was a *private one*, to engage to pay him for value rec.d ten thousand specie dollars and which he demanded as *sine qua non*.

"Mr. D. Will remember that at this proposal, I prepared to leave his house; declaring that rather than comply with his demand, I would resign all pretensions to the contract, and inform the board that some recent objections had arisen in my mind to engaging in the business & I assured him that no treatment of his, should tempt me to betray him to them.

"Finding me obstinate, he declared that he had no intention of demanding *any* thing of me, should the contract not succeed; but that as some person was concerned with him *who could not*

be mentioned, it was necessary to have some sort of evidence of the amount he was to receive; and that he would rather the sum should be *defined*, than *contingent*, and proposed the paper in existence, to which I agreed, on his *re-pledging* himself that it should only operate in case of success.

“The clause respecting information that might be given to the board of treasury was objected to at the time, because tho’ I should not succeed in Europe, within nine months from the 28th April 1787, yet I might eventually succeed; and therefore I ought not to be obliged to commit *felo de se* to my contract; or be bounden to pay the ten thousand Dollars before the event was known — Mr. D. again declared that he had no intention of demanding payment, but in case of success; and relying on his *honor* my signature was given.

“Permit me to sum up this head, by appealing to Mr. D. to know whether at any one time from the first moment of my arrival from Europe, he has signified to me any expectations in consequence of the engagement, or even mentioned it, — Mr. D. was to be interested in my contract; *instead of a share*, which would induce accounts and tedious investigations he requested an explicit sum, to be received in a successful issue to my contract.

“The contract has failed, and Mr. D. I am convinced does not think me bounden — to pay him ten pence — On my honor I declare his share, or explicit sum, was conditioned on the success of the contract.”⁶⁹

To this Mr. Duer replied November 20: “With respect to the copper contract. The representation given of it is so different from I know it to be, that I think it altogether unnecessary to enter into it. It would only be to oppose assertion to assertion. Instead of a share in the contract proposed, I informed Mr. Jarvis, that I was under the necessity of paying a sum of money at a fixed period, and therefore preferred the mode of a stipulated sum, to anything contingent. — He proposed the sum agreed on, and afterwards, by his postscript in a letter to me in your possession, declared it should be eventually, honorably paid. If I have not mentioned to Mr. Jarvis, since his arrival, a performance of his Promise in that respect, it was because I

⁶⁹ Craigie papers, 3:32.

did not think it convenient for him to discharge it, not that my claim was a nullity.”⁷⁰

Mr. Duer seems to have made use of Scioto and Ohio company shares in his compact with Mr. Jarvis, promising him a one-hundred-and-fifty-thousand acre share.⁷¹ “From this period . . . to the morning of my departure for Europe,” Mr. Jarvis wrote Smith and Craigie, “I never could obtain any sort of document with respect to this land of promise — he, *then* gave me the paper respecting the Scioto business, and ungenerously shred me down from 150 th. to 50,000 acres; and what is really unpardonable, he does not acknowledge that I caused a payment of 15000 Doll. in public securities, for 15 shares in the Ohio company’s lands, and which was paid with an express condition of being on account of his portion of subscription to that company; & which pay’t — of itself should entitle me to three fourth parts of 150,000 acres right of pre-emption in the Scioto lands which would be 112,500 acres, because he agreed with me, that if I procured 20,000 dollars subscription, that it should entitle me to the above, and so in proportion; and because he urged it improper in respect to his Official situation, to *commit* himself to paper I submitted to his reasoning, and have suffered in point of quantity.

“On my return from Europe I demanded of Mr. Duer, the *Ohio* rights he was to have purchased for my account, agreeably to his rec^d of the [*blank in MS.*] day of [*blank in MS.*] 1787. He told me they were in the name of Doct. J. Ledyard, and should be transfer’d to mine, in the company’s books — I applied to Col. Platt, *the treasurer*, who informed me there were two shares in the name of Doct. Ledyard, but that he could not transfer them to me, until he knew how the account between himself & Mr. D. should terminate, or to this effect.

“On this subject, I have more than *ten times*, applied to Mr. Duer, and as I could get no satisfaction but that the shares were transferred to my name, and which on application to Mr. Platt, I found *untrue*, I finally demanded of him, a restitution of my certificates; and which I now demand, I think myself entitled to them as they have not been appropriated to the purpose for

⁷⁰ Craigie papers, 2:55.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 3:32.

which they were intended; and as I have been three years amused in this business, it appears that he should at least allow me interest on them, in indents. As to the *Ohio* shares, I do not covet them at present! had Mr. D. complied with his engagement, I *must* have conform'd but as he has not, he has taken the risk & on himself — he had presumed to withhold and use my property and I now demand a restitution of it.”⁷²

Colonel Duer's reply follows; it proves that the advance made by him on account of the Ohio company was, in part, received from others who took Scioto shares therefor; Duer was repaid by the Ohio associates, which means he sold Scioto shares for cash. “With respect to the share Mr. Jarvis is entitled to, the paper from me will show, as I have no copy of it, Mr. Jarvis will no doubt on application give you the original, in the manner I have done, with respect to my claims. I mention this because I am told he has assigned this right, and it is not proper I should be exposed to a similar claim from two persons. The demand for the restitution of the certificates advanced on account of the Scioto right, is inadmissible. If Mr. Platt has omitted the transfer, I never knew the reason until this moment. I expected it was done, the three shares can be transferred when the assignees think proper: Since Mr. Jarvis was acquainted that there was an omission made by the treasurer of the transfer;⁷³ He has offered to me several times to cede his right to this transfer for \$500.00. This shows [his] sense of the claim on this head.”⁷⁴

The part played by the group in the campaign for assumption and the constitution and their speculation in certificates offers little new light on the well-understood methods of the feverish days of 1790-1791. The biting shafts directed by such men as Senator Maclay at the enterprising coterie that hovered about the Duer-Hamilton tree of knowledge now seem dulled by the recollection that hardly one escaped ruin and the prison cell. Senator Maclay implicates Morris and his agent Hazard,⁷⁵ Fitz-

⁷² Craigie papers, 3:32. The Ohio shares sunk in value with the outbreak of the Indian war.

⁷³ The transfer seems never to have taken place. The Ohio company's land record does not contain the name of Jarvis; the two shares in range 15 remained in the name of Isaac Ledyard. Putnam papers, Land record, 211.

⁷⁴ Craigie papers, 2:55.

⁷⁵ Maclay, *Journal*, 178.

simmons,⁷⁶ and Wadsworth,⁷⁷ and attributes all this "most abandoned system of speculation ever broached in our country" to Duer and his "*respondent superior*."⁷⁸ "Dr. Elmer told me," writes the Pennsylvania senator, ". . . the Boston people were concerned in it. Indeed, there is no room to doubt but a connection is spread over the whole continent on this villainous business."⁷⁹ Doubtless "the Boston people" refers to Craigie, Gore, and Flint who began as early as the spring of 1789, if not earlier, a campaign of certificate purchase probably at Duer's hint and perhaps with Duer's money. Christopher Gore was then urging Craigie to activity; "my friend," he writes, "Contin[en]tal securities are scarce — rising — let us endeavor to purchase a sum of 50 or 100,000 Dollars."⁸⁰ The connection in the speculation did not tend to unite the Duer and Morris parties; General Heister and Hazard seem to have been the Morris agents, together with Morris' partner, William Constable;⁸¹ the legislative agents of the Duer-Craigie group seem to have been Thomas Fitzsimmons, leader of the Pennsylvania delegation, who introduced Hamilton's funding bill into congress,⁸² and the order of the Cincinnati.⁸³ Craigie was not successful in getting the wary Gore on the scene. "If I had thought," wrote Gore, "your interest or pleasure would have been increased by an acquaintance with any members of the new Congress, who are among my friends — I should most readily have embraced an opportunity of recommending them to your civilities — but I did not think thus — . . . but to be at the seat of Federal Gov't at this time, would, though very unjustly, subject my political character at least to many imputations, either of seeking preferment for myself or plotting some plans which would be said unworthy."⁸⁴ Edward Fox was the agent of Craigie in Philadel-

⁷⁶ Maclay, *Journal*, 178.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 179, 188.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 178.

⁸⁰ Craigie papers, 2:52.

⁸¹ Maclay, *Journal*, 178; Morris had to settle his government accounts with Duer; no love was lost between them in the negotiation. *Ibid.*, 189; cf. *ante*, 1:514, n. 47.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 202; cf. *ante*, 1:504, n. 7. Maclay, *Journal*, 193-194.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 194; Beard, *Economic interpretation of the constitution*, 38-39; M. Farrand, *Records of the federal convention of 1787* (New Haven, 1911), 3:114, quoting Gerry.

⁸⁴ April, 1789. Craigie papers, 2:55.

phia; in the field Leonard Bleecker went south for Craigie in the winter of 1789-1790.⁸⁵ Melancthon Smith was the only member of the group who was a member of the constitutional convention. His attitude, at first hostile, changed complexion and Seth Johnson writing Craigie ascribes praise to Smith for his efforts in having the constitution adopted.⁸⁶

A review of Joel Barlow's relations to the Scioto speculators is interesting in the light of the foregoing diagnosis of the methods of the group of men whom he represented.⁸⁷ We have seen that the plan to obtain a loan abroad by giving Scioto shares as collateral, or to sell the shares to foreigners, was a part of the original plan and formally discussed by Cutler and Osgood. Royal Flint was evidently Colonel Duer's choice for the mission with Jarvis probably as an advisor who knew the ways and means of foreign investment and speculation.⁸⁸ Flint's illness necessitated a substitute; Joel Barlow, who had successfully sold Ohio company shares for Dr. Cutler, was urged for the mission by Flint and Cutler and received from Duer the appointment.⁸⁹ What the astute New York speculator expected of the young, untried, untraveled Hartford poet-lawyer baffles speculation. He had won no success at the bar, had shown no business ability, had no acquaintance with men of affairs; even his poetry had little to recommend him.⁹⁰ The superficial reader jumps at the conclusion that Duer permitted Barlow's appointment because his appeal would reach a different class from that which would be touched by the typical hard-headed business agent, and that poetic license was needed on a mission to sell lands which the

⁸⁵ His correspondence gives an inside view of the interesting speculation in South Carolina as well as of the methods of an agent clever enough to learn a rival's purposes without disclosing his own. (*Ibid.*, 2:70, 71, 72.) The rival may have been the agent of Wadsworth of Connecticut whom Maclay implicates in the South Carolina speculation. Maclay, *Journal*, 179.

⁸⁶ Craigie papers, 3:61; Beard states that his economic interest approximated \$10,000 in sixes and threes. *Economic interpretation of the constitution*, 270, n. 2.

⁸⁷ The best account of the Scioto speculation is Theodore Thomas Belote, "The Scioto speculation and the French settlement at Gallipolis," in *University of Cincinnati studies* (2d ser.), 2: no. 3 (September-October, 1907).

⁸⁸ Craigie papers, 3:32.

⁸⁹ Barlow sold one hundred and forty shares; he served on a "Committee to Report on the Returns of Agents." Putnam papers: Ohio company journal, 18, 25, 27 *et seq.*; Land Records, 35, 50, 51, 52 *et seq.*

⁹⁰ Charles Burr Todd, *The life and letters of Joel Barlow* (New York, 1886), 63. This volume is based largely on the Barlow papers in Harvard University library.

group did not own. The publicity of the sending of an agent to France might have been all that Duer expected; in the meantime the group would doubtless turn over the option with some advantage to themselves. Immersed in a very labyrinth of speculation as they were, and not taking any of their adventures very seriously, depending never on developing any property but always upon "turning over" their stock, they were simply gambling on margins no matter what the nature of their investment.

No phase of the operations shows the real character of the methods of the group better than the Barlow episode. Their correspondence of the time shows no intention to better by one penny a single property that came into their eager hands, no intention to create a dollar's worth of wealth. They were perhaps the best early representatives of that class of predatory speculators who in our own day give Wall street an evil name despite the honesty and fidelity of the great mass of its operators. Barlow probably had as little idea of his real mission when he crossed the Atlantic as he had real knowledge of how to accomplish what he thought was his mission. Craigie, Parker, Jarvis, and the Staphorstes had all tried their hand at securing a loan on the "Scioto Right"; even Barlow's departure was delayed because Duer and Platt had news from London which indicated the development of the arrangements which would make the sending of an agent unnecessary.⁹¹ There was no hope of Barlow's securing a loan in Holland, and he did not.⁹² Brissot took charge of the matter of the transfer of the French debt, as we have seen, on his return to Paris late in the year of Barlow's arrival there, 1788.

There remained for Barlow only the herculean task of disposing of the option on the land. He arrived in Paris in June, 1788, and soon went to London; from there he went with Parker on a fruitless mission to Amsterdam. He reached Paris in September; Brissot arrived some three months later, but we find no such coöperation between the two as would be expected. By April, 1789, Brissot, as we have seen, repudiated Parker;⁹³ but

⁹¹ Platt to Barlow, April 27, 1788, in Scioto papers.

⁹² Barlow to Walker, December 21, 1795, in Scioto papers. The Holland agents had a single eye for their own interest in speculating in the American debt. Gallopis papers, 1:141.

⁹³ *Ante*, 1:512, n. 38.

Barlow does not seem to follow his lead. Through a chance friendship with one Colonel Blackden, the latter met William Playfair.⁹⁴ The friendship thus started ripened with the years and came to mean much to both Mr. and Mrs. Barlow. This Englishman was of the ilk with which Brissot so heartily classified Daniel Parker, and it would seem that Parker had more to do in the matter than Blackden; incidentally this strengthens the belief that Brissot was little consulted: later it will be seen that he repudiated the Scioto project entirely.

It was remarked above that the correspondence of the group does not show a purpose to do otherwise than speculate with the Scioto right. This does not refer to correspondence with Barlow. As far as correspondence, advice, and direction were concerned, Barlow was quite abandoned. If Gore in Boston had to plead with Craigie in New York for a letter; if Henry Jackson could secure a letter from Duer only by astonishing statements of exasperation, what hope had Joel Barlow of maintaining a correspondence with the trustees he represented? As a matter of fact he received no answers to his first letters outlining the plan of sale to actual settlers through the *Compagnie du Scioto*. There is no justification for his misjudging his instructions to such a degree that the group at home should suddenly be thrown exactly where they morally belonged — in the rôle of developers of a great tract of country. In the correspondence examined relating to these transactions no new excuse is found for Barlow's action except that, lacking fresh advice, the Yankee in him made him so practically presumptuous as to suppose that if the members of the group could not realize on their option in one way they would be glad to do so in another. In this he was woefully mistaken. These men had invested little or no money in the venture; they were involved in a maelstrom of speculation; nothing was less to their purpose than to supervise and encourage an actual settlement in the Scioto country; rather, they would let the option lapse, automatically.

As a result of Barlow's efforts in Paris the emigration party

⁹⁴ Mr. Belote hints dark things of Blackden for his part in bringing Barlow and Playfair together. This was never felt by Barlow. "Blacky" and his wife became Barlow's boon companions and were lovingly remembered in Barlow's Algiers will. Barlow to Mrs. Barlow, February 1, June 29, July 8, 11, 19, 1790; May 31, June 4, 10, 1792; July 8, 1796, in Barlow papers.

of about five hundred arrived at Alexandria, Virginia, in the spring of 1790. The pitiful account of their sojourn in Virginia and of their delayed arrival upon the Ohio has been frequently repeated. The Porter, Franks, and Frazier letters, hitherto unused, bring out in clearer light the willingness of Duer and his followers to leave their agents unadvised, misguided, and unpaid.⁹⁵ The failure of Barlow to honor drafts upon him (which is still unexplained by any of the sources studied by the present writer) doubtless accounts for Duer's long delay in placing the emigrants upon their lands; in fact land for them had to be purchased by the Scioto trustees of the Ohio company since no payment on the Scioto lands proper had been made. This delay was to prove fatal, for the failure or success of the Scioto speculation in France hinged on the reports of the first emigrants. The brunt of the situation in America fell on the Ohio company. Its men piloted the unfortunates to their lands for which the Scioto trustees never paid and built them temporary cabins. The Ohio company lost eighty thousand dollars when in 1792 the panic took down the three important Scioto trustees. The legal relationship between the Scioto group and the Ohio Company of Associates is too intricate a problem to be discussed here.⁹⁶ The moral obligation of the group to the Ohio associates is perfectly clear; they owed their chance to speculate to the ingenuous credulity of the associates' agents; by advancing about a hundred and fifty thousand dollars they received the right to three times as much land as the associates secured by a payment twice as large. That they should, through the presumption of an agent, with whom they held no proper correspondence, be forced into a seeming fulfillment of their duty in actually coöperating to settle their western empire is the amusing sequel.

To a larger degree than has been recognized Barlow and his associates had taken securities and collateral of various sorts rather than money. In fact Brissot; in urging publicly the

⁹⁵ Many minor facts relating to these Gallipolis Frenchmen not yet brought out may be found in this correspondence; see A. B. Hulbert, "Andrew Craigie and the Scioto associates," in American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings* (new series), 23: pt. 2, p. 222.

⁹⁶ Belote states that the Ohio company was responsible in the eyes of congress, for both purposes, basing his statement on the report of the attorney general, March 24, 1794. That report explicitly states that there are two sides to the question. *American state papers: public lands*, 1:23.

claims of another land company (what one is uncertain) declares it to be much more sound than the Scioto company since to become a member of it one must actually pay money while to secure a share in Scioto lands no money is needed: "Celui-ci n'exige aucuns moyens de fortune."⁹⁷ If the truth could be known it might appear that embezzlement is attributed to Playfair and associates unjustly. Benjamin Walker, sent by the trustees to France to save the situation, exonerated Barlow of wrong-doing while denying him business ability.⁹⁸ Barlow as late as November, 1790, still stood by Playfair by subscribing his name to a letter to Duer describing the situation as it then existed.⁹⁹ And, as if to repudiate the stigma of not being a successful business man, Barlow in only four years accumulated a fortune equivalent now to half a million dollars, and lived in luxury while Duer died in jail, Flint failed, and Craigie dared not venture outside his beautiful Cambridge home of sainted memory for fear of the sheriff's long arm.¹⁰⁰

The last phase of the speculative activity of these men is, in view of the foregoing, most interesting of all. Duer and Flint with General Henry Knox and General Henry Jackson of Boston now embarked in a Maine land speculation, agreed upon May 24, 1791.¹⁰¹ It is evident that of all the group Flint shared Duer's confidence most completely and of all the group had turned this to best financial account.¹⁰² Jackson, while an agent in selling Ohio company lands, is not mentioned in the various operations of the group until he came to play the principal rôle in the Maine speculation.¹⁰³ The committee of the Massachusetts legislature

⁹⁷ *Patriote français*, supplement, April 23, 1790. Barlow writing Duer, March 3, 1790, states that "none of the payments were yet [January 25] made."

⁹⁸ Craigie papers, 2:32. As late as March 15, 1791, Flint is hoping Walker can clear their affairs in Europe. He states that there has been a great "waste" of funds in Europe.

⁹⁹ W. G. Sibley, *The French five hundred and other papers* (Gallipolis, 1901), 43-53.

¹⁰⁰ Barlow to Mrs. Barlow (Algiers will), July 8, 1796. When nominated as minister to France Barlow's enemies objected on the one hand because he was a poet and therefore unpractical and on the other hand because he had secured a fortune by unknown means while abroad; to all of which Timothy Pickering made a very humorous reply in the senate. Pickering papers, 14:328; 29:428, 430, 438; 54:314.

¹⁰¹ Knox papers, 28:67.

¹⁰² Craigie papers, 1:79; 2:234.

¹⁰³ Putnam papers, Ohio company land records, 55, 64, 74, 91, 114, 122.

in control of the lands were Samuel Phillips, Leonard Jarvis, and John Reed.¹⁰⁴ The negotiations proceeded rapidly, the system of operations being suggested by frequent advice from Duer and Knox to put in extra names and get the desired acreage in small amounts.¹⁰⁵ Four million acres were desired; a formal agreement was drawn up between Knox and Duer.¹⁰⁶ The handling of the legislative committee was the matter of chief concern.¹⁰⁷ That it was deftly done is shown by the fact that the articles of agreement were signed July 1, a matter of only six weeks from the date of forming the association. Jackson writes Secretary Knox the news of the completion of the deal in the committee room: "Am writing this in the presence of the Committee," he observes, "who are afraid of their own shadows."¹⁰⁸ Two million acres were contracted for at ten cents an acre, possibly the lowest price ever paid for land in New England since the formation of the republic.

And now in the face of his tedious and costly experience with Barlow and the *Compagnie du Scioto*, Colonel Duer turned again to French emigrants for settlers and organized "The French Company of the Union," involving a French adventuress (Mme. de la Vol) and De la Roche who was sent westward on an important mission in the summer of 1791.¹⁰⁹ The agreement with "the French Company of the Union" was signed by Duer August 27 and by Knox September 3.¹¹⁰ Madame de la Vol contracted to pay fifty-six cents per acre. At the time of signing the "French Company" agreement Duer wrote Knox that he would abandon the *Scioto* concern; in fact the "State of Confusion" in *Scioto* affairs is the reason given by the associates in the "French Company of the Union" (which included Du Barth) in their "Address to the Proprietors of the Maine lands" for the formation of the company.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁴ Knox papers, 28:158.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 81, 122, 126.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 82, 126. It is possible that Craigie was interested in this speculation; a letter from Duer to a person not mentioned is in Emmett papers, 11011.

¹⁰⁷ Knox papers, 82:21.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 47:177.

¹⁰⁹ Knox papers, 29:86, 173; Hamilton, *Works* (Hamilton ed.), 5:478. Query: Why was Hamilton's permission to send La Roche westward necessary?

¹¹⁰ Knox papers, 29:76.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 78.

Leonard Jarvis, one of the Massachusetts legislative committee, was appointed to make the survey of the lands;¹¹² others concerned in the negotiation or development of the affair were Benjamin Walker,¹¹³ William Constable,¹¹⁴ Samuel Ogden,¹¹⁵ Phineas Bruce,¹¹⁶ and before the final collapse Joel Barlow was recommended to the proprietors as agent to sell the land in Europe.¹¹⁷ The speculation ran the same course, in several respects, as the Scioto fiasco. Jackson personally conducted the French party to their lands,¹¹⁸ whereupon there soon began a correspondence between the Maine settlers and the proprietors and agents in New York and Boston that only finds its counterpart in the correspondence of the Scioto emigrants, Porter and Franks, with Duer and Craigie.¹¹⁹

But greater troubles than petulant letters of French emigrants hung over Duer and Flint with the coming of 1792. Jackson secured the remaining two million acres of the four millions originally desired, but paid twenty-one cents an acre for it.¹²⁰ This was considered fortunate for Duer, as he perhaps alone of the proprietors had advanced actual cash to effect the purchases to the amount of seventeen thousand dollars.¹²¹ In all his operations Duer appears arrogant and domineering in his demands upon his partners and associates, as illustrated in the Jarvis incident, but he had more at stake. In those cases where the details of the actual advances of money made by him and others are known, Duer is always found to have invested far in excess of any of his associates. And it must have taken additional courage to advance money in the present case, since the wagoners who served the Scioto emigrants were going to law to get their pay.¹²²

¹¹² Knox papers, 29:82.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 42, 123.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 95, 171. He was offered lands for twelve cents an acre.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 28:21, 30:3.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 25:28.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 35:2.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 30:5.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 41, 46; 33:21, 23.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 30:171. He had offered twenty-five cents previously.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 32: 141.

¹²² Craigie papers, 3:31. The severest criticisms of Duer are passed by General Jackson and Colonel Porter; the former accused him of lack of candor and decision

The four millions of acres in Maine in the black days of the early part of 1792 began to assume large proportions when all things tangible began to sink in the maelstrom of which Duer had been lovingly warned by his "respondent superior," Hamilton.¹²³ Writers on the Scioto company have implied that the failure of that speculation brought on the crisis and caused Duer's downfall.¹²⁴ This is plainly far from the truth. The speculation in Maine in which Duer and Flint engaged, so far from hastening their failure, perceptibly delayed it. Duer wrote Knox that the Maine land asset was his "sheet anchor."¹²⁵ Floundering in the maze of difficulties which he ascribed entirely to "indiscreet confidence in others,"¹²⁶ innumerable plans of handling Duer's one asset were made until he sold it for fifty-thousand dollars.¹²⁷

This record of concerted speculation of course closes in 1792 when the three leaders of the Scioto group went down in the panic, which swept New York, following the wild craze for speculating in United States bank shares and similar baubles. The detail of events of the years from 1787 to 1792 in respect to this single group brings out the power of personal initiative and the methods of coöperative financial support in a day of little money and abundance of paper obligation of indeterminate value; the general tone of morbid secretiveness that prevailed was the result of having no method of estimating a man's rating or the amount of his assets or his obligations. In almost every instance noted in the correspondence under review the reason for secrecy was to shield an obligation or asset from the eyes of partners or rivals or creditors; Duer's assigned reason for fail-

and a willingness to sacrifice friends to his own advantage (Knox papers, 33:65); the latter sums up his efforts to serve the Scioto trustees and French emigrants by saying (of Duer): "When the business is done the tone is changed and obligation no longer acknowledged" (Craigie papers, 2:165, 166). Craigie significantly advised him to expend in Duer's service only such money as the latter actually advanced. *Ibid.*, 1:66.

¹²³ Hamilton, *Works* (Hamilton ed.), 5:478-479. As late as December, 1791, Duer paid \$42,800.00 for one hundred shares of bank stock to be entered under the name of Walter Livingston. Duer to Walker, in Slack collection of documents and prints, in Marietta College.

¹²⁴ Sibley, *The French five hundred*, 32.

¹²⁵ Knox papers, 31:74.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 33:138.

ure was "indiscreet confidences" in the face of the fact that intimates like Flint could only by herculean efforts secure a letter from him on important routine business matters.¹²⁸

The use of public office by Duer to further the interests of the group needs no comment; on the whole, we can safely say that the attitude of such public men as are concerned in the Scioto group speculations towards the obligations of patriotic neutrality would not be countenanced by modern business and political ethics. The actions of lawyers in congress performing service for clients out-of-doors were permissible but could easily be attended with risk to reputation at the hands of a political enemy. There seems to be a similarity in the names of the various congressional committees before whom came the matters of interest to the Ohio and Scioto speculations but the examination of such records of shares as remain proves nothing — either way. Certainly the next to the last decade of the nineteenth century among American financiers and promoters saw a higher grade of ethics enforced than the corresponding decade of the eighteenth. The American capitalist of a century ago was not unlike the present-day European whom Arnold Bennett describes as more jealous and secretive than his American rival. The creation of our republic and the processes of its growth have developed a frankness and a commercial honor unknown in the world before. Notable and disgraceful exceptions serve only to throw in clearer light the great substratum of business honor on which the republic rests. Nothing so much as this gives us hope of perpetuity. In the last analysis, it is to this sense of reliance, man to man, that we may ascribe the American feeling of optimism which foreigners do not understand and which many are inclined to repudiate as sentimental bombast.

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¹²⁸ Knox papers, 33:138.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE OLD NORTHWEST, 1914-1915

The general plan and scope of this paper will be the same as that of the one published in the REVIEW a year ago with the exception that no attempt will be made to cover the Canadian field. The reason for this exception is that an arrangement has been made for a separate report on Canadian activities to be published in a later number.

ORGANIZATION, LEGISLATION, AND EQUIPMENT

The most significant developments in this field during the past year have been in Indiana. The legislature which has just adjourned passed an act establishing the Indiana Historical Commission to consist of the governor, the director of the Indiana historical survey of Indiana University, the head of the department of archives and history of the state library, and five others appointed by the governor. The functions of this commission are twofold — to make arrangements for the celebration in 1916 of the centennial of the admission of the state to the union, and to edit and publish documentary material relating to the history of the state. Twenty-five thousand dollars was appropriated for the work of the commission and of this amount five thousand dollars has been set aside for the second phase of its activities. Messrs. Woodburn and Lindley and Mr. Charles W. Moores, an Indianapolis lawyer and author, have been appointed a subcommittee to take charge of the publication work. Plans are being drawn up for a series of documentary volumes and as the workers in the field have been gathering material for sometime without the means of publication, it is expected that tangible results will soon appear. Every effort will be made to induce the next legislature to renew the five thousand dollar appropriation and establish the commission as a permanent institution.

The department of archives and history of the Indiana State Library received a slightly increased maintenance appropriation

this year and will continue, so far as is possible in its present limited quarters, the work of collecting and making accessible materials for the history of the state. As was to be expected the plebiscite on the proposed two million dollar memorial building resulted in the defeat of the proposition, but it is still hoped that the centennial will arouse enough interest in matters historical to lead to the construction of a building for the state library and archives. An attempt is being made, also, to utilize the centennial enthusiasm to bring about the organization of additional county historical societies, of which there are already about twenty in the state.

The Michigan Historical Commission, established two years ago, is still badly hampered in its work by the lack of funds. Mr. George N. Fuller resigned as secretary of the commission October 1, 1914, and his place was filled by the appointment of Charles Moore of Detroit, best known to the historical fraternity as the author of *The Northwest under three flags*. The commission has published annual reports of its activities for 1913 (Lansing, 1914. 63 p.) and for 1914 (Lansing, 1915. 13 p.). It is urging vigorously the construction of a separate building, in which the archives, newspaper files, and other historical material may be properly preserved.

The only change in the organization of historical work in Illinois has been a formal one. The somewhat inchoate institution at the University of Illinois formerly known as the Illinois survey has been definitely organized as a permanent department under the name of the Illinois historical survey and with Mr. Alvord as director. The movement for a building in Springfield to house the historical and educational interests of the state has made little definite progress during the year, but here, also, it is hoped that the approaching centennial will serve as a stimulus. The Illinois State Historical Library has set forth its activities in a *Biennial report* for the period ending July, 1915 (Springfield, 1915. 21 p.). The Chicago Historical Society has published its *Annual report* for 1914 but a letter to the secretary failed to secure a copy. Of the local historical societies in the state the most active appear to be those in Rock Island, Jersey, St. Clair, and Woodford counties. A new historical society was organized in Montgomery county, September 26, 1913.

No changes in the organization of historical work in Wisconsin have been noted. The state society appears to be flourishing under the guidance of Mr. Quaife and there are seven auxiliary local societies which reported in 1913. These are located in Eau Claire, Lafayette, Manitowoc, Sauk, Walworth, and Waukesha counties and in the city of Green Bay.

Neither of the historical institutions of state-wide scope in Ohio has made much progress during the year toward an adequate handling of the field, but there is reason to believe that an improvement is coming. The organization of an Ohio History Teachers' Association during the holidays is an excellent step. It is understood that the association plans to publish a bulletin and it is to be hoped that this publication will stimulate an interest in the study and teaching of state history. The most important local institution in Ohio is the Western Reserve Historical Society of Cleveland. For many years it has devoted its energies mainly to collecting, although some ninety odd *Tracts* have been published. A valuable library with extensive manuscript collections has been built up and now the society plans to place greater emphasis on the work of cataloguing, arranging, and publishing its treasures. Its "Annual report for 1913-1914" forms the first part of number 94 of the *Tracts* (Cleveland, 1914. 134 p.). The Sandusky County Historical Society has published another *Yearbook* for 1914 (96 p.) which contains not only proceedings for the year but an account of the activities of the society from its founding in 1874 to 1882 inclusive. This institution expects to have quarters in the Spiegel Grove Park Memorial Building erected by the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society at Fremont. Mention should also be made of the very active Buffalo Historical Society and of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania which, although not in the old Northwest proper, have more interests in common with the institutions of that field than with those of the East.

Until recently each of these various institutions went its own way with very little consideration for the work being done by the others. It is a pleasure, therefore, to be able to chronicle a movement in the direction of coöperation. For a number of years there has existed a conference of historical societies in connection with the annual meetings of the American Historical

Association, but its field is so broad that little has been accomplished. It was felt by a number of workers that real coöperation could be brought about only by getting together the men actually in charge of historical work in a group of states having a common historical background. Representatives from Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan held a preliminary meeting in Chicago last summer to talk over matters, and the session of the American Historical Association during the holidays furnished an opportunity for another meeting with other interested states represented. Plans are being laid for getting together again in Chicago in June and in Madison in October, and it is possible that the movement may result in a permanent league with regular meetings for the consideration of common problems.

ACQUISITION OF MATERIAL

The work of getting together in public depositories the original materials for state and local history has made considerable progress during the year but the best results will never be achieved until the institutions map out systematic campaigns for the location and acquisition of material, educate the public to the importance of its preservation, and above all employ field men to follow up clues with the assiduity of a newspaper reporter or a detective. The receptive attitude will result in some accessions but active campaigning would secure much that otherwise will be destroyed.

The new manuscript material acquired by the Wisconsin Historical Society consists of some fifteen thousand civil war papers turned over from the governor's office; the papers of the late Judge E. W. Keyes, about forty thousand in number and of great value for the political history of the last sixty years; the papers and library of L. H. Weller, member of congress from Iowa, 1882-1884, consisting of about ten thousand manuscripts and several hundred pamphlets bearing on the greenback and populist movements; a small but interesting collection of correspondence between Edwin Bottomly, an early settler, and his father in England; and a letter press copy book containing correspondence of General William T. Sherman during two years just before the war when he was in charge of the Louisiana State Military Seminary.

Since January 15 the society has had an agent employed in searching for and listing Wisconsin material in the house files at Washington and the work will be continued in the Indian office and the state department. About ten thousand pages of manuscript material have already been selected, of which the society plans to secure photostatic or typewritten copies. A year or two ago a similar search was made for Illinois material in the Washington archives and before long institutions in other states will doubtless follow these examples. It would seem that here is, or was, an excellent field for coöperation. It would take little more time to list the material for a group of states than for one, and the resultant saving in time and expense might be very great.

A file of the *Anzeiger des Westens*, 1839-1869, valuable for the history of the German element in the Mississippi valley, has been acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library from the public library of Belleville. The same institution secured, also, a number of rare campaign papers published in Illinois in 1840 and 1844. The University of Illinois through its Illinois historical survey acquired copies of the papers of John Messenger, one of the earliest New Englanders to settle in the state and a son-in-law of the eccentric Matthew Lyon of Vermont and Kentucky. The survey has also added considerably to its collection of photostatic copies of old Illinois newspapers in the Library of Congress and of Illinois documents in the Indian office.

In Ohio the Western Reserve Historical Society has acquired the Charles G. King collection of books on costume, which is listed in number 93 of its *Tracts* (Cleveland, 1914. 48 p.). A collection of books relating to the Baptists in Ohio, old Ohio almanacs, files of early Ohio newspapers, additional books and manuscripts on the Shakers, and the papers of Ephraim Brown and of General Simon Perkins are some of the other recent acquisitions of this institution. The Perkins collection contains a large amount of valuable material on the early settlement of the reserve, the Connecticut Land Company, and the war of 1812, including a number of letters from General William Henry Harrison. The collection of Ohio valley material gathered by the late Samuel Fuller Covington of Madisonville has been secured

by Miami University at Oxford. A sketch of Mr. Covington by J. E. Bradford and a catalogue of the library by S. J. Brandenburg have been published by the university as a *Bulletin* (October, 1914. 75 p.).

The Michigan Historical Commission has plans for extensive copying of Michigan material in the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, and the state department files at Washington, and in Canadian and European archives. To the Burton historical collection of the Detroit Public Library have been added the papers of Thomas W. Palmer, formerly United States senator from Michigan, and the orderly-books of Colonel Israel Shelby covering the period of the Detroit campaign under General Harrison in the war of 1812.

The Indianapolis Star Publishing Company has deposited at Indiana University a file of the *Indianapolis Journal*, 1825 to 1904. The university has received, also, an extensive collection of materials illustrating prehistoric and pioneer life in the state, donated by Warder W. Stevens. This collection, which is described by Mr. Stevens in the *Indiana Magazine of History* for December, 1914, will be used as a nucleus for a museum of Indiana history.

The Buffalo Historical Society has acquired a number of rare early maps of America, the David E. Evans collection of the correspondence and documents of the Holland Land Company, and papers relating to the diplomatic and consular services of Charles O. Shepard in Japan. Mention should also be made of the acquisition by the Harvard commission on western history for the library of the university of a collection of over twenty-six hundred volumes on Mormonism including files of rare Mormon papers published at Kirtland, Ohio, and Nauvoo, Illinois. A description of the collection is in the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* for May 27, 1914. Another institution outside of the old Northwest which is collecting material of value for the history of the region is the American Baptist Historical Society of Philadelphia. The library of this society, which is located at the Crozier Theological Seminary, Chester, Pennsylvania, is rapidly acquiring an extensive collection of minutes of Baptist organizations, general, state, and local.

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The number of serials devoted to assisting investigators and literary workers in keeping track of current publications is now so great that there is real need of a guide to the guides. While they are familiar to most librarians, many of them are little known and less used by historical students, and it would seem to be worth while to call attention to the most useful of these publications. The *Reader's guide to periodical literature* is pretty well known, but the historical student should be familiar also with the *Reader's guide supplement* which indexes a number of important but less popular magazines including the *American Political Science Review* and the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW. Both of these guides are published by the H. W. Wilson Company of White Plains, New York. The former appears monthly with cumulations culminating in annual and five-year volumes and the third of the five-year cumulations, for 1910-1914, will soon be out. The *Supplement* is published five times a year and a cumulation covering eight years is now in preparation. Even more useful for locating historical material is the *Annual magazine subject-index* edited by Frederick W. Faxon of the Boston Book Company. This work, of which the volume for 1914 is just out (Boston, 1915. 264 p.), covers not only a selected list of American and English periodicals but makes a specialty of history and indexes a large number of historical society "Collections" as well as historical, archeological, and geographical magazines. The third edition of Henry O. Severance's *Guide to the current periodicals and serials of the United States and Canada* (Ann Arbor, 1914. 462 p.) contains an alphabetical and a classified list of such publications and is a useful tool.

For bibliographical information about current books, there is the *Cumulative Book Index* published bi-monthly by the H. W. Wilson Company and cumulating in the January number. The *Book Review Digest* is very valuable as a means of acquiring quickly an idea of the character and value of a given book. It appears monthly and the February, 1915, issue comprises the tenth annual cumulation. For keeping track of new books as issued the "Weekly record of new publications" in the *Publishers' Weekly* is useful. This record is arranged by authors but

once a month a "Reference list of new publications" is added, in which the items are entered under authors, titles, and subjects. The *Nation* and the *Dial* each publish weekly lists of new books, and especially valuable, though lacking in bibliographical accuracy and fullness, is the "List of books on history and government published in the United States" which appears monthly in the *History Teachers' Magazine*. It is assumed that all historical students in America are familiar with the reviews and notes in the *American Historical Review*. Fuller reviews of books on the West will generally be found in the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW, while the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* devotes considerable space to notes on historical activities and publications throughout the country. Historical material of value is frequently published in state and federal documents and may be followed to some extent in the *Monthly list of state publications*, issued by the Library of congress, and in the *Monthly catalogue of United States public documents*, issued by the superintendent of documents. The Library of Congress publishes also an annual *List of American doctoral dissertations printed*, of which the last issue is for 1913 (Washington, 1914. 133 p.). This contains both alphabetical and classified lists and a subject index. Of more use to historical workers is the classified "List of doctoral dissertations in history now in progress at the chief American universities" which appears annually in the January number of the *American Historical Review* and to which is appended a list of theses in history published during the preceding year. The issue for 1912 of Grace G. Griffin's valuable *Writings on American history* was published by the Yale University Press (New Haven, 1914. 199 p.), and the 1913 volume is expected to be out soon. Many books dealing with the history of the old Northwest are also covered in the *Review of historical publications relating to Canada*, volume XIX of which, for 1914, has just appeared (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1915. 247 p.). The critical reviews in this publication are unusually good and the promoters are to be congratulated on the promptness with which it appears.

Another annual publication of some value in following the work of American historical societies and departments is the "Reports of historical societies" appended to the proceedings

of the conference of historical societies in the *Annual report* of the American Historical Association. This, unfortunately, does not appear until about two years after the data are gathered, the last being for 1912. For following developments with reference to the archives situation in the different states the annual "Report of the public archives committee" of the National Association of State Libraries is especially valuable. This appears in the association's *Proceedings and transactions*, the last of which covers the May, 1914, meeting (Washington, 1914. 63 p.).

The mass of material published by the American Historical Association since its organization in 1884 is very considerable, and all historical students will welcome the "List of publications" published in the *Annual report* for 1912 (pp. 305-339). A check list of the volumes is followed by a classified list in which each paper or report is entered under a convenient heading and sometimes under several. Each item is preceded by a number the significance of which is not apparent and which the editor has not taken the trouble to explain. The department of economics and sociology of the Carnegie Institution of Washington has issued a third edition of its *Bibliography* (1914. 19 p.) which lists both the published and unpublished results of work done by, under the direction of, or in coöperation with the department.

A third and supplementary volume of the *List of geographical atlases in the Library of Congress* has appeared (Washington, 1914. cxxvii, 1030 p.). Eight hundred and twenty-two atlases, mostly received since the previous volumes were issued, are fully described, and the book is equipped with an author list and a general index. Although the arrangement is somewhat cumbersome and there seems to be needless duplication of entries, the set as a whole is a very valuable guide to geographical materials for history. The outlines of a plan for a comprehensive bibliography of American Catholic history appeared in the first number, April, 1915, of the *Catholic Historical Review*. Apparently it is the purpose of the editor to publish sections of it from time to time in the magazine and, if worked out on the scale and in the scientific spirit indicated by the outline, it will be a very valuable tool.

The bibliography of Michigan which is being compiled by the Michigan Historical Commission is making some progress, but it would seem that it would be impossible to put through so comprehensive a plan in a reasonable length of time without greater funds than the commission has at its disposal. The plan calls for the listing of all books, pamphlets, and articles relating to the state or by Michigan authors, all Michigan newspapers, and all maps of the state. A list of thirty-one maps collected by the commission appeared in its first *Annual report* and a tentative list of maps of Michigan is included in the forthcoming volume xxxix of the *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*. The same volume contains "a finding list covering the entire thirty-nine volumes" which will be very useful pending the preparation of a complete consolidated index. The genealogical works in the Illinois State Historical Library are catalogued in its *Publications* number 18, compiled by Georgia L. Osborne (1914. 163 p.). The department of archives and history of Indiana is making a list of Indiana newspapers in the state library. A personal bibliography of much interest to students of the history of the Northwest is the "Bibliography of the writings of Reuben Gold Thwaites" in the memorial volume recently issued by the Wisconsin Historical Society.

The most valuable guide to archival material for the history of the section dealt with in this paper which has been published during the past year is the first volume of *A guide to the documents in the manuscript room at the Public Archives of Canada*, compiled by David W. Parker and issued as number 10 of the archives *Publications* (Ottawa, 1914. 318 p.). Inasmuch as the archives branch is prepared to furnish photostatic copies at low rates, this guide makes available to students everywhere this extensive collection of original documents and transcripts from the English and French archives. The department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington has brought out the two additional volumes of guides to English archives mentioned in the paper of a year ago as in press. Mr. Leland's work in Paris on the guide to American material in the French archives was nearly completed when the war put an end to operations. Progress has been made in the preparation of guides to material in the archives of Switzerland, the Nether-

lands, Scotland, Russia, and Spain.¹ The report upon and inventory of the Illinois county archives prepared by Mr. Theodore C. Pease is now in press as one of the volumes of the *Illinois historical collections*. Advance pages from the introduction to the volume have been issued as *The county archives of the state of Illinois* (Springfield, 1915. 31 p.).

None of the calendars mentioned in the paper of last year as under way has appeared as yet, but the Wisconsin Historical Society announces that the first volume of the calendar of the Draper manuscripts will be out in a couple of months. Another volume in this series is in preparation. Mr. Leland's calendar of material for Mississippi valley history in the French archives was practically completed at the outbreak of the war and it is understood that arrangements have been made for its publication. Printed material which is very rare needs about the same treatment as manuscript and this fact emphasizes the value of a work which was begun in the April, 1915, number of the *Catholic Historical Review*. This is a calendar compiled by Rev. Raymond Payne of the very rare and little known *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreich*, which was published annually from 1829 to 1860 and contains a large amount of correspondence between Catholic missionaries in the United States and officials of the association. The first installment lists letters from workers in various parts of the Northwest, which appears to have been the principal field of operations in the early years at least. The compiler had access to the nearly complete set of the *Berichte* owned by Rev. A. I. Rezek of Houghton, Michigan, and he has given numerous illustrative extracts in the footnotes.

The compilation of general indexes to historical publications is progressing rapidly. Thus the *American Historical Review* announces an index to volumes xi to xx inclusive; the Frank Allaben Genealogical Company has issued an index to the first seven volumes (1907-1914) of its *Journal of American History* (New York, 1914. 281, xxi, xviii p.); an index to the first twenty volumes of the *Publications* of the American Jewish Historical Society and to the articles relating to the history of the Jews in

¹ For a detailed account of this work, see the "Annual report of the director" published in the institution's *Yearbook*, number 13, pp. 158-168.

the United States has been published by the society (1914. viii, 600 p.); and volume XXI of the *Wisconsin historical collections*, which is an index to the first twenty volumes, is in press and is expected to appear in the fall. A manuscript list of the public documents in the Kaskaskia manuscripts, together with an index of names, has been prepared by Lydia M. Brauer of the editorial staff of the Illinois State Historical Library, and the Indiana department of archives and history has compiled a manuscript index to many volumes of Indiana newspapers covering the years 1807 to 1849.

PUBLICATION OF SOURCE MATERIAL

The *British series* of the *Illinois historical collections*, edited by C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter, has expanded from three to five volumes. The first of these is now ready for distribution and the others are in press. Mr. Charles H. Ambler of Randolph-Macon College has been associated with James A. James of Northwestern University in the preparation of the remaining volumes of the *George Rogers Clark papers* in the *Virginia series* of the *Collections*. Work is under way on a collection of messages and papers of the governors which will probably be issued in the centennial year (1918) and some progress has been made on a volume of political statistics of Illinois started by the writer a number of years ago and carried forward by Wayne E. Stevens of the University of Illinois. During the summer Mr. Frank E. Melvin was engaged in collecting and editing material on the early French explorations of the Illinois country for a proposed *French series* of the *Collections*. In view of the fact that the Michigan Historical Commission had plans for publishing much of the same material, it is now hoped that some arrangement may be made for all the institutions interested to co-operate in the publication of all the material relating to the French in the upper Mississippi valley and great lakes region.

The March number of the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW contained a number of documents bearing on the Fort Dearborn massacre. The platform of the American party in Illinois in 1885 and a letter from Buckner S. Morris accepting the American or know-nothing nomination for governor in 1856 are in the April, 1914, number of the *Journal* of the Illinois

State Historical Society. The same issue contains the "Diary of Anna R. Morrison," telling of a trip from New York to Illinois in 1840 and of experiences in the state including social relations with various prominent politicians and their families. The October number of the *Journal* contains letters from Jackson to Governor Reynolds, 1831; Douglas to Shields, 1841; and Lincoln to C. R. Welles, 1849; and a journal-letter telling of the experiences and observations of John S. Roper of Alton in the battle of Missionary Ridge is in the January, 1914, issue. Some letters from Lyman Trumbull, 1858 to 1872, are in the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW for June, 1914; and the February-March issue of the *Magazine of History* contains letters from Lincoln to Gustav Koerner, 1858; and from Mahlon D. Ogden of Chicago to Senator Doolittle, 1862.

The Michigan Historical Commission is "looking forward" to the "publication of official documents from the state and local archives," including the messages of the governors. Its plan for the publication of a translation of its revised and corrected transcript of the so-called Margry papers is in abeyance at present pending the outcome of the attempt at coöperation noted above. The Wisconsin Historical Society has another volume of its *Draper series* under way, but the publication of another volume of the *Wisconsin historical collections* on the fur trade will be delayed for a year or two to get additional material from the Washington archives. The last publication of the now defunct, or rather absorbed, Wisconsin History Commission, number 8 of its *Original papers*, is *An artilleryman's diary* by Jenkin Lloyd Jones (Madison, 1914. 395 p.). This is a valuable record of civil war experiences but, as in other volumes of this series, historical accuracy and thoroughness have been sacrificed for popular form. A comparison of the page of the original given in facsimile with the printed version indicates not only considerable editorial revision but carelessness in collation as well.² A collection of "Burr-Blennerhassett documents," edited by Lesley Henshaw of the University of Cincinnati, comprises the com-

² For example: "Griff & I wishing to go to town volunteered to load rations" becomes "Griff and I wished to go to town, volunteered to load rations"; also "obtained a Supply of good reading matter" becomes "obtained a good supply of reading matter."

bined January and April, 1914, number of the *Quarterly publication* of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. Additional installments from the Follett papers make up the July-September, 1914, and January-March, 1915, issues. These consist largely of letters from Thomas Corwin and Joshua R. Giddings to Oran Follett, 1841 to 1847, and throw light on whig politics in Ohio. "Robert Yost his book," a journal of military service in 1813 and "Rev. Paul Henkel's journal of his missionary journey to the state of Ohio in 1806," translated by Rev. F. E. Cooper and edited by Clement L. Martzolff of Ohio University, are in the April, 1914, issue of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*. A chapter from *American husbandry* (London, 1775), edited by A. J. Morrison, is reprinted as "The Ohio prospectus for the year 1775" in the July number of the same periodical.

The Western Reserve Historical Society has published an important set of documents on "Northern Ohio during the war of 1812" as the second part of *Tract* number 92 (pp. 27-117). *Tract* number 94 contains the "Journals of Seth Pease to and from New Connecticut, 1796-98," edited by Elbert J. Benton (pp. 27-124). "William Clark's journal of General Wayne's campaign," edited by R. C. McGrane, is in the December issue of the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW; and the April, 1915, number of the *Catholic Historical Review*, reprints a lenten pastoral issued by Right Rev. Edward Fenwick, first bishop of Cincinnati, in 1827 and said to be the first pastoral printed west of the Alleghenies. Some "Post bellum letters from Ohioans," culled from the Doolittle correspondence, are in *Americana* for October, 1914. An important set of "Documents relating to the war of 1812: the letter-book of Gen. Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe" is the principal contribution in volume xvii of the *Publications* of the Buffalo Historical Society (Buffalo, 1915. 489 p.). General Sheaffe was in command of the British forces in Upper Canada from October 13, 1812.

The centennial of the war of 1812 is probably responsible for the flood of material on that subject. Elias Darnell's *Journal* of the expedition of Kentucky troops under General Winchester in 1812-1813, published originally in Philadelphia, has been reprinted by William Abbatt as extra number 31 of the *Magazine*

of *History* (New York, 1914. pp. 183-256). A diary of a scout in the expedition for the relief of Detroit and Fort Wayne is in the *MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW* for September, while the *American Historical Review* for October prints "Letters relating to the negotiations at Ghent" which contain allusions to the western problems.

An interesting document throwing light on conditions in the West during the Revolution is "Instructions of Jacques Toutant Beauregard to his son concerning a voyage to the Illinois, 1779," translated by Nettie H. Beauregard and published in number 3 of volume iv of the *Collections* of the Missouri Historical Society (1914). One year later in date are the correspondence and memorial relative to the project for a new state on the upper Ohio published in the September issue of the *MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW*.

A number of articles of a somewhat reminiscent character deserve mention. The Chicago Historical Society has published an address on *The Lincoln and Douglas debates* by Horace White, who reported the debates for a Chicago paper (Chicago, 1914. 32 p.). The January, 1914, number of the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society contains "An account of a party perishing in a blizzard in northern Illinois," by W. H. Thacker; and the "Reminiscences of General U. S. Grant," by his son General Frederick D. Grant, are in the April number. The *Transactions* of the same institution for 1912 contain "Some reminiscences of pioneer Rock Island women," by Mrs. K. T. Anderson, and "The Thirty-third regiment Illinois infantry in the war between the states," by Captain J. H. Burnham. "Personal reminiscences of a Winnebago Indian," by P. Radin, is in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* for October-December, 1913. Of greater importance is George Henry Warren's *The pioneer woodsman as he is related to lumbering in the Northwest* (Minneapolis, 1914. 184 p.). In this well-illustrated, privately-printed book Mr. Warren tells of his experiences as a lumber cruiser, surveyor, and land speculator in northern Wisconsin and Minnesota from 1871 to recent years.

MEETINGS AND PUBLISHED TRANSACTIONS

The *Annual report* of the American Historical Association for 1912 (Washington, 1914. 734 p.) contains no papers of special

interest to students of the history of the Northwest. At the meeting in Chicago in December, 1914, however, several pertinent papers were read. Most notable of these was Mr. Turner's "Significance of sectionation in American history." Max Farrand read a paper entitled "One hundred years ago" which emphasized the part played by the West in the development of a conscious nationality at the close of the war of 1812. At the joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Royal B. Way of Beloit read a paper on "English relations in the Northwest, 1789-1794" in which he took issue with Mr. McLaughlin's well-known article on "Western posts and British debts" and emphasized the culpability of British officials in connection with Indian affairs. Frank H. Hodder of the University of Kansas read a paper entitled "When the railroads came to Chicago," which opened a discussion of the question of responsibility for the Kansas-Nebraska act. A suggestive paper read at the same session was William J. Trimble's "Agrarian history of the United States as a subject for research." Two subjects discussed in the conference of historical societies were "Research in state history," opened by James A. Woodburn, and "Restrictions on the use of historical materials," opened with a paper by Lawrence J. Burpee. Mr. Woodburn's paper has been published in the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History*. The most important papers at the conference of archivists were "Legislation for archives," by Charles H. Rammelkamp of Illinois College and "Principles of classification for archives," by Ethel B. Virtue of the Historical Department of Iowa.

The seventh volume of the *Proceedings* of the Mississippi Valley Association, for 1913-1914, has just appeared (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1915. 398 p.). It contains the papers read at the annual meeting at Grand Forks in May, 1914, among which are the following: "The soldier, the advance guard of civilization," by Henry Hale; "Some phases of the history of the Northwest," by James A. James; "Stephen A. Douglas and the split in the democratic party," by Oliver M. Dickerson; "The westward movement in the upper Mississippi valley during the fifties," by Dan E. Clark; "The organization of the Jacksonian party in Indiana," by Logan Esarey; "The place of Jackson-

ville in the history of the Northwest," by Ensley Moore; "American opinions regarding the West, 1778-1783," by Paul C. Phillips; and "A critical analysis of the work of Reuben Gold Thwaites," by Clarence W. Alvord. Papers of interest for the history of the Northwest read at the eighth annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, at Charleston, West Virginia, November 27 and 28, 1914, were: "Early land grants in southeastern Ohio," by H. E. Elson and "Some observations as to the population of the Ohio valley during the eighteenth century," by J. E. Bradford.

The meetings of the Illinois State Historical Society are more prolific than those of any of the other institutions of the old Northwest in the production of papers. The *Transactions* for 1912 (Springfield, 1914. 233 p.) contains the following papers which were read at the annual meeting in May: "The West and the war with Mexico," by William E. Dodd; "The Calumet portage," by William H. Lee; "Everyday life in Illinois near the middle of the century," by Charles B. Johnson; "The climate of Illinois — its permanence," by M. L. Fuller; "The genesis of the whig party in Illinois," by Charles M. Thompson; "Joseph Gillespie," by Josephine G. Prickett; "Was there a French fort at Chicago?" by M. M. Quaife; "Virginia currency in the Illinois country," by Minnie G. Cook; and "Senator Stephen A. Douglas and the Germans in 1854," by F. G. Herriot. The section of the volume devoted to "Contributions" contains the "Proceedings attending the admission of the name of James Nicholas Brown to the Illinois' Farmers' Hall of Fame"; a list of towns in Illinois which have ceased to exist or changed their names, by W. D. Barge; and a paper by Eva Munson Smith on "The Sangamon County, Illinois, Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society, 1861-65."

At the 1914 meeting of the Illinois society, held May 7 and 8, one session was devoted to the great whig meeting in Springfield during the campaign of 1840, with papers on various phases of the subject by Mrs. Edith P. Kelly, Mrs. Isabel Jamison, and Mrs. Martha M. Davidson. Other papers read at the meeting were: "The Williamson county vendetta," by Judge George W. Young; "Chief Little Turtle," by Mrs. Mary Ridpath Young; "The Kaskaskia commons," by H. W. Roberts;

“The life and services of Shelby M. Cullom,” by Henry A. Converse; “The destruction of Kaskaskia by the Mississippi river,” by J. H. Burnham; “The Methodist church and reconstruction,” by W. W. Sweet; “The Yates Phalanx — the Thirty-ninth Illinois volunteer infantry,” by W. H. Jenkins; and “In Black Hawk’s home,” by John H. Hanberg. The annual address was by Judge O. N. Carter on “Early courts of Chicago and Cook county,” and there was an illustrated address on Indians and archaeology by A. R. Crooks of the state museum of natural history. Judge Carter’s paper is printed in the April, 1914, issue of the society’s *Journal*.

The Michigan Historical Commission’s *Bulletin*, number 4 (Lansing, 1914. 41 p.) contains an account of the proceedings of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society at its meetings in 1912 and 1913. It is now stated that the papers read at these meetings will appear in volume xxxix of the *Michigan pioneer and historical collections* instead of as volume 1 of a new series as previously announced. One of these papers, *Patrick Sinclair*, by William L. Jenks, has already been published as advance pages (Lansing, 1914. 41 p.). The mid-winter meeting of the society for this year was held at Muskegon, February 17 and 18, and among the papers on the program were: “A sketch of Theron S. Gurney,” by Miss Mate Miller; “History of the Audubon movement in Michigan,” by Mrs. S. C. Munger; “The significance of Michigan in the history of the Northwest,” by William L. Jenks; “Holland emigration to Michigan,” by Gerrit J. Diekema; “A chapter from the life of Stephen T. Mason,” by Lawton T. Hemans; “Personal recollections of Carl Schurz as editor of the Detroit Post,” by Edward G. Holden; “The story of Grosse Isle or the early days of Trenton,” by Rev. John R. Command; “Materials for the study of Michigan history,” by Samuel H. Ranek; “The history of Michigan water-powers,” by John A. Russell; and “The contents of the Burton library,” by Clarence M. Burton.

The Wisconsin Historical Society has published in the *Proceedings* of its sixty-first annual meeting the papers which were prepared for that meeting, all of which were listed in last year’s report. At the sixty-second annual meeting, last October, the principal paper was by Worthington C. Ford of the Massachu-

setts Historical Society on "The treaty of Ghent — and after." The *Proceedings* of this meeting are now in press and will appear in about two months. Among papers read at recent meetings of the Wisconsin Archaeological Society in Milwaukee were "The ships of the great lakes," by Eugene Hermann and "Household industries of the Pueblo Indians," by Louis Lotz. The Indiana Historical Society held a meeting December 31, 1914, for the election of officers, at which no papers appear to have been read. Professor Isaac J. Cox's paper on "Ohio and western sectionalism" read at the dedication of the museum and library building of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, May 30, 1914, is printed in the October number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*. An interesting address on "Pittsburgh in 1821 as seen by Anne Royall," delivered by Charles W. Dahlinger before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, is printed in the February-March number of the *Magazine of History*.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

The *Indiana Magazine of History* continues to hold the premier position among the historical periodicals of the old Northwest in editorial workmanship and quality of paper. The following are the principal articles in the numbers from June, 1914, to March, 1915, inclusive: "Home life in early Indiana," by William Vogel; "The campaign of 1888 in Indiana," by R. C. Burley; "Hindustan — a pioneer town of Martin county," by Carlos T. McCarty; "Conscription and draft in Indiana," by Charles E. Canup; "Constitution making in early Indiana," by James A. Woodburn; "Jackson county prior to 1850," by John E. Lazerby; "Indiana history in the schools," by O. H. Williams; "The academies of Indiana," by John Hardin Thomas; "Early Methodist circuits in Indiana," by William W. Sweet; "Indiana's growth, 1812-1820," by Waldo F. Mitchell; "The old Chicago road," by Jesse S. Birch; "The flow of colonists to and from Indiana before the civil war," by William O. Lynch; "The Indiana State Federation of Labor," by Ralph W. Van Valer; and "French settlements in Floyd county," by Alice L. Green. A new periodical, *Indiana History, Past and Present, a Monthly Magazine of Hoosier Progress* was started by George Cottman

of Indianapolis in April, 1914, but no copies have been received.

Four numbers of the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society have appeared during the year, but they bear dates from July, 1913, to October, 1914, inclusive. The last issue contains nearly two hundred pages and it would seem that, if it is advisable to publish so much, it would be better to make the magazine a monthly or bi-monthly. Among the articles in these four numbers are the following: "Marking the site of old Fort Joseph," by M. M. Quaife; "Legends of the Starved Rock country," by H. A. Rhoades; "The know-nothing movement in Illinois," by John P. Senning; "Senatorial disputes resulting from the apportionment act of 1841," by Kathleen M. Clyne; "Bishop Matthew Simpson and the funeral of Abraham Lincoln," by William W. Sweet; "Hon. John M. Robinson," by Dr. Daniel Bery; "The Piasa," by Frederick E. Voelker; "New Jersey families in Illinois — the Casad and Stites families," by Edmund J. James; "The name of Illinois," by Mrs. Kate B. Rogers; "The Methodist church and reconstruction," by William W. Sweet; "The county seat battles of Cass county," by J. N. Gridley; "Jules Leon Cottet, a former member of the Icarian community," by Felicie Cottet Snider; "M. H. Chamberlin, president of McKendree College," by Clifford D. Chamberlin; "The hero of the wreck of the *Independence*, Colonel A. F. Rogers," by W. T. Norton; "Morris Long and some of his descendants," including Stephen H. Long, by G. Frank Long; and Archbishop Ireland's address on the services of General James Shields at the unveiling of the Shields statue in the Minnesota capitol, October 20, 1914.

The April and July, 1914, numbers of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* are devoted to miscellaneous papers and contain "The birthplace of Little Turtle," by Calvin Young; "Clement L. Vallandigham," by W. H. Van Fossan; "Beginnings of Lutheranism in Ohio," by B. F. Prince; "Geographic influences in the history of Milan, Ohio," by Charles G. Shatzer; "Ohio generals and field officers in the civil war," by Colonel W. L. Curry; and "A history of banking in Ohio," by P. W. Huntington. The October issue contains a valuable archeological map of the state.

The principal subjects dealt with in the April, July, and Octo-

ber numbers of the *Wisconsin Archaeologist* are: "Aboriginal evidences in northwestern Wisconsin," "The unveiling of the tablets on the Observatory hill mounds," "Indian hill mounds," "The Fond du Lac cache of copper implements," and "Archaeological resources of western Wisconsin." The April, 1914, issue of the *Journal of Geography*, published in Madison, contains several articles of interest to students of Wisconsin history, among which are "The settlement and position of Milwaukee," by L. T. Gould; "Influence of the Mississippi river on the development of Wisconsin," by B. A. Stickle; and "The port of Superior," by J. S. Merrill.

Only one article in the last four numbers of the *American Historical Review* bears upon the history of the Northwest — Charles M. Andrews' "Anglo-French commercial rivalry, 1700-1750; the western phase," begun in the April, 1915, issue. The first volume of the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW contains but two pertinent articles: "Critical evaluation of the sources for western history," by M. M. Quaife and "Methods and operations of the Scioto group of speculators," by Archer B. Hulbert. The April, 1914, issue of *Americana* contains "The election of Judge Doolittle as senator from Wisconsin," by Duane Mowry, and the September and November issues contain two anonymous articles entitled "The territorial supreme court of Wisconsin and its judges," and "Territorial days in Wisconsin." In the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* for January-March, 1914, is "Folk-lore of the central Algonkin Indians," by A. Skinner.

The September issue of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society contains two articles of interest: "The Rev. Theodore Brouwers, missionary in the West Indies and pioneer priest in western Pennsylvania," by Felix Fellner and "The first three Catholic churches in Zanesville, Ohio," by Robert J. J. Harkins. A very promising new periodical, the *Catholic Historical Review*, published by the Catholic University of America in Washington, presents in its first issue for April, 1915, a paper on "Flemish Franciscan missionaries in North America, 1674-1738," by Right Rev. Camillus P. Maes. An article on "The Norvoo charter, 1845," is in the October number of the *Journal*

of *History*, published by the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints at Lamoni, Iowa.

Two articles in recent numbers of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* by Louis Pelzer relate to the field of this report: "The private land claims of the old Northwest," (July) and "The public domain as a field for historical study" (October). Mr. Turner's commencement address at the University of Washington last June, "The West and American ideals," has been published in the October issue of the *Washington Historical Quarterly*. Two other articles which should be noted are, "The story of the city of Milwaukee," by W. C. Jenkins in the *National Magazine* (Boston) for February, 1914, and "The history and government of Chicago," by George H. Gaston in the *Educational Bi-Monthly* (Chicago) of the same date.

MONOGRAPHS AND GENERAL TREATISES

In this section general works will be noted first, followed by those whose field is confined to a single state. Subjects in a special phase of local history will be grouped geographically in the second part rather than topically in the first. As these papers deal with work under way as well as with published results, many theses in preparation at the universities were listed in the one for last year. Nearly all of these are still in course of preparation, but it seems unnecessary to mention them again unless there has been a change in subject or scope. The number of theses begun each year greatly exceeds the number published — an indication that many would-be doctors fall by the wayside.

Lewis Spence has brought out an interesting work on *The myths of the North American Indians* (Toronto [1914]. 393 p.). The book appears to have been compiled with care and skill and it is equipped with a bibliography and a combined glossary and index. Katherine B. Judson has compiled the *Myth and legends of the Mississippi valley* (Chicago, 1914. 215 p.).³ Another work on the natives is M. R. Harrington's *Sacred bundles of the Sac and Fox Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1914. pp. 123-262).⁴ The third volume of *Pioneer priests of North America* by Rev. F. J. Campbell, S. J. (New

³ Reviewed in this number.

⁴ To be reviewed later.

York, 1911-1914. 3 v.) deals with the missionary activities among the Algonkins. The preceding volumes were devoted to the work among the Iroquois and the Huron. John Finley's *The French in the heart of America* (New York, 1915. 431 p.)⁵ is based on a series of articles which appeared originally in *Scribner's Magazine*. The long expected study by Mr. Alvord of the part played by the West in British politics will go to the press in a few weeks and will doubtless appear in the fall. Its title is now *The Mississippi valley in British politics: an essay in imperialism*.

For the political history of the Northwest the most important publication of the year is a *History of the democratic party organization in the Northwest, 1824-1840*, by Homer J. Webster of the University of Pittsburgh (120 p.). This is published as the January number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* and is a careful detailed study based mainly on newspaper material. Two theses in the field of politics not previously mentioned are: *Political groupings, 1832-1840 — the rise of the whig party*, by E. E. Robinson (Wisconsin); and *The campaign of 1840*, by D. R. Fox (Columbia). With these might be grouped *Disunion sentiment in the Northwest, 1860-1861*, by H. C. Hubbard (Chicago). Diplomatic history is represented by John W. Foster's report as secretary of state in 1892 on *Limitation of armament on the great lakes* which has been issued by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Washington, 1914. 57 p.); also by three theses in preparation: *The influence of John Jay in American diplomacy*, by C. E. Sweitzer (Pennsylvania); *The History and diplomacy of the Jay treaty*, by S. F. Bemis (Harvard); and *English policy towards the United States, 1783-1795*, by Orpha E. Leavitt (Wisconsin). Theses on the border line between history and political science are: *The American state executive*, by C. H. Crennan (Pennsylvania); *The early history of state instructions to senators and representatives in congress*, by K. W. Colgrove (Harvard); and *The history of the pension movement, 1885 to the present*, by D. L. McMurry (Wisconsin).

A notable publication in the field of social history is Gaillard Hunt's *Life in America one hundred years ago* (New York, 1914.

⁵ To be reviewed later.

297 p.).⁶ Florence Robinson is writing a thesis on *Social movements, 1825-1860* (Wisconsin) and Clara Crawford on *History of legislation concerning education in Michigan and Wisconsin* (Chicago). A new thesis in the field of religious history is *The attitude of the Lutherans in America toward the civil war and reconstruction*, by G. L. Kieffer (Columbia); and Katharine J. Gallagher has changed the title of her thesis to *The missionary career of the Right Rev. Jackson Kemper in the Northwest, 1835-1859* (Wisconsin).

Five studies treating as many different foreign elements in the population of the United States have appeared during the last year. They are: a *History of emigration from the United Kingdom to North America*, by Stanley C. Johnson (London School of Economics and Politics, *Studies*, no. 34. New York, 1914. 387 p.). *The Scandinavian element in the United States*, by Kendrick C. Babcock (University of Illinois, *Studies in the social sciences*, 3; no. 3. September, 1914. 223 p.);⁷ *Jewish immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910*, by Samuel Joseph (New York, 1914. 209 p.);⁸ *Der deutschamerikanische Farmer, seine Anteil an der Eroberung und Kolonization der bundes Domäne der Vereinigten Staaten*, by Joseph T. Och (Columbus, 1914. 248 p.); and *The Scotch-Irish in America*, by Henry J. Ford (Princeton, New Jersey, 1915. 607 p.).⁹

For commerce and transportation, a most important publication, profusely illustrated, is Seymour Dunbar's *History of travel in America* (Indianapolis, 1915. 4 v.).¹⁰ Two theses in preparation in this field are: *The fur-trade in the great lakes region after 1783*, by W. E. Stevens (Illinois); and *Organized railroad-booming in the Mississippi valley, 1837-1857*, by R. S. Cotterill (Wisconsin). Financial history is represented by five theses under way, two of which are on almost exactly the same subject: *The crisis of 1837*, by R. C. McGrane (Chicago); *The history of the financial crises of 1837 and 1839 in the United States*, by R. J. Ray (Harvard); *Federal supervision of banks*, by F. H. Gilman (Cornell); *A history of railroad capitalization*

⁶ Reviewed *ante*, 1:579.

⁷ To be reviewed later.

⁸ To be reviewed later.

⁹ To be reviewed later.

¹⁰ To be reviewed later.

in the United States, by F. T. Leilich (Cornell); and *The history of life insurance in the United States*, by C. K. Knight (Illinois).

Four general theses in the domain of manufacturing and the tariff are: *The history of manufactures in the Ohio valley to 1860*, by Isaac Lippincott (Chicago); *The rise of a wage-earning class in the United States*, by H. A. Wooster (Yale); *Household manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860*, by R. M. Tryon (Chicago); and *The American free-trade movement, 1824-1860*, by R. T. Hearon (Wisconsin). Special industries are being dealt with by E. H. Hahne in *The history of the meat-packing industry in the United States* (Harvard); A. H. Cole in *The history of the woolen manufacturing industry in the United States* (Harvard); L. M. Cosgrove in *The history of the glass industry in the United States* (Harvard); and F. E. Richter in *The history of the copper industry in the United States* (Harvard).

The public domain has attracted much interest of late as a field for historical research and is well worth tilling. Certain phases of the subject are dealt with by Raynor G. Wellington of the University of South Dakota in his *The political and sectional influence of the public lands, 1828-1842* (1914. 131 p.).¹¹ Two theses on land topics are: *The confirmation of foreign land titles in the acquired territories of the United States*, by T. P. Martin (Harvard); and *Early land speculation in the Northwest territory*, by P. J. Stoneberg (Columbia). For the history of agriculture, F. L. Cummings is writing on *The development of prairie agriculture* (Chicago); and Wilfred Eldred on *Wheat production and the wheat and flour trade in the United States since 1860* (Harvard).

The Illinois Centennial Commission has determined to signalize the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of the state to the union by the production in 1918 of a comprehensive and scholarly history of the state. The members of the publication committee, fortunately, are men who understand that history should be written by historians instead of by retired politicians and newspaper men and they have selected Clarence W. Alvord, whose connections with the Illinois State Historical Library and

¹¹ To be reviewed later.

the Illinois historical survey of the university make him the logical man for the place, for editor-in-chief. The work as now planned will be in five volumes dealing respectively with "District and territory, 1673-1818," "The frontier state, 1818-1848," "The era of transition, 1848-1870," "The industrial state, 1870-1893," "The modern commonwealth, 1893-1918." The men who will collaborate with Mr. Alvord in the writing of the volumes, so far as they have been selected, are Ernest L. Bogart, Arthur C. Cole, and Theodore C. Pease, all of the University of Illinois. It is expected, however, that a considerable number of research assistants will be used to collect material and get it in shape for the final work. The preliminary volume planned by the commission on *Illinois in 1818*, the preparation of which was undertaken by the writer, has made some progress and it is hoped that it may be sent to press early in 1916.

Two recent numbers of the *Studies in the social sciences* of the University of Illinois deal with phases of the financial history of the state. They are: *The development of banking in Illinois, 1817-1863*, by George W. Dowrie (vol. 2: no. 4, imprint 1913. 181 p.);¹² and *A history of the general property tax in Illinois*, by Robert M. Haig (vol. 3: nos. 1-2. 1914. 235 p.). The Munsell Publishing Company has brought out a history of Rock Island county in combination with their much combined *Historical encyclopaedia of Illinois*, by Bateman and Selby (Chicago, 1914. 2 v.). Three theses in preparation at the university are: *The German settlement in Illinois*, by J. J. Kile; *Farm tenure in Illinois since 1880*, by C. L. Stewart; and *Commission government in the cities of Illinois*, by C. A. Hanford. At the University of Chicago, J. C. Hamilton is writing on *The history of administration in Illinois*; and J. F. Lee upon *Transportation as a factor in the development of Illinois*.

The event of Indiana historiography during the past year was the publication of Logan Esarey's *History of Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1915. 528 p.).¹³ *A Brief history of De Pauw University*, by Irving Frederic Brown appeared in the November *Bulletin* of the university; while Theodore Stein's *Our old school* (Indianapolis, 1914. 211 p.) deals with the history of the Ger-

¹² Reviewed *ante*, 1:311.

¹³ To be reviewed later.

man-English Independent School of Indianapolis. It is announced that Francis M. Stalker of the state normal school is gathering materials for a work on the history of early schools of Indiana. Charles Kettleborough's *Drainage and reclamation of the swamp and overflow lands* (Indiana Bureau of Legislative Information, *Bulletin* no. 2. Indianapolis, 1914. 68 p.) is an historical discussion with the object of advancing the drainage movement. The neglect of Indiana history as a field for doctoral dissertations has not been remedied during the past year.

Many aspects of Ohio history are necessarily dealt with in the *Life of Rutherford Burchard Hayes*, by C. R. Williams (Boston, 1914. 2 v.).¹⁴ John W. Perrin, librarian of the Case library, has written a *History of the Cleveland sinking fund of 1862* (Cleveland, 1913. 68 p.) and Colonel William L. Curry has brought out a *History of Jerome township, Union county* (Columbus, 1913. 205 p.). Two Ohio county histories of the commercial type have been noted: a *History of Drake county* issued by the Hobart Publishing Company (Milford, Ohio. 1914. 2 v.); and the *Past and present of Wyandot county*, brought out by the S. J. Clarke Publishing Company (Chicago, 1914. 2 v.). The latter is "edited" by Abraham J. Baughman. The thesis subject of W. C. Spielman of Johns Hopkins is now announced as *The economic basis of Ohio politics, 1803-1870*.

The only publication noted in the field of Michigan history is *Historical sketches of the Ninth Michigan infantry* (Coldwater, Michigan, 1913. 75 p.). Two newly announced theses in this field are *Political campaigns of the civil war in Michigan*, by L. G. Cooper (Michigan); and *The historical geography of Detroit*, by A. E. Parkins (Chicago). In Ellis B. Usher's *Wisconsin, its story and biography, 1848-1913*, brought out by the Lewis Publishing Company (Chicago, 1914. 8 v.) the first three volumes only are devoted to the history of the state and the remaining five contain biographies. Items for western New York and Pennsylvania which should be mentioned are: *Foundation stones of a great diocese [Pittsburgh]*, by Rev. Andrew Arnold Lambing, of which the first volume covering 1749 to 1860 has appeared (Pittsburgh, 1914. 345 p.); *Peace episodes on the Niagara*, by

¹⁴ Reviewed in this number.

Frank H. Severance (Buffalo Historical Society, *Publications*, xviii. Buffalo, 1914. 392 p.); and three items by Peter A. Porter: *How lake commerce began* (32 p.), *Landmarks on the Niagara frontier* (69 p.), and *Niagara county's share in the battle of Lake Erie* (15 p.), all published at Buffalo in 1914. A local study, which, however, transcends state boundaries, is a thesis in preparation by B. H. Schockel on *The historical geography of the lead region of Illinois-Wisconsin-Iowa* (Chicago).

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS AND ACTIVITIES

Work on the *Atlas of historical geography of the United States* which is being prepared by the department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington has made some progress during the year. R. H. Whitbeck of the University of Wisconsin was associated with it for four months. The dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Chicago in December disclosed much activity on the part of committees along the lines of stimulating research in and teaching of local history and improvement of history teaching in general. One committee is investigating the administration of historical societies and another is interesting itself in the marking of historic sites. An historical novel which deals with events in the history of Illinois and Wisconsin is Everett McNeil's *The totem of Black Hawk* (Chicago, 1914. 369 p.). The growing interest in historical pageantry has resulted in the publication of a number of general books on the subject. One which might be mentioned is Ralph Davol's *Handbook of American pageantry* (Trenton, New Jersey, 1914. 236 p.).

The Wisconsin Historical Society has issued in very attractive form *Reuben Gold Thwaites, a memorial address*, by Frederic J. Turner (Madison, 1914. 94 p.). Three *Bulletins of information* issued by the society during the year contain "Reports of auxiliaries, for 1913," "List of active members," and "Periodicals and newspapers currently received." Researches were conducted by the Wisconsin Archaeological Society during the past year in Waushara county and the Lac Courte Oreilles region and groups of Indian mounds near Madison were marked with descriptive tablets. The Waukesha County Historical Society has completed its monument to the three Cushing brothers — civil war heroes — and it will be dedicated on memorial day, 1915.

The society is now raising a fund to establish the Cushing Memorial Park around the monument.

The "Lincoln Way" investigation has been continued by C. M. Thompson for the Illinois State Historical Library and a formal printed report has been presented to the present legislature (Springfield, 1915. 70 p.). *Stephen A. Douglas, a memorial* is a privately printed book compiled and edited by Edward S. Marsh (Brandon, Vermont, 1914. 121 p.). The Chicago Historical Society is doing a valuable work in arousing interest in and spreading information about local history by providing a series of lectures for school children on the history of the city and state. *A history of Chicago from 1613 to 1914, in a pageant* is by Ruth C. Collins (Chicago, Ravinia Club, 1914. 10 p.). For a number of years individuals have been agitating for the preservation of the great Cahokia mound in Illinois opposite St. Louis and this agitation led to a meeting in St. Louis in March, 1914, of Illinois and Missouri people at which a Cahokia Mound Association was formed and a movement started to secure a federal appropriation for the purchase of the mound. The centennial of the battle of Plattsburg, September 11, 1914, was fittingly observed by a "Military Tract celebration" at Macomb in McDonough county, Illinois, where a monument to the two heroes of the battle, General Macomb and Commodore McDonough, was unveiled. Other local anniversaries observed in Illinois were: the centennial of the erection of Fort Edwards, celebrated by a home-coming at Warsaw, September 29 — October 1 and the dedication of a monument erected by the state; the centennial of the organization of St. Clair county, celebrated at Belleville by a home-coming and pageant, September 13 — 20; and the seventy-fifth anniversary of the organization of Jersey county, celebrated by the county historical society, August 5.

Attempts are being made in a number of states to teach state and local history in the grade and high schools, but in Indiana alone has any adequate body of material been supplied suitable for the purpose. *Readings in Indiana history*,¹⁵ compiled and edited by a committee of the history section of the Indiana State Teachers' Association (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1914. 470 p.) contains well arranged and carefully selected extracts

¹⁵ Reviewed *ante*, 1:588.

from both source and secondary materials. Each extract is provided with an adequate introduction and the "Outlines for study" at the end are suggestive. *In my youth from the post-humous papers of Robert Dudley* (Indianapolis, 1914. 493 p.) is an anonymous work on the border line between fiction and reminiscence, which contains a good picture of pioneer life in Indiana.

The approaching centennial in Indiana is arousing much interest in historical matters and various institutions in the state are taking advantage of this interest and endeavoring to satisfy the demands created by it. Thus the state library devoted the September and December numbers of its *Bulletin* to condensed sketches of various phases of Indiana history with brief bibliographies appended. The March number of the *Bulletin* contains a "Select list of books on Indiana" recommended for purchase by local libraries. The state library also makes a practice of loaning books throughout the state and so every opportunity is given for a widespread study of different phases of Indiana history. In connection with the centennial plans, the committee on education of the German alliance has offered two prizes for essays in English on "The influence of German civilization in the state of Indiana." The competition, which closes January 1, 1916, is open to students in any university, college, or normal school in the state. A campaign has been begun by the Colonial Dames of Indiana for the preservation of existing town, church, and family records and the location and inspection of old graveyards. The churches of Indiana, also, are beginning to take an interest in the past. For some time William W. Sweet of De Pauw University has been at work on the history of the Methodist church and his efforts resulted recently in the appointment of conference historians in two of the four conferences of the state. The Presbyterians, also, at a recent meeting at New Albany, took steps looking toward a systematic study of the history of Presbyterianism in Indiana.

The historic town of New Harmony, Indiana, celebrated its centennial, June 6-13, 1914 and the event led to a number of publications of an historical character. *Historic New Harmony, 1814-1914* by Nora C. Freytagoet and W. V. Mangrum (New Harmony, 1914. 65 p.) was the official guide for the celebration and

contains historical and biographical sketches and many illustrations. The Indiana Historical Society brought out as number 4 of volume v of its *Publications*, John H. Halliday's *An Indian village, New Harmony* (Indianapolis, 1914. pp. 201-229). This sketch was written originally in 1869 and later revised and carried down to 1881. One of the features of the New Harmony celebration was a pageant and the success of this has stimulated much interest in historical pageantry in the state. Various towns and counties are planning for centennial celebrations with pageants during 1915 and the state library has published a list of its books and articles on pageants in its March *Bulletin*.

Number 3 of the *Bulletins* of the Michigan Historical Commission is *A sketch of historical societies in Michigan*, by George N. Fuller (Lansing, 1914. 62 p.). This contains brief histories of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society and its predecessor, the Historical Society of Michigan, together with the by-laws and a roster of members of the former. The commission maintains what might be called an information bureau for the answering of questions pertaining to Michigan history. It has encouraged the organization of local historical societies and has endeavored to assist them to direct their energies profitably. The commission has coöperated, also, with the schools, public libraries, clubs, and societies of all sorts, in arousing interest in state and local history. Another feature of the commission's work was the assistance rendered to the Mackinac Island State Park Commission in selecting suitable commemorative names for historic sites, drives, paths, groves, caves, springs, and other features of the island. These will be used on a detailed map which is to be published by the park commission.

A comparison of historical activities in the old Northwest with those in other sections of the Mississippi valley, as disclosed in the surveys published in the REVIEW leads clearly to the conclusion that this section is in advance of the others both in quantity and quality. Moreover, a comparison of this paper with the one published a year ago shows clearly that there has been advance and improvement in the situation as regards historical work in the old Northwest itself. There is still much room for improvement, however; Ohio needs a reorganization, while buildings and equipment are badly needed in Indiana, Illinois, and

Michigan. Even where conditions are at their best, an unlimited amount of work remains to be done in the collection and publication of material to say nothing of the writing of monographs and general histories.

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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

SOME NEW-FOUND RECORDS OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION

The expedition of Lewis and Clark across the continent in the years 1803 to 1806 has well been called "our national epic of exploration." Conceived and directed by President Jefferson, authorized by act of congress, and carried out by officers and soldiers drawing the pay and subject to the discipline of the United States army, it constituted in the fullest sense a great national enterprise. Moreover, its successful execution by the two youthful leaders, its romantic and adventurous character, and the extent and importance of the territory explored, all have combined to create among Americans a deep and abiding interest in the story of this "noble adventure in the cause of civilization."

The story of the Lewis and Clark records is comparable in interest to that of the expedition itself. Upon no point was Jefferson, the father of the expedition, more urgent than that with respect to the keeping and preservation of the records. For this fuller story the reader is referred to the scholarly introduction to the Thwaites edition of the original journals of the expedition. Here it will suffice to say that Jefferson's wishes in the matter of keeping them were loyally carried out. Seldom have the doings of an exploring party been more conscientiously or fully recorded. In addition to the records of the two leaders, the four subordinate officers, Patrick Gass, Charles Floyd, John Ordway, and Nathaniel Pryor, and at least two of the privates, Joseph Whitehouse and Robert Frazier, kept journals.¹ With respect to the publication of these precious records, however, Jefferson and the scholarly world in general were grievously disappointed. The journal of Gass appeared with commenda-

¹ It is possible that a journal was kept by still another private, George Shannon, but if so it has been lost to the world thus far.

ble promptness in the year 1807.² Seven years later, after numerous delays and difficulties, was published Nicholas Biddle's paraphrase of the narrative portion of the journals as furnished him by Clark. This may be regarded as the official edition of the records of the expedition. Although Biddle's work had been skilfully done it was still but a condensed paraphrase of the records placed at his disposal. Not until a century had elapsed after the launching of the expedition were the original journals themselves made available to the public. Then a veteran historical editor, the late Mr. Thwaites, made a diligent search for all the existing records. The fragmentary journal of Floyd and portions of the records kept by Lewis and Clark were known to be in existence, while Gass's journal had long been published in modified form. Ordway's journal was known to have been purchased by Clark and sent to Biddle, and was thought to have been returned later by the latter to Clark. The search which Mr. Thwaites instituted for it proved vain; incidentally, however, it led to the discovery, in the possession of heirs of Clark, of a large mass of important records of the two leaders of the expedition, whose existence had been unknown to the world in general, and whose significance had been unappreciated by its immediate possessors. The journal of Whitehouse, too, was recovered, after wanderings more extensive, apparently, than its author had ever undergone in real life.

Regretfully, doubtless, the editor concluded that all the records of the expedition still extant had been located, and proceeded with the publication. The success achieved in his search had been great enough to render the publication of the journals a noteworthy event in the annals of American historiography. The journals of Floyd, Whitehouse, and Clark were given to the world practically complete,³ together with the recovered por-

² The journal was prepared for publication by an Irish schoolmaster, David McKeegan; he modernized the original language of the journal, so that it is not possible to determine from it what Gass actually wrote. Nevertheless it seems evident that the editor's work was performed conscientiously, and in view of the disappearance of the original manuscript, and of the fate of the other Lewis and Clark records, the humble schoolmaster deserves a tribute of commendation for his work in making Gass's journal known to the world.

³ Since Floyd died early in the expedition his journal covers a period of only a little over three months. The journal of Whitehouse ends November 5, 1805; it

tions of Lewis' journals, approximately one-half of the original, and the scientific data and other miscellaneous material pertinent to the expedition. The records of the expedition known to have been kept, but now lost to the world, included the journals of Ordway, Frazier, and Pryor, and the missing portions of the journal of Captain Lewis.

Included in the "lore not learned from books" imbibed by the writer of these lines in boyhood is the following homely story: A countryman had come into possession of a sum of money which he had no adequate means of safeguarding. He solved the difficulty by placing it in the middle of a well traveled road and covering it with a heavy stone, reasoning that no one of the many users of the highway would take the trouble to remove the stone to one side. When in course of time the owner desired to use his money he repaired to the spot where he had concealed it and found, as he had expected, money and stone unmolested. The moral of the story finds pertinent illustration in the facts attending the recent discovery among the Biddle family papers, almost eleven decades after the conclusion of the expedition, and a century after the appearance of the Biddle narrative, of further extensive and valuable Lewis and Clark records. Until about a year and a half ago these papers continued to repose in the Biddle country home near Philadelphia. Through the instrumentality of Mr. Charles Biddle, a grandson of Nicholas Biddle, they were then turned over to the Library of Congress; the bulk of them have been retained there, but a considerable quantity, consisting of more private and miscellaneous papers, were returned to the donor and are now in the custody of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

In the course of examination of the papers sent to the Library of Congress a considerable manuscript, contained within loose-leather covers, was found, which proved to be the long lost journal of Sergeant John Ordway. The document was returned to Mr. Biddle and in the spring of 1914 the writer was granted permission by him to make a copy of it with a view to securing its publication.

Up to this time no careful examination of the document had covers, therefore, some eighteen of the twenty-eight months consumed by the expedition.

been made, and only the fact that it was the Ordway journal was known. Upon further examination, made during the course of copying, it became apparent that Ordway had kept his journal with the greatest of care and regularity from the day of departure from river Dubois, May 14, 1804, until the headwaters of the Columbia were reached, September 30, 1805. With this date the entries suddenly ceased. Various considerations — the knowledge that Ordway completed the journey, the care with which the journal had been kept without a single day's omission during a period of sixteen and one-half months, the condition of the manuscript itself, contained within covers to which it had not, apparently, originally belonged — tended alike to the conclusion that the find in hand represented but a portion of the original record. This conclusion was accordingly communicated to Mr. Biddle, with the request that a further search be made among the family papers for the continuation of the journal. The response to this request proved highly gratifying. Among the papers deposited with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania four manuscript volumes of varying size were found which seemed to bear upon the Lewis and Clark expedition. The smallest of them proved to be a journal of the trip by Clark up the Missouri river in 1808 which resulted in his treaty with the Osage Indians and the establishment of Fort Osage. While possessing an interest of its own it has no connection with the Lewis and Clark expedition and may be omitted from further consideration here. Two of the volumes were the continuation, to completion, of Sergeant Ordway's journal. The last and largest volume of the four contains the journal (incomplete) kept first by Lewis and later by Clark of the river trip from Pittsburgh down the Ohio and up the Mississippi to river Dubois in the autumn and early winter of 1803. Later the remaining blank pages of the book were utilized for writing down random notes and observations during the course of the expedition proper, so that in addition to the regular narrative journal a considerable portion of the volume is made up of contents of the latter character.

It remains to offer some estimate of the significance of the newly-discovered records. Since sufficient opportunity has not yet been afforded for making a careful study of them the one

which follows is regarded as tentative only, susceptible of modification should further study reveal the necessity therefor. In view of the fullness of our present knowledge of the Lewis and Clark expedition, it can scarcely be expected that the new-found journals will supply much that is novel in the way of information, or alter materially our conception of the expedition based upon the records already in print. That they possess decided historical interest and importance is obvious nevertheless. The viewpoint of the two leaders of the expedition was necessarily a different one from that held by their followers. The great bulk of the records hitherto known were written by Lewis and Clark. They contain, according to Mr. Thwaites's estimate, about 1,060,000 words. So far there has been no sufficient check upon the journals kept by the two commanders. The Gass journal, which comes nearest to affording one, contains, as published, about 83,000 words. The Whitehouse journal, 67,000 words in length, and that of Floyd, containing about 12,500 words, are both fragmentary. The former fails to cover the last ten and one-half months of the expedition, while the latter covers only three months in all. Ordway's journal, on the other hand, contains about 125,000 words, and lacks not a single daily entry for the entire period of the expedition. In this latter respect it is unique, although Clark's journal is virtually complete, lacking entries for only ten days, the events of which were summarized later. Thus in the Ordway journal we have available for the first time, in the shape of a record kept by a subordinate, a complete check upon the journals of the leaders of the expedition.

With respect to the quality of Ordway's record we have the testimony of Biddle, who used it, that it is much better than the Gass journal, and that he found it "really very useful." This general testimonial of the accomplished editor is more significant and valuable than any opinion which the writer's present familiarity with the work renders possible. It may be in order, however, to add something by way of illustrating the opinion of Biddle and the historical worth of Ordway's journal.

The reader of Clark's journal finds no reason for supposing that the entries for July 12 and July 13, 1804, were composed under any different circumstances, or that their details are any

less reliable than usual. Yet the following sentence from Ordway's journal for July 14, 1804, supplies a detail very essential to the proper understanding of the entries in question: "Capt. Clarks notes & Remarks of 2 days blew overboard this morning in the Storm, and he was much put to it to Recollect the courses &C."

Ordway's entry for August 9, 1804, illustrates in another way the value of his journal. For this day's doings we have the records made by Clark, Floyd, Whitehouse, Gass, and Ordway. Of them all the latter's record is the most detailed and valuable, and is the one, apparently, from which Biddle drew the greater part of his entry for this day.⁴

Still another way in which the newly discovered journal adds to our knowledge of the expedition is illustrated by the entries for August 13 and 14, 1804. On the former day Ordway was sent in charge of a detachment of four men to seek the Omaha village and invite the chiefs to a council with the explorers the following day. The embassy found only a deserted village, and after a tedious excursion regained the main party at noon of the following day. As might be expected Ordway's narrative for these two days is more detailed and authoritative than is that of any of the other journalists. Of the latter we have the journals of Clark, Whitehouse, Floyd, and Gass. The entries of Whitehouse, Floyd, and Gass are relatively brief and perfunctory. Except for his astronomical observations this is also true of Clark's entry for the thirteenth. His journal for the fourteenth is longer, incorporating evidently a summary of the story told by Ordway's party upon its return. Ordway's account of the two day's excursion possesses the two-fold superiority

⁴ To enable those who desire to compare Ordway's entry with those of the others for this day (already in print) the former is appended here: "Thursday 9th. a foggy morning which detained us till past 7 oClock at which time we Set out under a gentle Breeze from S. E. we passed Round Several points of high wood land Capt Clark & Sgt Floyd went out hunting on S. S. came 11 miles by 12 O. C. where the River had formerly cut across a bend where it had Broke through a narrow Stripe of woods on each side of the River, the old channel in the above mentioned bend is ponds & Islands. the hills are a Great distance from the River this Several days. the land on the River is low chiefly covered with cottonwood & Grape vines & C. the Grapes are very pleanty on the River for this Several days. Capt Clark killed a Turkey & Joined us towards evening. we camped on S. S. of the River The Musquetoos more troublesome than ever."

over that of his leader of being a first hand narrative and also approximately twice as long. Here again Biddle found Ordway "very useful," most of his account of the excursion being taken from this source.

On August 30 and 31, 1804, an important conference and council was held with the Sioux Indians, into whose territory the explorers had now come. Since Floyd had died ten days earlier, our knowledge of this event is derived from the journals of Gass, Whitehouse, Clark, and Ordway. All seem to have felt the importance of the affair, and made longer entries in their journals for these two days than usual. Gass devotes 400 words to describing the proceedings; Whitehouse's journal runs to 225 words the first day and 3 ("a pleasant morning") the second; Clark's narrative contains 950 words, and Ordway's 1850.⁵ Ordway alone records the speeches made by the several chiefs in council; his doing so largely accounts for the greater length of his narrative as compared with Clark's. The first three of these speeches are reproduced in the Biddle narrative, but, summarizing as usual, the editor omits to print four following speeches recorded by Ordway.

In conclusion concerning Ordway, it is plain that, the two leaders excepted, his journal is more interesting and valuable than that of any other member of the expedition. Probably it would not be exaggerating to say that it is more important than those of Whitehouse, Gass, and Floyd combined. It covers every day of the two and one-third year period consumed by the expedition proper; it affords for the first time an adequate check upon the journals kept by Lewis and Clark, the commanders; it is written by a man possessed by evident shrewdness and keenness of observation. Of his pertinacity, the fact of his keeping a diary without a break for twenty-eight months, under the conditions of life we know it to have been kept, in itself affords sufficient proof. It is throughout a valuable commentary upon the record kept by Clark, and in some instances at least may fairly be said to be its superior.

The Lewis and Clark journal of the trip preliminary to the expedition proper, from Pittsburgh to river Dubois in the latter part of the year 1803, possesses more of novelty than does the

⁵ The figures given are approximate.

Ordway journal. All the Lewis and Clark journals hitherto known to be extant begin with the departure from the camp on the Dubois in May, 1804, upon the main portion of the exploring expedition. This is the case, too, as we have seen, with Ordway's journal. Concerning Lewis' experiences on his journey from Washington to river Dubois our knowledge has been based principally upon the letters written by him and by others during this time. Yet the great expedition may well be said to have been fairly launched with the launching of Lewis' boat on the Ohio at eleven o'clock in the morning of August 30, 1803, upon a voyage that was to end over three years later at St. Louis. The document before us is a leather bound volume containing 258 pages $4\frac{5}{8}$ by $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in size; 37 pages are blank, 93 pages are devoted to notes and observations, and 128 pages to the journal of the river trip. The latter begins at Pittsburgh, August 30, and concludes at river Dubois with the entry for December 12. Unfortunately, however, entries are lacking for over half of the total period of the voyage. The principal omission is that of September 19 to November 12, a period of fifty-four days. The reason for this hiatus is not apparent; possibly the journal was kept in another note book and still awaits discovery by some future, fortunate searcher. To some extent the omission is compensated by two letters of Lewis from Cincinnati published in the Thwaites edition of the journals, one to Clark, September 28, the other to Jefferson, October 3.

Turning our attention from the omissions to the contents of the journal, Lewis' portion of the narrative covers thirty-six days, and Clark's contribution eleven days. The change in authorship from Lewis to Clark is due to the fact that on November 28, at the mouth of Kaskaskia river, Lewis turned boat and journal alike over to Clark, and proceeded thence overland to St. Louis, Clark entering the voyage to the end at river Dubois. Incidentally it may be noted that three respectable authorities on Lewis and Clark state that Lewis gave over the boat at Louisville, himself making an overland journey from this point to St. Louis.⁶ The authority for this statement is not in evidence; in the light of the present journal its incorrectness is apparent.

⁶ Eva E. Dye, *The conquest* (Chicago, 1903), 151; Olin D. Wheeler, *The trail of Lewis and Clark, 1804-1904* (New York, 1904), 1:61; James K. Hosmer, *Gass's*

The journal contains, as it has come down to us, about 15,000 words, chiefly the handiwork of Lewis. The attractiveness of the ill-fated captain's writings, commented upon by Mr. Thwaites, is much in evidence. On the first day of the voyage occurred a near tragedy. Included in Lewis' equipment for the expedition was an air gun, a never failing source of amazement to the red men, who regarded it as big medicine of a most potent sort. Throughout the expedition only Clark's Negro servant, York, rivaled it in usefulness as a means of amusing and overawing the natives. The first occasion of exhibiting the air gun shows that at bottom red men and white are much alike. Three miles below Pittsburgh the boat was halted for a few minutes. "Being insisted on" by several gentlemen, Lewis brought the air gun ashore, and charged and fired it several times. The inevitable bystander now takes the center of the stage. "A Mr. Blaze Cenas, being unacquainted with the management of the gun suffered her to discharge herself accidentally." The ball passed through the hat, and cut the temple of a woman forty yards distant. She dropped instantly, while a stream of blood gushed forth. Great consternation prevailed among the party, until presently the sufferer revived, and on examination it was learned that the wound was "by no means mortal or even dangerous."

One of the strangest omissions from the organization of the Lewis and Clark expedition is the absence of a trained surgeon or physician. The journal shows that when Lewis reached Wheeling this omission came near being supplied. A Doctor Patterson, whose father was Robert Patterson, an eminent professor of mathematics in the University of Pennsylvania, expressed a great desire to join the expedition. Lewis consented, giving him until three o'clock the following afternoon to be ready to start. He also promised, subject to the later approval of Jefferson, to bestow upon him the blank appointment of second lieutenant with which Jefferson had armed him, for use in the event of Clark's declining to engage in the exploration. It was also specified that the doctor was to take with him his stock of medicine. He set about his preparations, with much zeal we

journal of the Lewis and Clark expedition (Chicago, 1904), xxi. Dye and Hosmer state that Lewis followed the "Vincennes trace" to Kaskaskia; Wheeler says he "went overland from Louisville to St. Louis via Kaskaskia."

may imagine; but they were not yet complete when three o'clock of the following afternoon arrived, and the inexorable captain promptly embarked without him. In view of what the party was to face during the next three years it may well be questioned whether it would not have been wiser to have given Doctor Patterson a little more time to get ready for his journey.

Arrived at Cape Girardeau, Lewis landed to pay his respects to the Spanish commandant. His comments on the settlement and on his own reception constitute the longest single entry in the journal. The commandant proved to be the former Ohio trader, Louis Lorimier, whom George Rogers Clark had burned out and ruined financially in the course of his revolutionary warfare a quarter of a century earlier. Notwithstanding this fact the explorers were most hospitably received. The journalist describes the commandant's appearance, as also that of his numerous family, in considerable detail. The most noteworthy feature with respect to the former was his crop of hair, reaching almost to his knees and "proportionally thick." The queue was confined to his back by means of a leathern girdle about the waist. Venturing to address him on the subject, Lewis was told that the queue was formerly long enough to reach the ground when its owner stood erect, "nor was it much less remarkable for its thickness."

The manners and customs of Cape Girardeau society are treated with similar detail. When Lewis called upon the commandant he was told that the latter had gone with his family to attend a horse race. Following him thither, Lewis found the race just concluded, and the commandant busy settling the disputes which had arisen over the betting. He himself had lost four horses, valued at \$200, yet he bore his loss with cheerfulness, and his son immediately engaged in another race with \$600 in value at issue. The assembled throng is pictured as of the lowest and most turbulent type of backwoodsmen, and on such a subject Lewis is certainly a competent authority. "They are men of desperate fortunes, but little to loose either character or property. they bett very high on these raises [*races*] in proportion to their wealth; it is not uncommon for them to risk the half or even the whole of their personal property on a single wager." Yet even in such a society the fairer sex presents it-

self in attractive guise. The commandant's wife was a half-breed Shawnee, "a very decent woman," and apparently very handsome in her younger days. She dressed after the Shawnee fashion except as to her linen, in which respect she followed the French-Canadian style. The couple had reared a large family of very handsome children; the daughter, grown up, was dressed "in a plain yet fashionable stile such as is now common in the Atlantic States among the respectable people of the middle class." The commandant pressed Lewis to stay to supper, over which "the lady of the family presided, and with much circumspection performed the honours of the table."

The recovery of these journals from a century of obscurity, however interesting in itself, brings prominently before us a possibility equally interesting. May not the records of the expedition still in hiding eventually be recovered? Ten years ago Mr. Thwaites concluded, after a notably successful search, that all the records still extant had probably been found. A dozen years earlier, Mr. James D. Butler announced a more hopeful view of the matter. Reviewing the Coues edition of the Biddle narrative, then recently published, he expressed his keen regret that the editor had not seen fit to conduct a search for the Ordway journal and other missing records of the expedition, and illustrated the possibility of so doing by telling, for the first time, the story of Robert Frazier's prospectus of his journal.⁷ "The unexpected happens," continued Mr. Butler. "Such a happening would be the find of the Journal by Frazier." His words were destined to meet a remarkable fulfillment. In an issue of the *Nation* less than four months later Mr. Butler himself announced the discovery, within the library he was wont to haunt, of the journal of Sergeant Floyd. Since then the journals of Whitehouse and Ordway have been found. Still missing are those of Frazier, Pryor, and Gass, and approximately one-half of the journal kept by Lewis. The writer, like Mr. Butler two decades ago, has faith to expect that some or all of these will eventually be found. The clue to the whereabouts of the Gass manuscript seems the most promising of the list. We have the word of Biddle that in 1810 it was in the American Philosoph-

⁷ *New York Nation*, November 2, 1893.

ical Library at Philadelphia.⁸ With such an opening it is not improbable to suppose a diligent search for it might be rewarded with success. Perhaps blind chance alone will ever reveal the journals of Pryor and Frazier, together with that of youthful George Shannon, if, indeed, the latter ever kept one. A possible clue to these latter records came to my attention only recently. According to information obtained by Mr. Hamilton, veteran specialist among the records of the Indian office at Washington, a portion of the Chouteau papers were loaned by their owner to the explorer and scientist, Nicollet. The papers thus loaned were never returned to their owner; and there is some reason for believing that they are now buried in the files of the war department. What more probable than that one or more of the journals in question should have come into Chouteau's possession (Ordway sold his to Clark for ten dollars, and considered himself well paid) and by him have been turned over to Nicollet? If to any reader the suggestion seems too visionary or the clue too hazy for serious consideration, let him recall the statement of Mr. Butler with its remarkable confirmation: "the unexpected happens."

MILO M. QUAIFFE

THE UNDERWOOD JOURNAL

The authorship of a journal in the Draper manuscript has just come to light in rather an interesting manner. Among the papers designated by Doctor Draper as "Frontier wars," is the original diary of an army officer in the West during the years 1792-1800, which is well written and shows considerable knowledge of the conduct of the several campaigns. It has been called the journal of General Thomas Posey, and was so attributed, with an ascription of doubt, in the *Descriptive list of manuscript collections* issued by the Wisconsin Historical Society in 1906.

A few weeks ago the society received a communication from J. H. Whittey of Richmond, Virginia, the owner of Charles Campbell's papers which he had purchased many years ago, asking for information concerning a journal, a considerable extract of which he had found in Campbell's handwriting evidently pre-

⁸ Letter of July 7, 1810, in Coues, *History of the expedition under the command of Lewis and Clark* (New York, 1893), 1:lxxxvi.

pared for publication, and on which he had endorsed "Diary of Captain Thomas T. Underwood." In looking over the journals of that period, in the Draper manuscripts, it was found that the one ascribed to Posey was endorsed upon the title page: "Sent me by Ch^s Campbell, Esq^r the historian of Petersburg, Va. L. C. D." A further search disclosed (Draper MSS. 10DD60) a letter dated April 10, 1846, from Charles Campbell to Doctor Draper saying: "An old soldier died here a year or two since, who had served under Wayne in his Indian campaign on the Ohio & kept a diary during that time. He was rather illiterate but some of his details are not uninteresting. I have thought of printing the diary in a newspaper." The extract in Mr. Whittey's possession begins at Camp Deposit, August 19, 1794. On page 28 of the original journal in the Draper collection a heavy black line has been drawn at the date August 19, where begin the words, "The General Calls this place Camp deposite" — no doubt the transcriber's mark of his point of departure.

These indications appear to establish definitely the authorship of the journal in Draper MSS. 16U. This should be noted especially in connection with R. C. McGrane's notes on "William Clark's journal of Wayne's campaign" published in the *MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 1:418-444, where the journal now discovered to be Underwood's is repeatedly cited as "Posey's."

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

DETROIT DURING THE REVOLUTION

The author of the subjoined letter was Richard Butler, an Irish soldier and officer in the American revolution. He came to America some years before that war and was stationed at Pittsburgh in 1776 as appears by this letter. The following year he was made lieutenant colonel in Morgan's corps and served with distinction throughout the war. The advice given in his letter was not acted upon, principally because there were not enough troops available to undertake the expedition.

After the termination of the war, General Richard Butler remained in the regular service and, for a time, was in the Indian department in Ohio. In the early part of 1791 he was stationed at Pittsburgh and there joined the expedition under General St.

Clair that proceeded against the Indians. In the engagement with the Indians, known as St. Clair's defeat, in Mercer county, Ohio, November 4, 1791, Butler was killed. In the history of this battle it is stated that he was seriously wounded very early in the contest. A piece of "poetry" written on the occasion says:

"He leaned his back against a tree, and there resigned his
breath,

And like a valiant soldier sunk in the arms of Death."

The Indians were left in charge of the battlefield and of the dead soldiers. Upon General Butler's body was found a leather pouch containing a number of letters which he had received at Pittsburgh in the early spring of 1791. This pouch and letters were taken and retained by the Indians. They did not give them up to the British authorities as was their habit with most of the plunder of this character. I obtained the pouch and letters from the Indians several years since, and they are now in the Burton Library. The letters were published in 1907 in the *Magazine of History*.

C. M. BURTON

BUTLER TO WILSON, March 18, 1776

[Burton Library — A. L. S.]

March 18th 1776 FORT PITT

SIR

By the late Acct^s from the Indian Country, I find that there is great qnty^s of goods Coming to the Delaware towns in the Name of Bawbee the Trader, Which Causes much Surmise here As the frontier people are very Dubious of the Integrety of the Indians, I think in Reality there ought to be no time lost in Reducing Detroit to the American Interest although it is not a place very Essential to Us in many Respects, yet with Regard to the Peace of the Frontier which is very large in Extent and much under the Power of the Savage Tribes it is Always in the Power of the People who Posses that post to Prompt the Indians to do what they Please, therefore if in ours it would be Easy to keep them quiet, as they would then see and know their Dependance on us, I know it is generally thought that in Case the Quebeck is Reduced (which I hope is the Case Ere now) that both Detroit and Niagara must fall, True, Niagara must As they have no Settlement to Support them, but the Detroit Except it be Capitulated for At the Reduction of Quebeck, may Stand without any other Source of Supply this Seven Years by the Set-

tlement with Regard to the Article of Provision, As to their other Stores you are Already acquainted with, And the quantitys of goods that the Merchants has I believe is great as they Sell in the woods very low; for these Reasons and the Sattisfaction it would be to the Publick in general, (in Case of a great Effort of the Brittons this Summer) to think there would be no Danger of an Enemy on our backs and it is too well known that the Savages is a very Severe Enemy, I am Induced to lay these hints before you, I hope you will Pardon my Attempt on the Subject as is Not by way of Dictation, but my Opinion, and wish to see the Peace of this Country Secure that we might without Regret Spare A Number of good Soldiers to Assist our Brethren on the Sea Coast; I Should not have ventured So far on the Subject but that I know you will place it to the proper Acc^t Dr Sir I Shall be glad to hear from you and have your Instructions and Advice; I hope you will Please make my most Respectfull Compliments to Doctor Franklin, And Believe me to be with Sincerity your most Obedient Humble Servant

RICH^d BUTLER Ag^t and Int^t.

TO COLONELL JAMES WILLSON

P, S, M^r Sims the lawyer told me that M^r Harvey says, that M^r Jefferson Never mentioned the affairs Relative to the Boundaries of this Province to Convention of Virginia.

The Copy of the last Treaty Enclosed the first opertunity as I find it will be wanted.

WORK ON THE CUMBERLAND ROAD

Among the manuscripts recently deposited in the Virginia State Library by the auditor, there came to light the bill of John Kinkead and William McBride for superintending the clearing of a road over the Cumberland mountains. It is well known that Virginia in the session of the general assembly which met in October, 1779, passed a law authorizing that such a road be cleared.¹ No evidence has heretofore been available to show the extent of the work done on the road. The law stated that a wagon road was desirable to Kentucky, but that on account of its passing through an uninhabitable country, it could not be made by adjacent inhabitants, nor could the practicability or charge be properly judged of, until the country had been explored and such road traced out. Evan Shelby and Richard Callaway were appointed commissioners to explore the country

¹ *Hening's statutes*, 10:143.

on both sides of the Cumberland mountains, and to trace out a road, to open and clear it so as to give passage to travelers with pack horses, and to report to the next general assembly as to the practicability and charge of making it "a good waggon road." The two commissioners were to lay before the auditor a fair account for expenses, except the wages and pay of the laborers and militia guard, each of whom, for full time, should be entitled to a grant of three hundred acres or one hundred and twenty pounds at the option of the claimant. The compensation of Shelby and Callaway was to be determined by the general assembly. For protection the commissioners were to call upon the commanding officer of the most convenient county or counties, the guard to be not exceeding, with the laborers employed, fifty men. In case of the death, disability, or refusal to act of a commissioner, the county court was to nominate a proper person to fill the vacancy. According to the bill submitted to the auditor, neither Callaway nor Shelby acted as a commissioner, John Kinkead and William McBride being appointed by the "court of Washington and Kentucky counties." It will be observed that the state did not contemplate a wagon road, the construction of which would have been extremely difficult and expensive, but merely the tracing and marking of a road.

The bill shows that the work was done in July, August, and September of 1780. The principal items are for the purchase of thirty pack horses, and thirty-three beeves, and for the services of twelve pack horses. The total cost of the supplies used in the construction, and of food for the laborers, was £54,033.11, in the depreciated currency of that day. The laborers were probably paid by grants of land as the law directed. On December 1, 1781, John Kinkead petitioned the house of delegates for pay for his services as superintendent. On December 18, he was granted twenty-five pounds specie. In the petition of Kinkead, which is printed herewith, it is worthy of note that he says the road "was completed so that waggons has passd."

EARL G. SWEM

PETITION OF KINKEAD TO GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF VIRGINIA,
December 1, 1781

[Virginia State Library, Petitions from Washington county, 1776-1860]
TO THE HONOURABLE THE SPEAKER AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF
DELEGATES.

The petition of John Kinkeade humbly sheweth That your petitioner was appointed a commissioner by the Court of Washington County, in the room of Evan Shelby, (agreeable to an act of Assembly,) in conjunction with the Commissioner from the County of Kentuckey to Superintend and open a road through the Cumberland Mountains to the open country of Kentuckey. — and although Dangerous and difficult as the Task was, at that Critical Juncture, the Business was Completed so that waggons has passd, and has rendered much ease and Expedition to Travelers, etc.

Your Petitioner therefore beg that your honourable house will take his Case into Consideration, and make him such allowance as will be Just and adequate to his service.

And your petitioner as in duty bound shall pray.

THE FRENCH SETTLERS AT GALLIPOLIS

The copy of the following letter has been sent the managing editor by Mrs. Charles P. Noyes of St. Paul, Minnesota, a descendant of the writer. Joseph Gilman of Exeter, New Hampshire, became a member of the Ohio Company and was later appointed one of the judges of the Northwest territory. There are in existence several letters of his written during this period. The following letter concerning the French settlers at Gallipolis gains a particular interest from the discussion of the Scioto speculators by Mr. Hulbert, which is concluded in this issue of the REVIEW. The recipient of the letter was the Hon. Nicholas Gilman of New Hampshire.

MARIETTA 6th January 1793.

DEAR SIR

I shall make no apology for troubling you with this Letter, your own benevolent heart will apologize for me the moment you are informed that the Subject of it is in favour of Strangers who have been grossly imposed upon by some Speculating Americans. As you have been for a long time at the Seat of Government, you must have heard that Certain persons calling themselves the Scioto Comp^a, by their Agent Mr. Barlow in France sold large tracts of land in this part of the Country

to a number of Gentlemen there, describing the same by a Plan there shewn as beginning nearly opposite the Mouth of the Great Kanawa and extending down the River Ohio to Scioto River, this Land was sold at a high rate and (as I am informed) one half the purchase sum was paid down in Specie, and for the remaining half Bills of Exch^a were drawn or such other Security given as makes it highly probable the whole, or far the greatest part of the purchase sum has been paid — In full confidence in the Right of the said Comp^a to dispose of said Lands a number of respectable Gentlemen embarked bring with them numbers of Servants to whom they promised Lands in consideration of their Service when the term of their Service expired, with provisions & Cloathing in the interim — In this Situation they arrived here, and began (two years ago) a settlement at a place named Gallipolis, and perhaps no people were ever more industrious in clearing building &c &c in a new Country than they were, till on compleating the Survey of the Ohio Company's purchase it was found to include not only the Ground where their Town stands but also a great part of the lands purchased of the Scioto Company. This news was nearly fatal to the Settlement, most of the Servants leaving their Masters, giving as a reason that they would not be able to give them the Lands agreed upon at the expiration of their Service. Notwithstanding every discouragement, a number of the principal Gentlemen have had the fortitude to remain on the Ground flattering they should have been secured in their titles by an exchange of Lands between the two Companies of Scioto and Ohio — or a purchase from the latter by the former Comp^a, which last it is probable would have taken place had it not been for the failure of Mr Duer, but this has set them all on flote — and in this distressed situation they have determined to apply to Congress for relief. Two of their Agents Monsieur De Rome and Monsieur Vandelbergen are now here on their way to Phil^a they are both men of good Characters (well known in this County to which Gallipolis belongs), and as such my dear Friend permit me to introduce them to you. They have not any particular plan, but mean to petition Congress generally unless otherwise advised when they arrive at the Seat of Government. Mon^s de Rome Speaks good english, and appears to me too well bred to be troublesome. He will give a true relation of their present situation and the various gradations that have led to it. I have confined myself to simple facts, the general Government is fully adequate to redress all wrongs — Nor do I mean to include all the persons who are Associates in the Scioto Company many of whom are Gent^a of known and acknowledged worth, but the immediate Actors have my utmost detestation.

I believe you never received my last letter, but as it only related to

my Family and private concerns tis of no consequence. I only mention it to assure you no Letter of yours has been neglected.

I wish I could write you anything new or that would be agreeable from this distant part of the world. But it is from you we are to expect news. We are constantly on our guard, tho' no damage has been done for some months past — at night we fasten our Gates and generally are confined at home for the night. We have neither poverty nor riches, so have no reason to repeat the prayer in Proverbs but on the whole are contented with our Lot, which perhaps is really preferable to that enjoy'd by far the greatest part of mankind. My two Grandchildren are loooked upon as none such here, I mean by Grandma' & Ma' — The oldest is a prattler and by the multiplicity and odness of her questions, is sufficient amusement when confined at home. The boy is about 6 months old, is a fine hearty child, and bids fair (should he live) to make a substantial Farmer, the honestest and most independent of all callings.

I suppose by General Putnam who is to leave this place soon for Phil^a you will receive a number of Laws, made for the Government of this Territory, the Summer past; I wish you would critically examine y^m There are some of them which want explanation and others not founded on any Laws of the original States, and contrary to that general Liberty which every man in every free Government has a right to, particularly that prohibiting the sale of foreign Articles except by persons licensed, this Law has a direct tendency to encourage monopolies, which ought to be carefully guarded against in every & especially in all new Countries — I wish you would consult Mr Livermore on this Act.

My family join their most cordial wishes for your health & happiness with Dear Sir Your humble Servant

J GILMAN

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

American literature. By John Calvin Metcalf, Litt. D., professor of English, Richmond College. (Atlanta, Richmond, and Dallas: B. F. Johnson Publishing Company, 1914. 415 p. \$1.25)

American literature. A study of the men and the books that in the earlier and later times reflect the American spirit. By William J. Long. (Boston, New York, Chicago, and London: Ginn and Company, 1913. 481 p. \$1.35)

These two manuals have in common the same facts and range of literary and historical material to deal with. The authors differ widely in their methods of procedure. In the chapters devoted to the colonial period there is a painful lack of English background. But at this time American literature was little else than a frontier phase of English literature. It would seem, therefore, hardly profitable to deal with the insignificant beginnings of our literature as something fully on a par with that of later decades. Long is especially open to criticism for his failure to take into account the historical setting of our infant literature. His overestimate of the importance of Cotton Mather recalls the opinion expressed by Moses Coit Tyler: "He had an insuperable fondness for tumultuous, swelling and flabby declamation, and for edifying remarks, in place of a statement of the exact facts in the case; infinite credulity, infinite carelessness; finally, a disposition to stain the chaste pages of history with the tints of his family friendships and his family feuds." (*American literature*, 2:83.) In the chapter devoted to the literature of the revolutionary period, Metcalf has an excellent historical résumé of the time and supplies, also, a brief statement of the parallel growth of English literature during the same decade. This use of an introductory discussion continues as a special feature throughout the remainder of the work and adds a very much needed element in a successful text. Long's chapter on the revolutionary period is a little diffuse and deals somewhat more minutely with minor authors than would seem to be justified by the relative length of time included in the discussion. Both authors fail to point out the effect of the revolution upon our literary history in the years that follow. As we know from history, fully one-half of the American people belonged to the tory party and these tories were hated and ostracized not only during the war but for more than a decade after peace was established, to say nothing of the thirty thou-

sand and more who sought refuge from whig violence in various parts of Canada. Certainly the loss of leadership involved in the ostracism or self-banishment of so large a fraction of our educated and ruling class did vitally affect our literature and lowered its standard of excellence for more than a generation.

In the chapters dealing with the period after the revolution, the two manuals differ widely in their subject matter as well as in method. Long follows quite closely a chronological treatment, and in the arrangement of his periods he is decidedly unfortunate. The chapter which he entitles, "First national period, 1880-1840," traverses three distinct epochs in our history and covers the time in which Jefferson was the leading figure and also that remarkable period in which Jackson dominated the nation and revolutionized our politics. The literature of so considerable a portion of our national history is too extensive and varied for successful handling in a single chapter. As a consequence his lengthy discussion of such writers as Poe, Irving, Bryant, Cooper, Simms and Webster is a mere conglomerate, which leaves the reader with only a hazy conception of the place these writers hold and of the influence which produced them.

Metcalf, on the other hand, abandons mere chronology after the revolutionary period and thus avoids the inconsistencies and errors that inevitably attend such a method of presentation. With no little skill he presents in separate chapters the New England, the New York, the southern and the western writers. By the use of this method he is able to give concisely and clearly the main characteristics of an entire body of closely related literature.

The bibliographical material in both manuals is abundant and the historical summary which each author presents is timely. Metcalf has the advantage in the conciseness of his outline while Long duplicates unnecessarily his summary of events by dividing it between his preface and his conclusion in each chapter. It may be doubted, also, whether the latter author has correctly estimated the intellectual attainments of his readers in view of the rather elaborate catechism at the close of each chapter of his manual.

The new politics and other papers. By William Garrott Brown. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914. 235 p. \$1.75 net)

This volume, dedicated to the memory of Grover Cleveland, contains eleven scattered essays from the pen of the late William Garrott Brown. Most of the articles — perhaps all — appeared in leading literary journals from 1908 to 1913; but, though unrelated to each other, they de-

serve to be collected and published in a volume because of their intrinsic merits and their superior literary style. This latter quality should not pass unnoticed, for in the mass of political literature by recent American authors one seldom sees a work which, in point of style and diction, even approaches the present volume.

The first and most important essay — “The new politics” — which also names the title-page, is divided into two chapters, “The issues,” and “Parties and men.” Referring to two prophecies concerning America, one by Macaulay in 1829 and the other by Mr. Bryce in 1888, in which both writers named the beginning of the twentieth century as the period in which America would face the problems of the old world, the author begins his thesis by declaring that some of the issues foretold in these prophecies are upon us now and have come to stay; that we have come to, or are near, the end of our expansion; that the free land is occupied and that this fact alone forces upon us new issues not unlike those through which the old world has passed; with us, however, some of the old-world issues, those arising from race and religion, are entirely wanting; still others are new to us and new to the world; all are economic, and in only one of these issues — conservation — can we get guidance from Europe. This moreover is the one issue peculiar to America; it is new to us because nowhere else are private interests so well organized and so powerful, and nowhere else have they had such opportunities to acquire control of the various means of wealth. The problem then is the adaptation of the democratic principle to conditions that did not exist when the American democracy arose, to a field no longer unlimited, to an industrial order no longer democratic, but oligarchical and which may become monarchic. Democracy must secure for the public some kind of effective control over the natural sources of wealth. The author then analyzes the political parties and their leaders with a view to determining whether they possess the qualifications necessary to the solution of these problems.

The second essay, “Prophetic voices about America,” is an analysis of, and a reflection upon, some half-dozen recent volumes upon America by leading representatives of different political ideas. The most striking result of these observations is the fact that none of these writers regard our democratic experiment as a success. Nor are the author’s own reflections, though illuminating, enthusiastically hopeful. The third essay, “The white peril,” is a study of race relationships in the South, while the titles of the remaining papers — “The South and the saloon,” “President Taft’s opportunity,” and “Greetings to the presidents” (Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson) — suggest their contents. It may be added, however, that, while the papers are not all of equal value, a high

quality is maintained throughout the volume. In the death of Mr. Brown political science lost a writer of the greatest promise.

KARL F. GEISER

Social forces in England and America. By H. G. Wells. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1914. 415 p. \$2.00 net)

It is safe to assume that this volume is a collection of papers which have appeared in popular magazines at various times, together with certain discussions, prepared especially for this work. The title is popular, being one of many others, some of which would have been more appropriate, which might have been attached. First, there is no systematic attempt to discover and treat either comparatively or correlatively the social forces of England and America, although some conditions are considered which might properly be classed as social forces. Second, America gets little consideration, save in one chapter, "The American population"; and many fundamental conditions and movements of the United States are unknown to or at least unmentioned by the author.

Mr. Wells is a caustic critic of the English in matters of education, statesmanship, and social progress. This appears especially in his chapters, "Of the new reign," "Will the empire live?" "The schoolmaster and the empire," and "The disease of parliaments." Education, he tells us, is backward in England. Scientific, artistic, creative matters are neglected; the mediocre, the platitudinous and the conventional is appreciated.

In the chapters "The labor unrest" and "The disease of parliaments" the "statesmanship" of England is viewed as incompetent. The cause is "politics," and politics has come about by reason of the party system and especially because lawyers have captured the house of commons.

There is a growing estrangement between the citizenship and parliaments. This is true not only in Great Britain but is a universal phenomenon in democracies. Particularly in England, "it is manifesting itself by unprecedented lawlessness in political mottoes, and in strange and ominous contempt for the law." The cure of this unrepresentative situation, as Mr. Wells denotes repeatedly throughout his work, is to be found in proportional representation. His discussion of the advantages of proportional representation is lucid and satisfactory.

Mr. Wells devotes nearly seventy pages to a consideration of the "American population." The primary difference between the social problem in America and Europe is to be found in the great body of immigrants in the former. The American people is as yet unmade. European nations have had their constituent population resident for centuries. Further, each new move of immigrants renders the American population more sterile. It promises to become as stationary as that of France.

Probably the author overrates the homogeneity of European nations due to long settled populations and underrates the molding influence of American education and spirit on immigrants. Several European nations are surely tested by the presence of unassimilated racial elements, while hardly any nation is so homogeneous and unified as to national sentiment as the inhabitants of the United States.

The social and economic evils of America, he says, are the products of this rampant, irresponsible, property-loving individualism. The welfare of society, the race, and the future of the nation have had no one to look after them.

Mr. Wells thinks that the reserved and unostentatious portions of American plutocracy may feel the need of the "service of the state," and do something for the collectivity. He has little expectation that the states will endow their state universities liberally enough to make them forces of redeeming leadership.

But these criticisms are not intended to veil appreciation of the useful and valuable nature of the work. While *Social forces in England and America* would not rank high as a scientific treatment of the systematic and academic sort, it is nevertheless well worth the perusal and thoughtful consideration of all intelligent students of contemporary society, be they social scientists or not. Few men have as profound a knowledge of the achievements and tendencies of modern science as has Mr. Wells, and perhaps no one so much as he has striven to comprehend where the operations of scientific discoveries may land us.

JOHN M. GILLETTE

Problems in political evolution. By Raymond Garfield Gettell, M. A., Northam professor of history and political science, Trinity College. (Boston, New York, Chicago, and London: Ginn and Company, 1914. 400 p. \$2.00)

The opportune appearance of Gettell's *Problems in political evolution* adds to rapidly accumulating testimony one more bit of evidence that the day of particularism in academic output is rapidly passing. The author realizes quite clearly the fundamental principle that the reality of an institution lies in its relations to all other institutions which surround it. Accordingly he rests his treatise upon the assumptions of "the essential unity and continuous development of the state," "the interrelation among all the aspects of political existence" (p. iv), and the intimate connection between political development and development in the complementary fields of social institutions, industry, jurisprudence, religion, intellectual systems, etc. These forces as antecedent conditions he brings to bear upon the course of political evolution. His realization of the complexity of the problems with which he deals leads him to de-

part still further from the conventional methods of particularism in the antidogmatic attitude that characterizes the volume. "Its purpose is to state problems, not to solve them" (p. iv).

The courage and industry responsible for so comprehensive a piece of work deserve the highest praise. The author, in thirteen short chapters, surveys the whole of the political field from a standpoint closely akin to that of modern sociology. His discussions include such topics as the evolution, nature, origin, composition, and form of the state; the fundamental institutions of the state and the scope of state activities; the relations between states; and current political conditions and tendencies. Each of these subjects resolves itself into a number of smaller subjects, and each of the latter is discussed in its general social setting. To his task the author has brought a very large amount of reading, and a large and varied assortment of facts garnered from many fields. Erudition appears on every page.

The factors which disturb the problem and prevent adequate accomplishment are very largely in the extensive scope of the subject covered. Extremely complex problems have to be discussed in quite brief compass. This leads too often to adorning the text with trite sayings, truisms, or facts quite interesting in themselves, but which contribute nothing towards associating the aspect of the subject discussed with the larger problem which the author is considering. Repeated examples of this are found in the chapter on the influences affecting political evolution. The impossibility of properly condensing extended investigations in particular fields into short general conclusions must at times have proved very discouraging to the author. Certainly the difficulty of the task has led to many extremely questionable conclusions. The following are typical: "The democracy of the nineteenth century is largely the result of the Industrial Revolution" (p. 32); "Until the opening of the eighteenth century. . . Men looked backward rather than forward" (p. 42); under nomadic conditions "except for articles of personal use . . . property was unknown" (p. 91); "commerce very often 'follows the flag'" (p. 342). The immense amount of material to be sifted has led, too, to the use of some very questionable sources and to the neglect of the most reliable authorities in some fields. One would, for instance, hardly think of quoting Seligman's *Principles of economics* as authority for a statement of the relation of population to food supply (pp. 147-148), or of referring to Brooks Adams in discussing the wars between Rome and Carthage. On immigration, in view of a number of recent authoritative treatises, it is unfortunate that the author has relied upon the biased Hall.

To the reviewer the chief fault of the book lies in the mechanical way

in which it has been put together. Attention throughout is directed to the more objective and formal side of social development. Evidence of this is found in the fact that the author makes the political the central thing in his general study in social evolution. Moreover the larger institutional relationships and the larger lines of development are seen by the author only in their mechanical relations. They have not as yet taken such form in his own mind that he sees the whole course of political development as an organic whole, nor has his mind as yet elaborated a synthetic theory of the relation of political to other social institutions. This fault, if it be a fault, is partly due to the pioneer character of his work; it is the price which men who do new things have to pay for their initiative. It is partly due to the fact that the author needs a few years properly to assimilate and organize the large mass of material which his energy has permitted him to gather together. The reviewer enters his modest prayer that the author revise his book, or more properly, write another book covering the same field from the same point of view ten years from now. Meanwhile the book is a most valuable contribution alike to the theory and to the pedagogical materials of political science.

WALTON H. HAMILTON

Conciliation and arbitration in the coal industry of America. By Arthur E. Suffern, M. A., sometime lecturer in economics, Columbia University. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915. 376 p. \$2.00 net)

This essay was awarded the first Hart, Schaffner, and Marx prize in class A, open to any American without restriction, for the year 1913, and was later published as volume XVIII of the same series. It is therefore hardly necessary to observe that the work is the result of a thorough and fairly exhaustive investigation of the source material, that the statements of fact are fortified with references to the authorities consulted, and that the conclusions are generally speaking justified by the facts presented in the text.

Notwithstanding its somewhat unusual merits, the book is open to serious criticism upon certain points, some of which are apparently due to the conditions under which it was written, and others to the individual views of the author. First, the title of the book fails to indicate even fairly well its scope and purpose. Primarily it is a study of collective bargaining, and of the growth and development of the joint conferences between the miners' unions and the operators' associations. While the title would indicate that it was limited to American conditions, a long chapter is included on the adjustment of wages in the British coal industry. Furthermore, a large amount of space is devoted to the subject

of consolidations among the railways and the acquisition of coal mines by the consolidated railway companies. This unnecessary extension of the subject, into an entirely distant field, forced the author to treat inadequately both the subject which forms the main thesis and the auxiliary theme thus introduced.

Secondly, while the author evidently intends to maintain a strictly judicial attitude, it is apparent that his sympathies are entirely with the working men. In the course of the various struggles between the miners and the operators, the law has been frequently disregarded by both parties and violence has been too often resorted to by each side. Notwithstanding this well-known fact, Mr. Suffern contents himself with noticing here and there the charges of the operators that the miners were practicing "violence and terrorism" (p. 250), but injects at frequent intervals serious reflections on the honor and good faith of the operators generally without any attempt to prove his assertions. On page 220 he thus refers to "the practically unlimited sway held by capital in the anthracite region" and its "little consideration of the law." On page 202, speaking generally of the anthracite situation, he states: "It [*capital*] played a big game without rules or else easily brushed aside the inadequate rules that were made." The formation of the Tempte Iron Company (p. 226) was a species of "financial manipulation" directed partly by President Baer of the Reading, and partly by J. P. Morgan and company. "Large combinations of capital," he asserts on page 215, "not only assumed all the arrogance of individual ownership, but, because they were conducting large enterprises which could not be carried on without immense capital, they believed themselves entitled to greater consideration than the small owners." Their representatives emphasized "the favors which large organizations conferred upon the commonwealth" and overawed "the simple legislative mind with their mighty projects." Such assertions, even though substantiated with abundant proof, obviously have no proper place in a work on conciliation and arbitration.

In spite of these defects and a certain obscurity of style occurring at intervals, the book is a valuable addition to the Hart, Schaffner, and Marx series of prize economic essays.

MAURICE H. ROBINSON

Essays political and historical. By Charlemagne Tower, LL. D., former minister of the United States to Austria-Hungary, ambassador to Russia and to Germany. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1914. 306 p. \$1.50)

Under this title Mr. Tower has collected in a small volume a number of addresses, delivered upon various occasions, and a few new historical

papers. About half of the volume is devoted to diplomatic subjects. The initial address on "European attitude toward the Monroe doctrine" was printed in the *Proceedings* of the eighth annual meeting of the American Society of International Law. The first part of the address develops the origin of the doctrine in the conventional way and the latter part merely states the point of view of Mr. W. F. Reddaway, M. de Beaumarchais, M. Pétin, Dr. Kraus, and a few other foreign commentators. It is hardly accurate to say that the declaration found a cordial reception in Great Britain or to attribute the abandonment of European intervention in South America to its issue. The discussion of "The treaty obligations of the United States relating to the Panama canal" shows clearly, without going into details, that the diplomatic antecedents of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty bound us to put foreign ships in the canal upon the same basis as our own. The paper on "Diplomacy as a profession" has the form of a popular lecture, setting forth the function of a foreign minister and reflecting some of the author's own experiences. He deplores the fact that we have not a more permanent diplomatic service and adds that we can hardly be said to have a service at all. The paper on "Some modern developments of international law" merely emphasizes the increased willingness of nations, since the time of Grotius, to come together for discussion as illustrated by the Hague conferences. The proposed court of arbitral justice is erroneously referred to as assured. The paper on "Arbitration" sets forth the frequency of our own resort to this mode of settling international disputes and reviews superficially the history of our boundary controversies with Great Britain. It must be confessed that the addresses are all rather slight and did not call very insistently for publication.

A little over half of the book is devoted to two papers on the campaigns of Cornwallis and Howe in the American revolution. These are doubtless by-products of the author's study of Lafayette. They describe the campaigns clearly and entertainingly and are written with an apparently adequate knowledge of the material. Mr. Tower does not commit himself to any theory of Howe's conduct. Indolence, dissipation, and incompetence do not fully explain his failure for, he says, "the frequent recurrence of the occasions during the war when he stopped almost in view of assured success appear strongly to indicate method and deliberation." Certain it is that, with an able and energetic man in Howe's place, the American revolution could hardly have been won.

F. H. HODDER

International relations of the United States. [The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. LIV, whole no. 143.] (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1914. 309 p. \$1.00)

This number of the *Annals* of the academy contains thirty-eight addresses, papers, and letters on certain phases of our foreign policy. These contributions are arranged under four heads: the present status of the Monroe doctrine, Mexican problems and the corresponding obligations of the United States, the policy of the United States in the Pacific, and the elements of a constructive American foreign policy.

Since it is obviously impossible to discuss all these articles in this review, the reviewer will merely indicate the salient features of some of them. In an article entitled "A constructive peace policy for America," Mr. J. P. Norton proposes that the United States, Russia, and China should form a new triple alliance, and suggests that the United States should establish a protectorate over Mexico and Central America. In impressive words Jiuji G. Kasai declares that Japan expected a different sort of treatment from the United States in regard to the agrarian problem in California. He asks: "Will America, that has proudly watched the growth of the island empire during the last half century, now turn to be a *provocateur* to wound eternally the heart of the nation heretofore filled with the deepest gratitude?" While discussing the policy of the United States in the Pacific, Mr. E. C. Stowell presents the view that there is a clash of interests between the United States and Japan: he declares that the two fundamental principles of an American policy towards the Orient are the "exclusion of Asiatic immigrants," and the "open door in China."

The scope and the limits of our obligations towards Mexico are discussed by Mr. L. S. Rowe. He presents a trenchant criticism of President Wilson's Mexican policy — a policy which was "dictated by a lofty idealism." Pointedly he declares that when the United States attempts to dictate the terms of political activity in Mexico, it is arrogating to itself a power which "cannot help but arouse resentment." At the same time he maintains that it is our manifest duty to insist upon the reestablishment of order in Mexico, so far as this comports with a respect for her sovereignty. He quotes with approval the statement of the *Spectator* that "Wilson tried to dictate to Huerta while pretending that Mexico was a free and independent country." Few students of Mexican history and politics will gainsay the remark that the people of the United States should be grateful to President Wilson "for the determined stand that he has taken against armed intervention." Still, Mr. Rowe main-

tains that the present anarchical conditions which prevail in Mexico "must be brought to a close or conditions will arise which will make armed intervention inevitable." The former ambassador of the United States to Mexico, Henry Lane Wilson, contributes an illuminating article concerning recent events in Mexico. He discusses Diaz, Madero, and Huerta, and enumerates the mistakes, which, in his opinion, the government of the United States made in dealing with President Huerta. Some of these errors were: the "announcement of the new doctrine that governments owing their origin to violence would not be recognized" by the United States; and the "refusal to recognize the provisional government of General Huerta." Ex-ambassador Wilson's statement in regard to the circumstances surrounding the mysterious death of Madero is worthy of special notice: "The embassy's investigations brought no certain conclusions except to indicate that General Huerta was in no way privy to the killing to Madero, but that it was his well-defined purpose to send him out of the country." In a most interesting fashion, Mr. A. B. Hart states some "Postulates of the Mexican situation." He declares that there is "no constitutional or international reason why at present anybody must be recognized in Mexico. It would have been well for the world if earlier administrations had been less hasty in recognizing dictators whose careers were destined to be short." One will seek far before finding a better statement of the dilemma with regard to intervention than this: "A stroke of the pen can send an army into Mexico. How many strokes of the sword will be needed to keep it there?"

About one hundred pages of the *Annals* are occupied by material concerning the Monroe doctrine. Here one may read about "the Canning myth," the "Latin" view of the doctrine, the European conceptions of that "international impertinence," the attitude of South America towards it, and the present status of that elusive doctrine announced by President Monroe. Mr. John Barrett, the director of the Pan-American Union, declares that the Monroe doctrine "will continue to be a great *international* principle only to the degree that it is evolved" into a "greater Pan-American policy." Mr. J. H. Latané declares that the doctrine of Monroe is "merely a name that Americans have given for ninety years to our Latin-American policy, which in the necessity of things has undergone changes and will continue to undergo them." In these pages one may indeed find expressed many varying conceptions of the scope and the future influence of that famous doctrine, which some publicists, at least, still consider a cardinal principle of American foreign policy.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON

The Indian history of the Modoc war and the causes that led to it. By Jeff C. Riddle, the son of Winema. (Klamath Falls, Oregon: D. L. Moses, 1914. 295 p. \$2.74)

This timely volume is an added reminder that Indian evidence on historic occurrences has made it necessary for the historian to reopen the whole question of credibility of testimony and to reverse more than one long-standing decision in the field of evidence. The Indian story of Captain Jack and the Modoc war is a singularly convincing piece of testimony. After reading it one can hardly resist the conclusion that here are to be found the basal facts for a typical Indian outbreak. The story of our Indian wars is not unfamiliar to most of us — a dishonest or unreliable agent, a rebellious chief with a turbulent following, broken promises and half-understood concessions, and then the massacre of the nearest whites until the wrongs of the offended tribe are atoned for. This is, in brief, the story related here, but it is given in the childlike phrase and dramatic form characteristic of the Indian. The Indian office needs to take the lesson of this book into the routine of their administration and let it find expression in bettered relations between our nation and its wards.

There is not a chapter of our Indian history that cannot furnish striking commentary on the message of this story. To be sure, there is nothing of romantic interest in such a tale, the speeches are real and recite plain facts, the Modoc kill the commissioners because they are driven to the wall and are about to lose their homes; their leader, Captain Jack, knows the consequences and warns his people of them, and then does the deed as a representative of the tribe. We become callous by long repetition of this sordid story of wrong, with its pitiful details and its unheroic tribal patriotism. The glamour of war is painfully absent in the story of these events; the friendly Modoc are betrayed by a preacher of the gospel, a handful of hostiles are bombarded in their strongholds and hunted down like coyotes. An old woman is killed and furnishes scalps for a group of soldiers who otherwise would have nothing to show for their valorous deeds.

The work is an admirable exposition of just how our Indian affairs are mismanaged. When a little tact and some elementary knowledge of Indian nature would have solved the difficulty, blunder after blunder is made and in the end valuable lives are uselessly sacrificed. The location of the responsibility for a well-known Indian outbreak is only one of the services which is rendered by this unpretentious but genuine little work. The facts are stated clearly, the names and confirmatory incidents are abundantly supplied. In this respect the work may well serve as a model for similar studies elsewhere.

Myths and legends of the Mississippi valley and the great lakes. Selected and edited by Katherine B. Judson. (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1914. 215 p. \$1.50 net)

It is quite evident—and the statement does not imply adverse criticism—that this book has been compiled for the generality of readers rather than for scholarly specialists. The collection contains one hundred and two myths and legends of the Winnebago, Wyandot, Ojibwa, Menominee, Ottawa, and other tribes. On the whole, the pieces have been chosen with discrimination. Comparison with some of Miss Judson's sources reveals the fact that she has withstood successfully the temptation to amplify and embroider the legends. She has, moreover, given them literary form—despite the statement that she has made no effort to make the legends “literary” or to give them “literary charm”—as she had a right to do for the audience she is manifestly serving. But in all cases, so far as there has been opportunity to judge, Miss Judson has rendered the pieces faithfully, and some of them with facility and charm. She has, for the most part, drawn from Albert E. Jenks, James Mooney, Catlin, and Schoolcraft, and general acknowledgment of this indebtedness is made. The printed source of each legend, however, should have been given. And, too, Miss Judson could have added to the value of her book by indicating as well the earlier narratives of western travelers in which Indian legends of the region appear. This would not have encumbered the work, nor lessened its interest for the general reader, and it would have greatly increased its value to those who are more seriously concerned with legendary history—a most engaging subject. The volume contains twelve half-tone illustrations from bureau of American ethnology *Reports*.

JOHN THOMAS LEE

The true Ulysses S. Grant. By Charles King, brigadier general U. S. V., 1898-1899. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1914. 400 p. \$2.00 net)

This book was written, so the author tells us in the preface, “in the belief that there were virtues in the true Grant to which full prominence had not been given” and because “there came the desire to write of our great commander as he seemed to one of the least of these his subalterns.”

Many have praised the military genius of the silent commander; many have condemned his shortcomings as a civil administrator; but none has given a complete and accurate view of the less-known characteristics of Grant, the man. General King has been skilful in his portrayal of these virtues, and has written with the enthusiastic approbation of one who is thoroughly convinced of the greatness of his theme.

The first part of the work tells of Grant's boyhood on the Ohio farm,

the years at West Point, the Mexican war, and the dreary years just before the opening of the civil war. During his stay at the military academy it appears that young "Sam" Grant displayed few soldierly instincts, preferring the life of the farm to that of the camp. He had accepted the appointment only at the order of his father. Negligence in dress, carelessness in the observance of the fine points of military etiquette, and a lack of enthusiasm in scholastic pursuits, except in mathematics, all seemed to point to an early termination of his career as a soldier. In the Mexican war, however, he gave unmistakable evidence that he was a far more efficient practical soldier than he had been a book soldier, and he served throughout the war with distinction.

The years from the close of the Mexican war to the opening of the civil war were the most barren and disheartening of his whole career. In 1852 he was ordered to the Pacific coast, and the fact that he was compelled to leave his family behind made him despondent and he fell into evil ways. So depressing was the situation that he resigned his commission and returned to St. Louis, arriving there practically penniless. For some years he labored to make a living for his family, first at farming and later by dealing in real estate, but misfortune seemed to pursue him. In 1860 he went to Galena and took a humble position as clerk in a leather store owned by his brothers. He was not a success in this work, and father and brothers all looked upon him as the family failure. Few of the townspeople paid any attention to the taciturn, poorly dressed clerk who seemed more anxious to avoid company than to make acquaintances. It was at this time that Grant almost lost faith in himself.

Over one-third of the book is devoted to the history of these early years and to the assertion that Grant was neither an unknown nor an untried man before the outbreak of the civil war. The pages are crowded with incidents to show that the ability, strength of character, and steadfastness of purpose displayed by the conqueror of Pemberton and Lee, although dormant in the Galena clerk, had already manifested themselves in the lieutenant who won his brevet of captain "for gallant conduct at Chapultepec."

The second part of the work deals with Grant's career during the civil war. His consummate military skill is praised, his campaigns are analyzed, and as the author follows him from Donelson to Vicksburg and from Vicksburg to Appomattox he piles up evidence to prove beyond doubt that the modest captain from the hills of northwestern Illinois may rightfully lay claim to the distinction of being America's greatest soldier. Neither the ill-concealed jealousy of the slow-thinking and over-cautious Halleck, the opposition of the soldierly McClellan, the dis-

trust of the suspicious Stanton, nor the wails of the politicians who fought the nation's battles from the vantage points of city offices and country stores could block his progress although they annoyed him and endangered the cause of the union.

While the emphasis is laid upon his military achievements we are not allowed to lose sight of other attributes which do not show so clearly to one unacquainted with the true Grant. "Aye, soldier, statesman, loyal citizen he was and yet more, for in purity of life, in love of home and wife and children, in integrity unchallenged, in truth and honor unblemished, in manner simplicity itself — though ever coupled with that quiet dignity that made him a peer among the princes of the earth — in speech so clean that oath or execration never soiled his lips, unswerving in his faith, a martyr to his friendships, merciful to the fallen, magnanimous to the foe, magnificent in self-discipline, was he not also, in all that the grand old name implies, Grant — the gentleman?" This is the Grant that General King sees.

The author has done a generous and a just thing in according to General Rawlins a measure of the praise due that sterling man. Neither his intense admiration for Grant nor his desire to put Grant's services in the most favorable light possible have caused him to overlook, or even to minimize the services rendered by Rawlins to Grant and the union. Of the chief of staff he says: "It is doubtful if even in all the array of brilliant minds and brainy men with whom he was later surrounded . . . Grant ever attached to his person a stancher staff officer, or in every sense a truer friend, than that Galena lawyer, John A. Rawlins." He endeavors to give Sherman, Thomas, Sheridan and the other northern leaders their just dues; but those union men who sought by one method or another to overthrow Grant or to withdraw from him honors fairly won he treats with small sympathy. To the southern commanders, particularly to Robert E. Lee, he yields the praise which a soldier must needs render to an honorable foe.

The last part of the book is the least satisfactory. This is probably due to the fact that few of the sources from which the author has gleaned his material extend beyond the close of the war. Those which cover the later period do not furnish the intimate information concerning Grant, the man, which can be gathered from the writings of his comrades. As it is, less than seventy pages are given to the years after the war, and of these only twenty are devoted to the eight years of Grant's presidency — less than the space accorded to cadet days, the curriculum and professors at West Point. Among certain classes of people, at least, the idea prevails that Grant, the soldier, did not appear to the same advantage as a civil administrator as he did when leading the northern legions. If the

author is of the same opinion, he has done a kindly act in touching lightly the years when his commander walked in unfamiliar paths. But if we are to know the true Grant we should be allowed to see him at this time also. A real service could have been rendered by analyzing the mass of conflicting testimony which has clouded this period, and by drawing therefrom the truth concerning the scandals which marred the administration. Even though such an investigation might disclose the fact that errors had been committed by the nation's chief, it would never lead posterity to doubt his integrity, nor to pass any but the most charitable judgment upon the modest soldier who joined hands with the immortal Lincoln that government of the people, by the people, and for the people might not perish from the earth.

The book will appeal to the general reader more than to the specialist. There are no footnotes to guide one who may wish to follow some particular point through the sources. The only bibliography is the brief one given in the preface, but much of the material the author used is not to be found in print. The illustrations are in most cases taken from originals. The index is satisfactory.

WILLIAM V. POOLEY

John Hay, author and statesman. By Lorenzo Sears. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1914. 150 p. \$1.00 net)

John Hay deserves better treatment than he receives in this book, which contains no facts that a Washington newspaper correspondent could not have furnished off-hand, and is marred by a note of indiscriminate eulogy. The importance of the work that Hay performed at St. James and in the cabinet is obscured by overpraise. He came out of the middle west with that generation that acquired a comprehensive Americanism in the melting-pot of the Illinois frontier. He lacked any tinge of sectionalism, and was cosmopolitan in the best sense of the word. He would have been distinguished as an author had not his services to diplomacy given him higher rank in a different field. But Mr. Sears has failed to give any critical description or estimate of his work, and does not seem to have used that mass of Hay manuscripts that Mr. W. R. Thayer has recently exploited in *Harper's Magazine*. The book appears to have been published because Hay was an alumnus of Brown University, but it is in no sense worthy of its subject or its alma mater.

Recollections of full years. By Mrs. William Howard Taft. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1914. 395 p. \$3.50 net)

Mrs. William Howard Taft has had an interesting life and knows it. Her reminiscences are filled with evidence, conscious and unconscious,

that she has enjoyed the experiences thrust upon or invited by her during the official career of her husband. And she and Mr. Taft stand out as realities among the individuals of contemporary politics. The publication of her book is another evidence of the tendency, growing ever stronger in American life, for public persons to address their fellow-citizens through the pages of autobiography.

Since his appointment as solicitor-general of the United States, by President Harrison, Mr. Taft has been continuously in the public eye in this office, as federal judge, as Philippine commissioner and governor, as secretary of war, and finally as president. Although this book gives only the lighter and less controversial elements of his career, and although it is based largely upon recollection and inaccurate domestic sources, it is full of testimony as to the quality of the Taft family. The Tafts represent a social element that entered the Ohio valley almost with the first comers, and that had acquired recognized standing before the civil war. Because of the prominence given to Ohioans through the pivotal character of Ohio politics, they were born into the purple of public life, and knew intimately from the inside the affairs of the Hayes, Garfield, and McKinley administrations. How much this familiarity helped Mr. Taft in his progress, one may estimate from these recollections.

The book, besides contributing to our understanding of the amenities of official life, is a positive addition to our knowledge of Philippine affairs. As member of the second commission, and as governor after 1901, Mr. Taft came to know more than any other American has known of the island population. As secretary of war, he was really a colonial secretary in a department whose military aspects had been straightened out by Mr. Root; and as president his understanding of the Filipinos led him to discourage talk of immediate independence.

The chapters dealing with life in Washington after 1909, are full of details upon the social pleasures of an administration, and are markedly discreet upon the breach with Mr. Roosevelt. Among the amusing episodes, perhaps the best is that of Mrs. Taft, stranded in London, and gaining favors by referring to her husband, not as the secretary of war, but in these words: "You must have heard of him. He's travelling now with Miss Alice Roosevelt." The tone of the volume is taken from the remarkable days in which Mr. Taft was playing "Porthos" to the "Athos" of Mr. Root and the "D'Artagnan" of Mr. Roosevelt; when the heroes used these nicknames in their private letters.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

Samuel F. B. Morse. His letters and journals. Edited and supplemented by his son, Edward Lind Morse. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1914. 440; 547 p. \$7.50 net)

This voluminous biography of Morse does less than justice to the history of the telegraph which he invented, but brings out clearly and unconsciously certain facts which distinguish between his significance as an inventor and his great invention. The idea of the electric telegraph came to him in 1832, not because he was an expert electrician but because he possessed an active mind and followed up with perseverance what was at first a vision. Within ten years he had made the last of the basic improvements in his machine, and the next thirty years of his life were devoted to the development and protection of his property rights therein. He was in no sense a consistent inventor or scientist, and his devoted biographer gives few facts that suggest an investigative spirit. Yet he treats the years in which Morse was struggling for recognition and profit with as much enthusiasm as the years in which invention was under way.

Because the creative period of his life ended in 1842, the biography loses interest at this point. The author calls upon the reader to sympathize every time an associate tries to rob the inventor, or hard times curtail his profits, or his financial acumen fails to protect his rights. These things, vital in Morse's private life, have little historical significance, and possess none of the value that there would have been in a sketch of the financial organization of Morse's companies, or a narrative of the technical operation of the telegraph. There is reason to believe that the author might have put these things into the book had he so desired, for he speaks repeatedly of the journals, letters, and letter books that remain in the family archives. He refers also, but without giving evidence of having used them, to the papers of Morse's active and unscrupulous rival, Henry O'Reilly, now in the possession of the New York Historical Society. It is doubtless unsafe to write the history of Morse's prolonged controversy with O'Reilly without a knowledge of O'Reilly's end of it. But the author has written from the filial point of view, and only once has he criticised his father for a claim or a quarrel. He admits that in the dispute with Professor Henry, inventor of the intensity magnet, out of which Morse devised the relay, his father overstated his case. The book gives abundant evidence of Morse's outlook, but scant material for checking it up.

The first volume is entirely devoted to the career of Morse as an artist, down to the time when the pursuit of his invention drove him from his

studio. It contains interesting and valuable journals of travel as well as contributions to the history of art in America.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

Recollections of a Maryland confederate soldier and staff officer under Johnston, Jackson and Lee. By McHenry Howard. (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Company, 1914. 423 p. \$2.00)

McHenry Howard is the son of Colonel John Eager Howard of the revolution. His mother was the daughter of Francis Scott Key. At the outbreak of the civil war Mr. Howard was living in Baltimore, making his way to Richmond, he entered the First Maryland regiment, becoming a sergeant in Company H, and served under Joseph E. Johnston until March, 1862. At that time he was appointed aide on the staff of Brigadier General C. S. Winder, with whom he served until the death of the latter at Cedar Run, August 9, 1862. For some months he was acting ordnance officer on the staff of Brigadier General G. H. Steuart. After a long sick leave, he was appointed aide to Major General I. R. Trimble, but did not succeed in joining him before the general's capture at Gettysburg. He continued to serve as a volunteer on the staff of General Steuart, acting sometimes as inspector general and sometimes as adjutant general. In company with Steuart he was captured at Spotsylvania and spent several months in Fort Delaware, whence he was sent to Savannah in November, 1864, for exchange. After this was effected he returned to Richmond; and in January, 1865, he became acting inspector general on the staff of Major General G. W. C. Lee, with whom he retired from Richmond. Captured at Sailor's creek, Lieutenant Howard was sent to the old capitol prison, Washington, where he was on the night of Lincoln's assassination. He was transferred to Johnson's island, in lake Erie, whence he was released in May, 1865.

The book is what it claims to be, "recollections," and not an attempt at a systematic study of the war. Despite several instances of careless English and at times an obscure style, the book is very entertaining. One of its most attractive features is the revelation of the personality of the author, which is found on every page. The reader feels anxious to know him. The personal side of army life is of course stressed on the field, in battle, in camp, and in prison. Amongst the most interesting of these glimpses is the statement that at first Manassas the Maryland regiment paused in a bayonet charge to pick blackberries (p. 38). Concerning the oft-discussed delay at White Oak Swamp, June 30, 1862, Mr. Howard says that he was told by the latter's staff that General Jackson was asleep. Some desultory cannonading was carried on by the

federals, but it appeared to Howard "as if our side was waiting for Jackson to wake up" (pp. 148-149).

Besides eleven full-page illustrations the book contains one large map, nine small sketch maps or diagrams, and three small drawings. The appendix is the address delivered by the author at the unveiling of the confederate monument at Mt. Royal place, Baltimore.

The proof reading is very poorly done, the type is sometimes defective, and the paper and binding are rather cheap looking. The absence of an index decreases decidedly the value of the book for the serious student, which is a pity as all in all, it throws many valuable personal lights on different phases of the great struggle.

MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR.

Memories of my youth, 1844-1865. By George Haven Putnam, Litt. D., late brevet major, 176th Regt., N. Y. S. Vols. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914. 447 p. \$2.00 net)

Mr. Putnam's memoirs cover the first twenty-one years of his life, until he registered as a voter in October, 1865, at the close of his war service. The first half of the work contains accounts of the Putnam family life in New York and London and of the writer's two year stay as a student in French and German universities, 1860-1862. The remainder of the volume is a record of the author's personal experiences as an officer in the One-hundred-and-seventy-sixth New York Volunteer Regiment from its organization in New York through the campaigns in Louisiana, Virginia, and North Carolina, and through several months of prison life in Libby and Danville. The experiences of the seventeen year old boy in French and German universities are interesting, but those portions of the memoirs relating to the Putnam family are probably of more value to the social historian. Here we find much about publishing conditions and about the beginnings of well-known publishing houses in ante-bellum New York, anecdotes about New York people of letters and their associates, and stories of school life of sixty years ago. Quite well worth noting is the expansion of the theological views of an American family.

Of different character are the war reminiscences, which will prove of some value to the military historian who can appreciate the almost ludicrous accounts of the enrollment and organization of a new volunteer regiment and the difficulties of training and disciplining the tough recruits. On account of the neglect by historical writers of the campaigns in the extreme southwest Mr. Putnam's recollections of his service in Louisiana have value, especially what he has to say of the Red river campaigns and of the troubles of camping, transportation, and getting supplies. In his account of military experiences in Virginia and North

Carolina the author covers well-trodden ground, and the chapter on prison life is condensed from the longer treatment of the same subject published in 1912. Major Putnam's active service was as an enlisted man and later as adjutant; hence he is better able than an officer of higher rank would be to tell of the every day life of an army — camping, drilling, marching, and fighting. He much overestimates the value of the slaves to the confederacy. The last chapter contains an interesting description of conditions in the South in 1865 while the southern soldiers were making their way home and attempts were made here and there by local communities to reestablish local government.

In a few places the author allows his emotions of 1865 to show themselves. The "Confederates" are usually "rebels"; we are left to believe that "Buchanan's southern secretary" "emptied the treasury" (p. 231) in preparation for the civil war, and that possible repudiation of debts by southerners was an additional motive for secession (p. 86). Very naturally on the subject of treatment of prisoners Major Putnam feels quite strongly; he speaks of the "stupidity, not to say barbarity" of the confederate prison policy, believes that there was "no desire" to save the lives or protect the health of the federal prisoners, and holds that Jefferson Davis, being responsible for the death of the federal prisoners, should have been tried on this charge after the war. These points are the more noticeable since on nearly all other matters he has supplemented or corrected his own recollections by considerable reading and by the use of letters, documents, and notes of conversations made long ago as well as more recently. Moreover, in nearly all the rest of the work each topic is treated with its historical background, and there is constant comparison of authorities and drawing of parallels — all this, to such an extent that in places the work becomes a kind of general history. But aside from the few exhibitions of feeling referred to above, the tone of the book is generous and considerate.

WALTER L. FLEMING

The police control of the slave in South Carolina. A dissertation submitted to the faculty of Vanderbilt University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy. By H. M. Henry, M. A., professor of history and economics, Emory and Henry College. (Emory, Virginia: H. M. Henry, 1914. 216 p. \$1.25)

The reader of this monograph will concede that Mr. Henry has exhausted the sources in his search for material and that he has covered the subject in all its incidents. The treatment is somewhat broader than the title would imply. Beginning with a consideration of the legal status of the slave in South Carolina, the author outlines in great detail

and through innumerable concrete instances, the position of the overseer, the patrol system, punishment of slaves, courts for the trials of slaves, the relation between Negroes and whites from the standpoint of cruelty and crime, stealing and harboring slaves, and the kidnapping of free Negroes.

Trading with slaves, the slave trade, runaway slaves, gatherings of Negroes and slave insurrections are exhaustively reviewed, and chapters on abolition and incendiary literature, prohibitions on educating the Negro, manumission, and the free Negro complete the work.

The work is well done. While nothing strikingly new is advanced, either in theory or in fact, the enormous mass of concrete information brought together is a contribution to knowledge and to the literature of the subject. A critical bibliography and reprints of various legal documents apropos the subject are appended.

WALLACE CARSON

Ponteach or the savages of America. A tragedy. By Robert Rogers. With an introduction and a biography of the author by Allan Nevins. (Chicago: The Caxton Club, 1914. 261 p.)

The volume under consideration is a handsomely printed octavo of 261 pages, approximately one-third of which is devoted to a reprint of the drama *Ponteach*, and two-thirds to a life of its supposed author, Major Robert Rogers.

To the generation of Americans that witnessed the French and Indian war the name of Major Robert Rogers was a household word. It may well be doubted whether any character in American border annals ever achieved a more well-deserved reputation for brilliant and adventurous exploits, and few careers of brilliant early promise ever suffered a more melancholy decline into ignominy and obscurity than did that of the famous ranger.

Aside from his military exploits Rogers' chief claim to fame rests upon his literary enterprises. Of these, several in number, the drama *Ponteach* was the last. Published anonymously in London in 1766, copies of the original edition have long been exceedingly rare. Francis Parkman knew of but two — his own, and the one in the British Museum. The erudite author of *The literary history of the American revolution* likewise knew of but two, both in Providence, Rhode Island. It may be worth while noting in this connection that another copy is owned by the Wisconsin historical library at Madison.

Although some interest will always attach to Rogers' play, as being one of the earliest examples of dramatic composition by an American author, judged as literature the work has been regarded from the time of its first publication as a flat failure. In this judgment the editor of

the present reprint concurs. "It must seem to any reader who picks up the play for its own sake almost pitifully devoid of intrinsic merits. The web and woof of its style never rise from the commonplace to the even faintly poetical, and all too frequently sink to doggerel and empty declamation"; while "the large outlines of the plot reveal manifold absurdities" (introduction, p. 11). The editor judges, therefore, that only in the historian can the work today inspire more than a transiently curious interest, and that its literary importance does not warrant "a studiously critical attention to the task of prefacing and annoting it," while the work of Parkman has obviated the necessity of devoting any extended attention to the life and character of Pontiac. On the other hand no adequate account of the career of Rogers has yet been written, and accordingly the editor's chief labors have been devoted to supplying one.

Because of this editorial conception the annotation of the drama is but slight and perfunctory; and the reader can look for little more than an accurate reproduction of the original. In the reviewer's opinion the editor's general judgment in blocking out his task is, in the main, to be commended. It follows as a necessary corollary, however, that his editorial labors must be judged chiefly by his life of Rogers, to the writing of which they have been almost wholly confined.

The editor has evidently made an earnest effort to provide a serious and scholarly account of Rogers' life and career. His ancestry and youth, his military exploits, his civil career, and his private life and character are set forth with adequate detail. While much of the narrative has been drawn from Rogers' own works, both text and footnotes give evidence that the author has made an extensive search for other available sources of information; and his narrative may safely be accorded the distinction of constituting the best account yet written of the career of Major Rogers.

Nevertheless the work is liable in several respects to serious criticism and one lays it down with a feeling of regret that the opportunity to produce a really noteworthy biography should not have been improved more fully. That American historical writers of the present generation commonly pay too little attention to the literary qualities of their narrative has long been observed and lamented. The career of Rogers affords ample scope for a stirring narrative. His present biographer has notably failed to produce one. Paragraphs are poorly constructed and frequently of excessive length. At times, too, as the following examples bear witness, the construction of the sentences becomes inexcusably careless: "As summer passed he who had once 'hummed all the great people' had gained nothing" (p. 152). "Not merely had Howe been

assured of his ability and held previous communication with him, but to an army composed largely of men untried in New World methods of fighting, unfamiliar with the enemy, and uncertain of the ground over which it must pass, he seemed a valuable acquisition" (p. 164). "On May 1, 1779, he was back to New York" (p. 168). "He never left the city, and, dying where he had lived, in the parish of Newington Butts, was buried five days later in the grounds of the old church of St. Mary Newington" (p. 172).

Of more serious import than the matter of style and composition is the unreliability of the author's quotations and footnotes. The work abounds in quotations, but a small proportion of which, apparently, are accurate. A score of tests made with books which were readily available revealed but one correct quotation (n. 1, p. 76). It is evident, too, that this high percentage of inaccuracy is due not chiefly to mere carelessness, but to a quite unwarranted practice of emending what is given to the reader under the guise of direct quotation. Words are changed, phrases and sentences are recast, and combinations and excisions are made, with no indication that such liberties have been taken with the originals. Accuracy of statement has not been attained even in the writer's allusions to and quotations from the play itself, which occur in his introduction (pp. 13-14). Two instances of what may be termed double-barreled mistakes have been noted. The Albany conference (p. 38) was held in 1754 instead of 1759, and the footnote reference given is wrong. Again, the quotation given in note 1, page 34, in addition to being badly garbled is ascribed to the wrong book. It is actually to be found in the 1860 edition of the *Memoir of John Stock*. Such evidences of inaccuracy and improper workmanship in matters which may readily be tested necessarily raise the grave question of the validity of the editor's historical processes in general.

The one important qualification upon the commendation accorded the editor's conception of the way his task should be blocked out pertains to the question of the authorship of the drama. While it was currently ascribed to Rogers at the time, the facts remain that it was published anonymously and that the reputed author, by no means noted for his timidity, never openly acknowledged the paternity thrust upon him. How Rogers, renowned ranger and veteran Indian fighter, could have drawn the fantastic picture of the red man set forth in *Ponteach*; or why, needy supplicant for governmental favor and appointment, he should have paused in the midst of his supplications to pen a merciless castigation of the conduct of the very department to which he was seeking admission, are surely matters passing strange. The editor tells just enough concerning the origin and authorship of the play to cause keen

regret that he did not devote some time to the criticism of the play itself with a view to elucidating the mystery of its authorship. A perfunctory and inadequate index concludes the volume.

MILO M. QUAIFFE

A history of the western boundary of the Louisiana purchase, 1819-1841.

By Thomas Maitland Marshall, Ph. D. [University of California publications in history, II.] (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1914. 266 p. \$2.00)

If this book had been called "The Louisiana-Texas boundary, 1819-1841," or better still "The Louisiana-Texas border" its title would come nearer serving as a key to its contents than the one given, since it is not a history of the whole western boundary of the Louisiana purchase but only of that part of it that served to separate Louisiana and one corner of Arkansas from Texas. Perhaps this is the only part of the western boundary of the Louisiana purchase that has any history worth the telling for these years; but, if this be true, it would be better to say so and not arouse hopes which a perusal of the contents of the book fails to fulfill. Far from being a history of the western boundary reaching from the mouth of the Sabine river in the gulf of Mexico to its termination in British territory on the north the material it contains—except perhaps for the introductory chapters—touches only upon that part of the boundary that extends as far as the Red river. Furthermore it is a history of the line fixed by the treaty between the United States and Spain concluded in 1819 and had better be so called rather than a history of the western boundary of the Louisiana purchase. The latter line may have been something very different.

In confining his narrative to the years 1819 to 1841, the author, as he recognizes in his preface, fails to touch upon the history of this boundary line during its formative period. This boundary was determined by the conditions of French occupation of Louisiana and Spanish occupation of Texas during the eighteenth century. The treaty of 1819 between the United States and Spain gave it exact definition in such a way as to leave little room for real controversy thereafter. There could therefore be, in a narrow sense, little of importance to relate concerning this boundary in the years covered by this book. The author seems to recognize this by including an account of the efforts made by the United States to purchase Texas from Mexico and a history of the Gaines expedition from the Louisiana border into Texas. The book is not, therefore, strictly speaking a history of this boundary line, but tells in addition the story of some of the movements that went on over and about the Louisiana-Texas border in these years. And this too without telling anything of the most

important movement of all, the influx of Americans into Mexican territory and the final establishment of the independence of Texas.

In spite of these limitations, limitations of choice because the author recognizes that the periods and topics omitted have been adequately treated elsewhere, the book is in many notable respects an important contribution to the history of the period and the incidents covered by it. One-fourth of the available space is given to three chapters intended to serve as the historical background. While these chapters are subject to the criticism that they do not furnish the more remote background of French and Spanish conflict and deal exclusively with the period from the acquisition of the Louisiana territory by the United States to the treaty of 1819 they are more than a mere repetition or condensation of the books, such as Adams, *History of United States*, Fuller, *Purchase of Florida*, Chadwick, *United States and Spain*, McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr conspiracy*, that treat special years or incidents of this period with greater detail. It is something of an achievement to show that Henry Adams was mistaken as to the date when Napoleon made up his mind to sell Louisiana (pp. 6-7) and to be able to point out that McCaleb did not make the best use of his available sources of information in accounting for the activities of Wilkinson (pp. 30-31). By the use of Bolton's *Guide to the archives of Mexico* he is able to add something to our knowledge of the interest of the Spanish government in determining the western boundary of Louisiana in the years 1805-1812 (pp. 47-48). One receives the impression, however, that these chapters were written in order to introduce this corrective detail rather than for the purpose of furnishing either a more adequate or more illuminating treatment than those already in existence. The special student of this field, while acknowledging a debt to Mr. Marshall for having corrected and added some matters of detail will still find the standard works more satisfying.

In the main body of the book the chapters dealing with the expeditions of General Gaines into Texas (ch. 8, 9), the Indians of Texas, (ch. 6) and those chapters (ch. 11, 12) telling of the final settlement and survey of the boundary line by the governments of the United States and Texas seem to be the most distinctive contributions to our knowledge of this period. While the treaty of 1828 between the United States and Mexico and the diplomacy relative to the Mexican boundary and the efforts to purchase Texas are here related with much greater detail than elsewhere, Rives, *United States and Mexico* will be still preferred as a more readable and illuminative treatment than that of Mr. Marshall. Indeed the style of this book is so excessively turgid, so lacking in interpretive material, the author seems so completely buried under the mass of diplomatic documents that he has found it necessary to consult, his

subject seems so lacking any broad and significant aspects, that where the same topics are treated by Rives, or by Smith, in his *Annexation of Texas* the latter writers are vastly to be preferred.

The machinery of the book subscribes to the most exacting rules for the writing of history. It abounds in footnotes. There is never the least doubt as to the sources of the writer's information. A complete and well arranged bibliography is appended at the end of the book. The present writer would prefer to have his own *The beginnings of Texas* referred to in its completed form and not as it appeared originally in the *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association. The bibliography seems somewhat overdone since it includes many references of very slight historical value.

It is quite evident that Mr. Marshall has found Fuller's *Purchase of Florida* and Rives, *United States and Mexico* most useful guides to his materials where he is treating topics in common with them. Indeed in places he is actually dependent upon them for the original documents as these writers seem to have had available manuscript material not accessible to him. Footnote references make the proper acknowledgments but at times he lapses into the phraseology of these writers without using the quotation marks that would show the measure of his indebtedness to them. (Marshall, pp. 50, 83, 87; Fuller, p. 272; Rives, 1:168-169.)

A distinguishing feature of the book and one that adds much to its value is the great number of maps. No subject that lends itself to illustration by means of a map seems to be overlooked. There are thirty of these all told. One of these, the frontispiece, is printed for the first time here.

In spite of the fact that "the writer disagrees fundamentally with the views of some historians regarding the purity of Andrew Jackson's motives concerning Texas" (preface, x) some of us will continue to believe that the case is not made out against him so long as it rests on no better evidence than that furnished by Mr. Marshall. To quote from a letter already made known by Mr. Bolton in his *Guide to the archives of Mexico*, wherein one man, David Child by name, tells what a "near relative" of his says that another man, Burton by name, told said "near relative" that President Jackson had declared to him (Burton) that "we must have Texas either by negotiation or force" as the sole new evidence to offer seems trusting too implicitly in hearsay evidence. Jackson's later reluctance to accept Texas when it was ready to fall in his lap scarcely harmonizes with the implication that he wished to secure Texas other than by the most honorable means.

ROBERT CARLTON CLARK

Reminiscences of early Utah. By R. N. Baskin, an ex-chief justice of the supreme court of Utah. (Salt Lake City, Utah: R. N. Baskin, 1914. 252 p. \$2.15 net)

This book is written from a non-Mormon viewpoint, and its chief interest lies in the descriptions of the political activities of the Mormon church, and the efforts of the liberal party to break its power. The author was active for many years in Utah politics and he is able to give explanations of many matters hitherto unexplained.

The book describes in considerable detail the methods by which the Mormon church maintained its political power, and the means of punishment, both spiritual and temporal, by which the recalcitrants were held in line. Considerable evidence is produced to show how the territorial legislature practically nullified the laws of congress. Judge Baskin pictures from a viewpoint, somewhat new, the hostility of the church to Gentile immigration, and, in this connection, he holds the Mormon priesthood directly responsible for the murder and robbery of many non-Mormons. He boldly asserts that in the Mountain Meadows massacre Brigham Young, if not the instigator, was at least an accessory after the fact, and that the church appropriated the property of the murdered men and women (ch. 10). He declares further that the church sought to keep out the Gentiles by getting control of all water courses which could be used for irrigation, and by interdicting the development of the mines (ch. 13). On the other side he describes in detail the efforts of the liberal party to get the support of congress.

Whitney's *History of Utah* comes in for severe criticism, and even on questions of fact, its authority is made to appear questionable. Judge Baskin takes issue especially with its denunciations of federal officials in the territory (pp. 34, 46, 61, 215). On the question of education, the author insists that there were no free schools in Utah before the act of 1890 (p. 198). In this he differs from Young (McLaughlin and Hart, *Cyclopedia of American government*). On the whole, even allowing for prejudice, the Mormon church comes off worse than in the general histories.

The term "Reminiscences" is hardly appropriate, for almost every statement is supported by quotations from laws, court decisions, letters, or newspapers. The book is not well planned and there are frequent repetitions. Too much knowledge on the part of the reader is assumed. Although the tone is dispassionate some of the arguments appear forced. The book, however, is an important source for the history of Utah and should make necessary the reëxamination of many facts that have been regarded as settled.

PAUL C. PHILLIPS

The political shame of Mexico. By Edward I. Bell, formerly editor and publisher of "La Prensa" and "The Daily Mexican" of Mexico City. (New York: McBride, Nast and Company, 1914. 422 p. \$2.00)

The author was editor of a daily newspaper, head of a considerable news-gathering system, and acquainted with most of the important figures of Mexico. His opportunities to know and intelligently interpret the past four years of troubled Mexican history have been unusual. His most important material was gotten "not from books, for none contain it, but from men." José Ives Limantour read proof of part of the book and discussed freely, but not enlighteningly, certain phases of the Diaz collapse; and the author has evidently been in close touch with some authorized spokesman of the Madero clan. The book is thoughtful, pungently written, suggestive, and fascinating. Mr. Bell knows his Mexico, where "things are never what they seem," and his picture is atmospherically correct. As a contemporary interpretation of an immensely intricate subject by a well-informed and evidently fair-minded observer who has made an effort to check his observations, the book ought to be a useful guide to future investigations. In our present state of knowledge, however, many of its conclusions must be accepted simply as opinion, and some of them will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, either to prove or disprove.

As the author sees it, Mexico began to outgrow Diaz in the nineties, but business interests supported him because they thought him a good policeman. In 1910 they no longer trusted his ability, and the crash came. Many American and some Mexican business men hoped that the inevitable confusion would lead to intervention by the United States. The United States, recognizing the fact, and not the motive, of the general opposition, made no effort to save the Diaz régime. But Madero was an accident, due to the unexpected strength of an almost real popular opinion and to the mismanagement of Limantour, the strong man of the Diaz government. "Many stories have been printed and direct charges made that revolutionary capital to the amount of millions was furnished by American corporations to aid Madero. The stories were fables and the charges unfounded. There was logic behind them but no facts." The only foreign money used in the revolution was \$375,000, the first payment by a French company on a railroad concession that Gustavo Madero controlled in Zacatecas. No important business concern supported Madero before or after his election. All regarded him as impractical and unsafe. But neither they nor the active conspirators formulated any concrete plan for preventing chaos when Madero should fall.

It is not charged that any business corporation influenced the attitude of the United States government toward Madero, but it is pointed out that three great companies which had reason not to welcome the Madero ascendancy were in very close touch with the Taft administration. A corrupt connection need not have existed and is not implied. These corporations were certainly in a position to give information on Mexican conditions, may naturally have offered it, by request or unasked, and it would certainly have been unfavorable to the Madero government — a view which would not be modified by the official reports of Ambassador Wilson. As a result of misinformation from these or other sources “the government at Washington, if one may judge from its acts, has seen on the far side of the Rio Grande nothing but a series of illusions.” Sorely hampered though he was by the blundering movements of the United States, the nagging of Ambassador Wilson, and the obstructive tactics of doctrinaire congressmen, Madero almost succeeded. With very little well-directed encouragement, or even with absolute noninterference, from the United States, he would have succeeded.

The author is convinced that the United States must ultimately come to forcible intervention, and thinks that it should have done so at Madero's fall. He is inclined to find excuses for the policy of the Wilson administration in the inheritance which it received from Mr. Taft. One closes the book with increased respect for Madero, and with assurance of the impractical nature of his Utopian dreams somewhat shaken; but the conviction of old Evaristo Madero, who died at the beginning of his grandson's revolution, is likely to be the verdict of history — that old gentleman had seen Mexico grow from a chaotic mass to a well coördinated system, and he believed that another generation or two must pass before radical reforms could be introduced.

EUGENE C. BARKER

Sanford's American history maps. With A teacher's manual accompanying the Sanford American history maps. By Albert H. Sanford, professor of history, State Normal School, La Crosse, Wisconsin. (Chicago: A. J. Nystrom and Company, 1914. 32 maps, 95 p. \$24.00)

This collection of thirty-two maps constitutes an admirable aid to the teacher of history in his work in the classroom. There is no really important gap in the series, and still no map is included that could not find some defense against the charge of superfluity. The mechanical make-up of the set deserves especial commendation. Little excess of detail is to be found on any map, while the points illustrated stand out with striking clearness. The colors are soft and inoffensive; it is not always possible

or practicable for the color scheme to be harmonious. The maps are printed on paper but with the edges strongly bound in cloth, making for the combination of inexpensiveness and durability.

The general excellence of the series makes it difficult to suggest the most valuable features. Map 21, indicating the railroads and canals built before 1850, is especially effective. So also is 28^B showing the processes of the emancipation of the slaves, while 30^C on conservation in 1913 is distinctly new and suggestive. 24^B is a good example of a map combining a number of points with all standing out effectively; it shows the radical nature of the act for the organization of Kansas and Nebraska while the lines of the underground railroad have free play in the region of the northern states. Such a map as 23^B showing the black belt in 1850 is very desirable.

A few points of criticism might indicate the way of improvement in a later edition. Map 4, showing colonial boundaries, indicates the grants to the London Company and Plymouth Company as actual land grants. This with the explanation in the manual is, to say the least, misleading. The map of settlements in 1760 (no. 5) shows no attempt to correct or add to the data used by Channing in the second volume of his history. The series of maps (map 6) showing the division of North America, with the conflicting claims of the European powers, does not suggest that the most effective mechanical device has been used for the accomplishment of this purpose. On Map 17 entitled "The Monroe Doctrine," the *original* members of the Holy Alliance are indicated, whatever connection this may have with the Monroe Doctrine. The explanation in the teacher's manual accompanying the maps is wholly erroneous on this point. The map on slavery in 1821 (19^C) presents an error evidently resulting from a serious mechanical defect. New York and New Jersey should be indicated as pursuing a policy of gradual abolition, but the second color plate failed to cover these states and therefore to give that designation. There is a question, too, as to whether gradual abolition had been completed in Pennsylvania and certain New England states in 1821. With the opportunity in the future of checking up on such matters, this series should be able to hold its own.

ARTHUR C. COLE

NEWS AND COMMENTS

On invitation of the Louisiana Historical Society the Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its eighth annual meeting in New Orleans, April 22-24, 1915. The attendance, while not as large as usual, was widely representative of the states of the Mississippi valley. In the program attention was given principally to the history of the Southwest — French, Spanish, British, and early American. There were also several papers on general western subjects, three on the development of transportation in the West, and four on the teaching of history. A joint session with the Louisiana Historical Society was held on the evening of April 22 in the old Spanish Casa Capitular, now known as the Cabildo. Other sessions of the association were held in the Grunewald hotel, at Tulane University, and in the assembly hall of the Cabildo. Local committees had made full arrangements for excursions, receptions, and other entertainments to the visiting members.

The following officials were elected to serve for the next year: president, Dunbar Rowland, director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History; first vice-president, St. George L. Sioussat, Vanderbilt University; second vice-president, Charles E. Moore, secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission; secretary and treasurer, Clarence S. Paine, Nebraska Historical Society. To the executive committee were elected M. J. White, Tulane University, and James F. Willard, University of Colorado. Jonas Viles, University of Missouri, and Stella Heron, City Normal School, New Orleans, were elected directors of the teachers' section. O. M. Dickerson, Minnesota State Normal School, was named as chairman of the teachers' section and Howard C. Hill, Milwaukee State Normal School, was continued as secretary. J. A. James, W. L. Fleming, and C. W. Alvord were reelected as editors of the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW. The constitution was amended to provide that ex-officio membership of ex-presidents on the executive committee should be limited to six years.

Charles Francis Adams died on March 20 after an illness of three or four days, at the Washington residence which of late years he had made his winter home. American life is poorer for his death and the historical fraternity, with which he most consorted during his latter years, is deprived of one of its most eminent as well as one of its best-beloved members. Charles Francis Adams can hardly be considered apart from

what is generally conceded to be the most striking American family. The services of his father, Charles Francis Adams, minister to England, of his grandfather, John Quincy Adams, of his great-grandfather, John Adams, are a part, and no small part, of national history. In each generation there persisted a certain Adams quality with which the late Charles Francis Adams was not less generously endowed than his predecessors. In him this quality manifested itself by the most complete independence, by a striking virility which displayed itself in his actions, his conversation, and his writings, by an impatience of self-deceit, whether it took the form of smug conservatism or of smug radicalism, by a wide-ranging intellectual curiosity, by a delight in direct thinking, regardless of consequences, and by a certain kindly gruffness.

He was born in Boston in 1835, and shortly after he graduated from Harvard was admitted to the Massachusetts bar. Throughout the war he served as an officer of Massachusetts cavalry, finally attaining the brevet rank of brigadier-general of volunteers. For the greater part of his active business life he was occupied with railroad interests, as chairman of the Massachusetts board of railroad commissioners, and as government director and later president of the Union Pacific. He was also chairman of the commission which planned the metropolitan park system of Massachusetts, and for a quarter of a century was overseer of Harvard College. The last twenty-five years of Mr. Adams' life were marked by an increasing interest in history until that subject occupied the greater part of his time and attention. His principal publications were: *Massachusetts, its historians and its history*; *Three episodes of Massachusetts history*; *Life of Charles Francis Adams*; *Richard Henry Dana, a biography*; *Lee at Appomattox and other papers*; *Studies, military and diplomatic*; together with a host of contributions of one sort or another to the publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society. At the time of his death Mr. Adams was at work upon a biography of his father which was to contain an elaborate treatment of the diplomacy of the civil war. Probably it will be possible for Mr. Adams' collaborators to bring this work to completion.

Since 1895 Mr. Adams had been president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, to which his devotion was as invaluable as it was generous. The American Historical Association, whose president he was in 1901, also shared largely in his interest. Who does not remember the added zest which his presence gave to the meetings that he attended, and who that heard it can forget his paper on "The birth of a world power" which brought the Boston meeting of 1912 to a close and to its climax? At the last historical congress which was held in London in 1913, and which Mr. Adams attended while on his way to deliver a series of lec-

tures at Oxford, he made the principal address on behalf of the American delegates and his personality was one of those which dominated in that interesting gathering.

It is too soon to make an estimate of Mr. Adams' historical work as a whole. First of all it must be completed and assembled. He left no single work of the monumental dimensions of his brother's *History of the United States*. It is safe to say, however, that he treated no subject whether social and moral conditions in colonial Massachusetts, naval incidents of the war of 1812, his father's mission to England, the character of Lee, the pension system, or the function of the historian, without illuminating it and making it interesting. Indefatigable in research and having access to much new material he was able to add materially to knowledge in the field of American history. But his greatest service is doubtless the stimulation of interest, the arousing of discussion, and the exemplification of an historical method.

In the *American Historical Review* for April the article coming closest to the field of this review is A. H. Stone's paper on the cotton factorage system. The other leading articles are C. M. Andrews, "Anglo-French commercial rivalry, 1700-1750," and Guy S. Ford's Chicago paper on "Boyen's military law." The development of the department of notes and suggestions is interesting. It contains two notes of four pages each on such discreet topics as the reforms of Josiah and the casting vote of American vice-presidents. A third note, of merely a few lines, on the instance of a detected imposture of demonic possession by James I, perhaps offers still more promise for a healthy development of the department. One wishes that Mr. Jameson in his review of the Chicago meeting had omitted the footnote on page 522, even though its criticisms are intelligible only to one who has read Mr. Rowland's pamphlet.

Perhaps the most timely article in the *History Teachers' Magazine* for March is Stanley Hall's "Teaching the war." Mr. Hall presents some interesting rudimentary statistics on the extent to which the war is being taught as history in the schools and further offers suggestions as to several paths by which some of the war's aspect may invite the pupil into various fields of modern history. Mr. Charles Seymour has a study on recent aspects of the British electoral reform. Readers of this REVIEW will be especially interested in the article by L. B. Schmidt on the activities and aims of the State Historical Society of Iowa. Like many of the articles that have been appearing of late in the *History Teachers' Magazine*, these are of high quality and are interesting and valuable to any historical student whether he calls himself a teacher or not.

No serious student in any field of American history can read Mr. Jameson's report of the activities in historical research of the Carnegie Institution in 1914 without a feeling of gratitude for the measure of the service that is being rendered to him. Mr. Jameson reports progress towards the completion of calendars and guides of archive material in Switzerland, Austria, Holland, Russia, and Scotland. Only the war prevented the completion of Mr. Leland's work in France. In Spain Mr. Hill is bringing toward completion the calendar of material in the archives of the Indies at Seville. Certain other papers in the same collection, a portion of the dispatches from the Spanish governor of Louisiana to Havana, will ultimately be photographed and by means of copies be made available to subscribers.

In the line of publication, Mr. Burnett's edition of the letters of delegates to the continental congress is nearing completion, and Miss Davenport's collection of European treaties bearing on American history, and Mr. Stock's reprint of debates and journal entries in the British and Irish parliaments relating to America are progressing. Two parts of an atlas of historical geography of the United States are being prepared by Mr. Paullin. They will show the votes by counties in presidential elections, and the geographical location of votes in the house of representatives on twenty-four important typical measures of national legislation extending from 1789 to 1914.

The firm of Rand McNally and Company has recently added to its list of wall maps a "Literary map of the British Isles," prepared by Blanche L. True of Fargo College. Teachers of English will find Miss True's map quite useful, as it shows a number of places that have great literary interest but are not of sufficient general importance to be placed on the ordinary wall maps.

William Elliott Griffis has recently brought out, in *Millard Fillmore, constructive statesman, defender of the constitution, president of the United States* (Ithaca, 1915. 159 p.), a thin and grandiloquent sketch of the career of President Fillmore. The book contains no new facts, and the comments of its author show that he is unaware of the results of modern scholarship in the period between the Mexican war and the civil war.

The *Magazine of History* for December contains among other material a continued article on Pennsylvania county names, the fourteenth installment of personal reminiscences of the rebellion by Colonel LeGrand B. Cannon, and an article also of a reminiscent nature by Lieutenant Colonel Samuel A. Drake on the old army in Kansas.

Mr. Victor H. Paltsits is the author of an interesting pamphlet (reprinted from the *Bulletin* for February) on the manuscript division in the New York Public Library. Besides a description of the department, it contains a general account of the manuscript accessions of the library before the year 1901 and a detailed list of those of more recent date.

The leading article in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for January is a reprint of the journal of John Watson, assistant surveyor to the commissioners of the province of Pennsylvania, December-March, 1750-1751. It relates to the dispute with the Baltimores on the Delaware boundary. Mr. Lewis Richards contributes an extended study on Jacob Rush, a Pennsylvania judge of the eighteenth century, and there are two or three shorter studies.

The faculty of the Catholic University of America presents the first number of the *Catholic Historical Review*. A foreword by Bishop Shanahan introduces it as a review to serve as a means of communication between Catholic students of American history, and to present the Catholic interpretation of Catholic history in America. Several articles of the character thus promised follow. Perhaps the most notable is C. H. McCarthy's contribution on Columbus and the Santa Hermandad. The various departments give a distinctly favorable impression. Thus, there is a department of bibliography which projects a scheme of classification for a bibliography of Catholic history and suggests a plan of publication of sources; there is a department for documents in which some interesting material is presented; and lastly a department of notes and comments which urges the participation of Catholic scholars in the American Historical Association — a participation which we may say will be welcomed by every member of the association.

The report of the board of the Virginia State Library for 1913-1914 exhibits a steady progress in the accumulation of papers, in spite of its financial limitations. The library has acquired one series of letters from William Wirt to Dabney Carr, and another relating to James M. Mason, as well as a collection of letters to Lewis E. Harvie in the reconstruction period. Among certain papers of archival character acquired from the auditor's office there has been discovered a valuable file respecting George Rogers Clark, mention of which has already been made in these pages. The library has recovered certain papers from the Benson J. Lossing estate which had been lost to the state of Virginia since 1865. The majority of these are letters from LaFayette, Rocheaumbau, and Washington for dates about the year 1781.

The biennial report of the trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library indicates an important accession of books from Dr. J. F. Snyder of Virginia, the Hall collection of newspapers, and certain papers and pamphlets by Sidney Breese. It reviews also the library's activities in the field of publication, but as these have been noticed in these pages at other times, they need not be considered here.

The Tennessee Historical Society is entitled to hearty congratulations on the issue of the first number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, edited by St. George L. Sioussat of Vanderbilt University. The existence of the quarterly is in great measure due to a bequest, but to secure the continuance of the magazine a goodly subscription list will be necessary. The first number contains an adequate article on the arraignment of Aaron Burr at Frankfort in 1806, and the first part of another on the federal Indian policy in the Southwest. In the department of documents the journal of General Daniel Smith, commissioner of Virginia for running the North Carolina boundary, is excellently edited. The department of notes and news contains a good résumé of the archive situation in Tennessee. The format of the magazine might be better, but we are inclined to feel that accurate publication of material is most important, and the manner of publication only secondary. Inquiries and subscriptions should be addressed to the society at Watkins Hall, Nashville.

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THE LOCATION OF LA SALLE'S COLONY ON THE GULF OF MEXICO

One of the unsettled points in the history of La Salle's career in America has been the exact location of the colony which he established temporarily on the shores of the gulf of Mexico in 1685. The view held by Parkman and most other writers has been that the site was on the Lavaca river, but from this opinion some have dissented, while others have been in doubt because of the inadequacy of the available data.¹ The question is debatable no longer, for it is settled once for all by newly discovered records in the archives of Spain, which have been corroborated by archeological and topographical investigation.

In order to put this new evidence in its proper setting, it seems desirable to review briefly the main features of the well-known story of La Salle's enterprise. In 1682 La Salle descended the Mississippi to its mouth and conceived the idea of founding there a colony in the name of the king of France. In writing of his purposes, historians generally have laid the chief em-

¹Parkman writes: "It was on the river which he named La Vache, now the Lavaca, which enters the head of Matagorda Bay" (*La Salle and the discovery of the great West* [Boston, 1910], 391-392). The same view is held by H. H. Bancroft (*North Mexican states and Texas* [San Francisco, 1886], 1:402); G. P. Garrison (*Texas* [Boston, 1903], 22); and R. C. Clark (*The beginnings of Texas* [Austin, 1907], 18). On their maps Garrison and Clark both place the French fort east of the stream. Miss Eleanor Buckley, in a scholarly discussion, concludes that the fort was on Lavaca, but shows, correctly, that it was not on the left bank. (Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, 15:57-60.) W. Kingsford (*The History of Canada* [London, 1888], 2:137-138) concludes that the settlement was probably on Galveston bay and certainly not on Matagorda. For other views see *post*, 179.

phasis upon La Salle's desire to control and develop the valley of the Mississippi, and through that stream to establish connection with Canada. But La Salle had other purposes which were equally or even more prominent in his plans. French explorers in the interior of North America had long dreamed of finding a way to the much-talked-of mines of northern Mexico. France and Spain were continually at war or on the verge of war, and at the very time when La Salle descended the Mississippi French buccaneers were scouring the waters of the gulf and making raids upon the Spanish settlements of Florida. In the course of the next year French corsairs three times sacked the Spanish settlement of Apalache. Thus France and Spain were competing for the control of the northern shores of the gulf of Mexico, and of this competition La Salle's project was a part. When he returned to France, therefore, La Salle proposed to establish a colony on the gulf, not only as a means of controlling the Mississippi valley and the northern gulf shore, but also as a base of attack, in case of war, upon the Spanish treasure fleets and upon the northern provinces of Mexico. These purposes La Salle plainly set forth in his proposals to the king, and on these terms his plans were approved by Louis XIV.²

The colony of some four hundred people left France in the summer of 1684, and in the autumn reached the West Indies, the ketch of *St. François* having been captured by the Spaniards on the way. While in the West Indies La Salle was gravely ill, but he recovered his health and in November continued his voyage. For reasons which have never been fully explained, the mouth of the Mississippi was missed and a landing made near Pass Cavallo, on Matagorda bay.³ Some students have maintained that the passing of the Mississippi was not accidental, but designed by La Salle, in order better to attack the Spanish provinces of Mexico. This view, however, seems unwarranted.⁴

After reaching Matagorda bay the expedition went rapidly to

² See documents in P. Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 1614-1698* (Paris, 1878), 2:288-301, 359-369; 3:17-28. Also G. Gravier, *Cavelier de la Salle de Rouen* (Paris, 1871), 96-97.

³ "Relation de Henri Joutel," in Margry, *Découvertes*, 3:91-146.

⁴ For the view that the passing of the Mississippi was by mistake see Parkman, *La Salle and the discovery of the great West*, 376; Gravier, *Cavelier de la Salle de Rouen*, 100; Justin Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac* (Boston, 1894), 313; Bancroft,

pieces. A landing had scarcely been made when some of the colonists died from sickness and others were killed by the Indians. In the attempt to enter the bay, the *Aimable* was wrecked. Beaujeu, the naval commander, had quarreled with La Salle from the beginning, and from Pass Cavallo he sailed back to France with the *Joly*, carrying away some of the soldiers and a large quantity of much needed supplies. Tonty, La Salle's lieutenant, by agreement descended the Mississippi to meet him at the mouth, but of course did not find him, and therefore gave him no aid.

To make the best of a bad situation, La Salle moved his colony to a better site near the head of Lavaca bay and began a series of expeditions to the eastward in the hope of finding the Mississippi river, which he thought to be near. While engaged in exploring the eastern portion of Matagorda bay, the *Belle*, the last of La Salle's four vessels, was wrecked and left stranded on the inner shoals of Matagorda peninsula.⁵ On his third expedition northeastward La Salle, with a few companions, made his way to the Ceniz Indians on the Neches, and to the Nasoni north of Nacogdoches. But here he was forced by desertion and sickness to retrace his steps, and he returned to the settlement at Matagorda bay.⁶ The colony by this time had dwindled down to a mere handful, and succor was imperative or extermination certain. Again the intrepid explorer set forth with a few companions, in an attempt to reach Canada. Crossing the Colorado near Columbus, he made his way to the Brazos, which he passed just above the mouth of the Navasota. Here a quarrel arose among his followers, in the course of which Morangot, La Salle's nephew, was slain by his companions while hunting for supplies which La Salle had cached in the vicinity during the previous expedition.⁷

North Mexican states and Texas, 1:399; Jared Sparks, *Robert Cavalier de la Salle* (Boston, 1844), 130; E. T. Miller, "The connection of Peñalosa with the La Salle expedition," in Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, 5:97-112. For a contrary view see J. G. Shea, *The expedition of Don Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa* (New York, 1882), 22; Charlevoix, *History and general description of New France* (J. G. Shea, tr. — New York, 1866-1872), 4:68-69.

⁵ "Relation de Henri Joutel," in Margry, *Découvertes*, 3:163-226, *passim*.

⁶ J. G. Shea, *Discovery and exploration of the Mississippi valley* (Albany, 1903), 201-205.

⁷ "Relation de Henri Joutel," in Margry, *Découvertes*, 3:260-325.

To save their own necks, when La Salle reached the scene of the murder the conspirators slew him as they had slain Morangé. Historians have supposed that this act was committed near the Trinity or the Neches, but evidence now available makes it quite clear that the spot was between the Brazos and Navasota rivers, and near the present city of Navasota.⁸ To L'Archévêque, at least, poetic justice was meted out in full measure, as the scholar Bandelier has shown. Being picked up by the Spaniards and taken to Monclova, L'Archévêque became a citizen of New Mexico, and, in 1720, a third of the century after the assassination of La Salle, he was killed by the Indian allies of the French, while taking part in a Spanish expedition to Kansas.⁹

From the Navasota river the survivors of La Salle's party continued eastward to the Ceniz and Nasoni. Here some deserted, but others, including Joutel and La Salle's brother, Abbé Jean Cavelier, made their way across the Red river to the mouth of the Arkansas,¹⁰ to Tonty's post on the Illinois, and to Canada. From Tonty they concealed the news of the tragedy which had occurred in the wilds of Texas, but he learned the truth through Indians, and in the fall of 1689 made a second voyage down the Mississippi in an effort to rescue the colonists. Crossing Louisiana to the Natchitoches, he ascended the Red river to the Caddo, and then made his way southwest for eighty leagues to the Nouaydiche, a village of Indians living near the Neches. But here, for lack of aid and guides, and, it is said, hearing of the approach of De León, he was forced to give up

⁸ The correctness of this conclusion is clear to any one who reads Joutel's journal in the light of contemporary Spanish sources and of established ethnological data regarding the Hasinai Indians. (See Bolton, "The native tribes about the east Texas missions," in the Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, 11:249-276.) New light on the operations of La Salle on Matagorda bay and during his last journeys is shed by the declaration made before the viceroy in Mexico City by Pedro Muni (Pierre Meusnier), one of the Frenchmen picked up in Texas by De León in 1690. He had been with La Salle on his last expedition and had remained in eastern Texas. Incidentally he confirms by a positive statement the present writer's conclusions, reached some years ago, that La Salle's death occurred on the Brazos (Espíritu Santo) river. Testimonio de Autos en orden á las diligencias y resulta de ellas para la entrada por tierra á los Parages de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo. Manuscript in archivo general de Indias, Sevilla, estante 61, cajon 6, legajo 21.

⁹ See A. F. A. Bandelier, *The gilded man* (New York, 1873), 299-300.

¹⁰ "Relation de Henri Joutel," in Margry, *Découvertes*, 3:325-436.

the search. Accordingly, he purchased horses from the Indians and returned to Canada.

Meanwhile the little colony on the gulf dwindled down to a mere handful. Many of the people died of smallpox. Finally, early in the year 1689, four years after the colony had landed, most of the survivors were slain by their savage neighbors, the Karankawa Indians. In the course of the next few years five children and four men were picked up in various part of Texas by Spaniards, taken to Mexico, imprisoned, or otherwise disposed of.¹¹ Just a quarter of a century later two of the boys, Jean and Robert Talon, reappeared in Texas as guides of the famous St. Denis, when in 1714 he made his historic journey from Natchitoches to the Rio Grande.¹²

Such in outline is the story of La Salle's unfortunate colony. Much of what we know of it is learned through the records of Spanish expeditions sent out in search of it. News of La Salle's voyage to the Mississippi was acquired through the capture of a French corsair off the coast of Yucatan in September, 1684. Soon Spanish parties were sent forth by land and sea to find and eject the intruders. In 1687 the wrecks of the *Aimable* and the *Belle* were seen by members of two of these expeditions, who took from them four pieces of artillery "and three painted fleurs de lis." They concluded that the French colony had been completely destroyed;¹³ but, to make certain, overland expeditions were sent out from Monterey and Monclova, then the principal outposts on the northeastern frontier of New Spain. The leader of these expeditions was Alonso de León, the ablest frontiersman of his district. In 1686 and again in 1687 he made his way to the Rio Grande and explored it to its mouth, looking for

¹¹ Letter of Alonso de León to the viceroy of Mexico, May 18, 1689, in Buckingham Smith, *Coleccion de varios documentos para la historia de la Florida* (London, 1857), 25-27; "Interrogations fait à Pierre et Jean Talon," in Margry, *Découvertes*, 3:610-621; Alonso de León, *Historia de Nuevo León*, edited by Genaro García (Mexico, 1909), ch. 34-45.

¹² Manuscript correspondence of St. Denis with the mission authorities of San Juan Bautista, 1714, and of Santa Cruz de Querétaro.

¹³ Cárdenas, *Ensayo cronológico para la historia general de la Florida* (Madrid, 1723), 268, 283; junta de guerra de Yndias, á 22 de marzo de 1691. Acordada el mismo día. Representa á vuestra magestad lo que se le ofrece en vista del papel que escribió Don Andres de Pez, sobre fortificar la Bahía de Panzacola. Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora. c. March 22, 1691. Manuscript in archivo general de Indias, estante 61, cajón 6, legajo 21.

the French. Hearing in 1688 of a strange white man dwelling among the Indians north of the Rio Grande, he crossed it near Eagle Pass and found a lone Frenchman ruling single-handed a large confederacy of savages. The Frenchman was captured by strategem and taken to Mexico; in 1689 he returned as guide to De León, now on his fourth expedition in search of La Salle's colony.¹⁴

Making his way to the northern shores of Lavaca bay, De León found the ruins of the French settlement, rescued from the Indians a few survivors, held a conference with an Indian chief from the Neches river, and returned to Mexico. Next year he was sent on a fifth expedition, instructed to destroy the French fort and to aid Father Massanet in founding missions on the Neches, where it was feared the French might reappear, and where the friars had long dreamed of establishing the faith. The French fort was burned, and the bay was again visited.¹⁵

In the summer of 1690 De León returned to Monclova and reported what he had done. Among other things he stated that in the bay, a short distance from the mouth of the stream on which the French colony had been established, he had seen two buoys which were not there the year before and could hardly have been placed there by the Indians.¹⁶ So serious was the matter regarded that a council of war was held in Mexico to consider it, for it was feared that the buoys might mark the entrance to some channel in which other French vessels were lurking, or to which they might return. It was resolved, therefore, that they should be destroyed; the method of their destruction was left to be determined by the viceroy.¹⁷

¹⁴ Alonso de León, *Historia de Nuevo León*, ch. 34-45; E. Portillo, *Apuntes para la historia antigua de Coahuila y Texas* (Saltillo, 1886), 224-238; Clark, *Beginnings of Texas*, 9-27.

¹⁵ Letter of Damián Massanet to Don Carlos de Sigüenza, in the Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, 2:281-312; Alonso de León, "Itinerary of the expedition made by General Alonso de León, 1689," in *ibid.*, 8:203-224; De León, *Diario of 1690*, manuscript.

¹⁶ De León, *Diario of 1690*, entry for April 26, manuscript; declaration of Gregorio de Salinas, August 19, 1690, manuscript in Testimonio de autos en orden á las diligencias.

¹⁷ The *junta general* was held on August 29, 1690. In it were considered De León's reports and certain declarations given in Mexico a few days before. It was stated that since it appears "by the diary that two buoys or anchors have been seen

The viceroy not only desired to learn who had left the buoys, and to protect the bay, but was even more concerned to establish a water route to the missions which had been established on the Neches.¹⁸ In September, therefore, he sent out an expedition to investigate these points. A ship was equipped for three months, provided with a launch and a canoe, manned with sixty soldiers and sailors, and put in charge of Captain Francisco de Llanos, an officer in the West Indian fleet. With him went Gregorio de Salinas, who had been with De León on his last expedition, and who was now put in charge of the land operations.¹⁹ As pilot the viceroy appointed Juan de Triana, an expert in the navigation of the gulf. As master of the fortification and map-maker went Manuel Joseph de Cárdenas y Magaña, who had shown skill in the building of the great prison fortress of San Juan de Ulua, still standing near Vera Cruz. Before coming to Mexico he had served two years in the *presidio* of Cádiz, and one in the West Indian fleet.²⁰

in the mouth of the entrance of the Rio de San Marcos, which is in the bay of Espíritu Santo, and which appear to be a mark for its entrance; and considering in view of all the foregoing proceedings that every mark, demonstration, or sign which might give an indication of the slightest danger ought to be destroyed and removed; this *junta* sees no objection to having this done; but it is resolved that the method and time of the measures necessary for it be reserved to the providence of his excellency, to the end that he may be pleased to give the orders which to him may appear most suited to his zeal." Testimonio de Autos en orden á las diligencias.

¹⁸ In his *decreto* of November 12, 1690, the viceroy, after reviewing the action of the *junta* regarding the removal of the buoys, adds that more potent motives were the report that there were four Frenchmen among the Texas who might have come from New France, or from another settlement nearer; the difficulty and expense of traveling by land six hundred or seven hundred leagues through a hostile country; the knowledge of a large river entering the bay of Espíritu Santo (or San Bernardo) which might pass close to the newly established mission; and it being cheaper and easier to send expeditions from Vera Cruz. (Testimonio de las diligencias egecutadas para quitar las Boyas ó Valisas en el Lago de San Bernardo, que llaman Bahía del Espíritu Santo. Manuscript in archivo general de Indias, estante 61, cajon 6, legajo 21.) On December 28, 1690, the viceroy wrote that an expedition by sea had seemed necessary as a means of exploring the interior rivers with a view to founding a waterway to the newly established missions, which would be cheaper than the land route. Manuscript in archivo general de Indias, estante 61, cajon 60, legajo 21.

¹⁹ *Decreto* of the viceroy, November 12, 1690. Testimonio de las diligencias egecutadas para quitar las Boyas.

²⁰ At this time Cárdenas was a soldier and engineer at San Juan de Ulua, where he had worked two years; he had made a special study of mathematics and fortification; his ability as military engineer had been reported to the viceroy by Don Jaime

The instructions provided that the expedition should first proceed to examine the buoys. If it was found that they marked the entrance to some river or channel, that waterway must be explored. But if the channel should lead neither toward the French fort nor toward the Neches missions, its detailed examination should be deferred to a later expedition, "since the present one is directed solely to learning which of the rivers coming from the province of Texas (the Neches country), or passing near it and emptying into this lake, is navigable and crosses the region between that province and the gulf." If such a river should be found, it must be examined minutely, to see if it afforded a port for large vessels, and whether it could be fortified. To report on these last matters was the especial duty of Cárdenas, who was instructed to make a careful map of the entire San Bernardo (Matagorda) bay, its rivers and inlets, and report whether Pass Cavallo could be closed. In case the site of La Salle's colony were to be regarded suitable for fortification, Salinas was to leave there the French cannon which De León had buried at the fort; if not, he should carry them to Vera Cruz.²¹

The Llanos expedition seems hitherto to have been unknown to historians, and yet its records are of first importance in determining the plans of the viceroy regarding Texas, and, incidentally, in fixing the location of La Salle's colony. The records comprise correspondence, a diary, and a carefully made map of Matagorda bay and its tributaries. The map is so accurate that we are able to identify practically every point which Llanos, Salinas, and Cárdenas visited; and there can be no question as to its reliability. It is the work of a skilled and careful engineer.²²

Franck, After his return from the expedition the viceroy wrote Cárdenas a special note of thanks for his services with Llanos. In March, 1791, he was still serving at San Juan de Ulua. At that time he was applying to the king for promotion to the rank of captain of infantry, with employment as an engineer in Havana. The data given above has been gathered from an unlabeled *expediente* in the *archivo general de Indias*, Sevilla, estante 61, cajon 60, legajo 21.

²¹ Instructions dated September 14, 1690, in *Testimonio de las diligencias egecutadas para quitar las Boyas*.

²² The records of this expedition are contained in the collection of documents entitled "Testimonio de las diligencias egecutadas para quitar las Boyas ó Valisas," previously cited. They consist of the *junta* general of August 29; a *decreto* of the



MAP MADE IN 1690, CONTAINING THE ESSENTIAL DATA ON THE CÁRDENAS MAP, BUT WITH DIFFERENT LETTERING

On October 24, Llanos and his party reached Pass Cavallo.²³ To this point the diary recorded the observations made by the pilot, Triana; thenceforth it recorded the joint operations of Llanos, Cárdenas, and Salinas, in which a leading part was played by Cárdenas. His map shows by dots the routes followed in the bay, and by crosses, numbers, and letters, the principal points of interest. The explorations in the coves and rivers were made with the launch and canoes.

On the twenty-seventh the party crossed the bar. On the twenty-eighth they reached the spot where the *Aimable* had gone down (F). Turning northwest, on the thirtieth they reached Sand Point, which was accurately mapped and described.²⁴ On November 1 they entered Lavaca bay in the

viceroy, dated at Mexico, November 12, 1690, reviewing the action of the *junta* and subsequent proceedings; and the diary of the expedition. The diary is entitled "Diario y derrotero del viage que se ha hecho y egecutada á la Bahía de San Bernardo, que comunmente llaman del Espiritu Santo, el Capitan Don Francisco de Llanos, por mandado y de orden del Excelentísimo Señor Conde de Galve, Virrey, Gobernador y Capitan General de este Reino de Nueva España, y Presidente de la Real Audiencia de ella, este presente año de mil seiscientos y noventa."

Another copy of the diary, somewhat abbreviated, but also containing some additions, is included in the *expediente* cited in note 20 as containing Cárdenas' application for promotion. This copy is entitled: "Diario de la Derrota que han hecho para la Bahía de San Bernardo por orden del Excelentísimo Señor Conde de Galve, virrey y capitan general de la Nueva España, el capitan de mar y guerra Don Francisco de Llanos, el Capitan Don Gregorio Salinas, y Don Manuel de Cardenas, en la fragata mombrada Nuestra Señora de la Encarnacion, sacado por dicho Don Manuel, año de 1690."

The longer diary is signed by Don Manuel Joseph de Cardenas y Magnaña, Don Francisco de Llanos, Francisco Millan de Tapia, and Don Gregorio de Salinas Barona. It is written in the first person, as if by Llanos. The map is entitled "Planta cosmografica del Lago de San Bernardo Con los senos y Rios que á el se comunican descubiertos por horden del Ex^{mo} Señor Conde de Galve V^l Gor y Capⁿ G^l desta Na España obserbada y delineada por Dⁿ Manuel Joseph de Cardenas Afic^{do} A las Matas Ao de 1691."

The vessel in which the expedition was made was the *Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación*. The expedition left Vera Cruz on October 12. Nothing noteworthy occurred until the seventeenth, when they passed the mouth of the Río Bravo.

²³ The following summary of the exploration is taken from the diaries for the dates indicated here. Since the photograph of the Cárdenas map is not clear, there has been reproduced a small map of the same region from the official map of De León's expedition of 1690 (described, *post*).

²⁴ The following description of Sand Point is given in the diary: "It has a reef of sand which extends from the windward point to the southeast [*southwest*] and crosses almost the entire entrance, leaving a channel on the western side,* for which reason this entry has not been found in five expeditions which up to now have been

launch, and named it Todos Santos (All Saints) in honor of the day. Proceeding to the northwestern corner of Lavaca bay, they reached the place where the buoys had been reported (2). They proved to be only logs of driftwood.

Continuing northward, Llanos and his party entered the mouth of the river flowing into the bay at its northwestern angle, obviously the Garcitas. This stream was given the name of Rio de los Franceses, or river of the French. The words of the diary are interesting here. It says: "We continued up the river until we arrived at a little village of Indians whom we did not understand and who did not understand us. From here we continued up the river till we saw some houses,²⁵ on the highest elevation. Proceeding toward them, we landed on the banks and discovered that they were the settlement and fort of M. de la Salle [Munsuir de Salas], from many signs which we found there, such as wheels of cannon carriages, musket breeches, and many burned planks and beams of the fort."²⁶ De León had burned the fortification a few months before. Another report tells us that the French settlement was two leagues or about five miles up the river. At night Cárdenas and his party returned to the vessel near Sand Point. Before morning a storm arose which prevented any work of exploration on the following day.

On the fourth the party went north again in the launch and entered the bay where Port Lavaca now stands. From there they went to the inlet now called Chocolate bay, and explored it with the canoe. Cárdenas guessed that it might be the mouth of the Medina river, which had been crossed by De León in the

sent to explore this lake.*" Diario de la Derrota que han hecho para la Bahía de San Bernardo, entry for November 1. The words between stars are not in the other version.

²⁵ The word is *buxios*.

²⁶ Diario y derrota del viaje que se ha egecutada á la Bahía de San Bernardo. The Diario de la Derrota states that after leaving the Indian village, "we continued up the river until we came to some houses on a site the most commanding of that prairie, which, we inferred, from their form, were not Indian houses. We disembarked and, climbing up the bank, we came to the settlement of de la Salle, at point L [*just above S on map published*] where there was a wall of a fortification, or platform, and about ten or twelve houses [*buxios*], besides as many already destroyed." The Diario de la Derrota says: "From there we continued to the pueblo of the French, and examined the artillery which was buried there, which consists of eight cannons and two swivel-guns of cast iron, new and in good condition."

interior; but he was careful to state that this was only a guess.

Next day they continued up the west coast to the mouth of Placedo creek, which they ascended for a league in the canoe, thinking it might be the Guadalupe river. Returning they examined again the two logs of driftwood, and for a second time entered the Garcitas river. Says the diary: "We found the place where the artillery of the fort was said to be, and we uncovered it in order to see it and satisfy ourselves. We saw that it was of iron. Then we passed on, and, following up the said river, we camped for the night at point P." (x on map published.) This point was some three or more miles above the fort, and not far from the present residence of Mr. Claude Keeran. Next day they continued up the river till the water was too shallow for the launch, but evidently they did not reach the mouth of Arenosa creek, for no mention is made of such a stream. Descending, they spent the night in the bay near the mouth of the river of the French.

At another point the diary gives further data regarding this stream and the French settlement. It says: "The width of the river is sixty yards at the entry. It is eighteen or twenty palms deep, but at places decreases to eight palms, at some of the fords. Its whole bottom is of mud; after three leagues up it contains some groves of oaks, liveoaks, and some wild grapes and willows.

"As to the site [*of the French settlement*], it is on the highest point of the plain. It overlooks two-thirds of it in the direction of the river, and one-third is a level extending indefinitely northwest. As to the materials, the land is black, rich, and sticky. The river is of fresh water; the timber, of which there is some, is a little distant. There are no stones even to supply needs."

Next day the party raised the drift logs, cut off some pieces, and loaded them on the launch to take to the ship and to Vera Cruz. Continuing their exploration, they crossed the head of Lavaca bay to another river, coming in at the northeastern angle on the bay. Ascending this stream next day for some five or six miles, they camped for the night (at the point marked 3 on the map). Next day they passed a village of Indians, and shortly afterward the mouth of the river coming from the northwest (4), which they recognized as the one that De León had called

the San Marcos. It was obviously the Lavaca. Ascending the east fork (the Navidad), which on his map Cárdenas called Rio del Espíritu Santo,²⁷ they rowed a few miles, but were stopped by a raft of drift-logs. The river was described as being well timbered, which was not true of the river of the French.

Turning about they camped some two miles above the junction on an elevation (6) described as a red bluff, admirably adapted to fortification and settlement. This spot was clearly the place where the village of Red Bluff now stands.

Next day, the ninth, they descended the river, and explored the small bay or lagoon above the delta (2). On the tenth they explored Cox's bay, next below (8), and on the eleventh Keller's bay (9). From here they returned to the western shore of Lavaca bay, where they camped opposite Sand Point (below T and N).

"There," says the diary, "we found the place where M. de la Salle [Munsuir de Sales] had made the barracks to lodge his men and all the rest of his train, in order thence to conduct them to his settlement. It is inferred, therefore, that his vessels did not go beyond this point—there being insufficient water—whence he conducted all that he had in launches and canoes."

On the twelfth the party began the exploration of the main bay, to the east. Coursing along the north shore, they passed the mouth of Carancahua bay (11) and camped some distance east of it under the shelter of a red cliff and a gunshot from a spring of fresh water. This place, which was apparently near Well Point, can perhaps be identified by residents of the locality. Next day they continued eastward to Trespalacios bay, returned, rounded Half-moon Point and proceeded east.

On the fifteenth they entered a small inlet, and then continued east to a lagoon (15, 16) at the mouth of a large river which formed a delta. This stream was clearly the Colorado. Cárdenas called it the Trinidad, no doubt thinking it was the stream bearing that name which De León had crossed in the interior.

²⁷ In the De León diary of the 1690 expedition to the Hasinai country, the Colorado was called the San Marcos and the Brazos was called the Espíritu Santo. It was evidently supposed by Cárdenas that the two rivers joined here to form the Lavaca. Below it will be seen that the mouth of the Colorado was called by Cárdenas the Trinidad, the name given by De León in 1690 to the middle Trinity.

On the sixteenth they ascended the eastern mouth of the river some ten or fifteen miles to a point (18) near Beadle, and returned by the westernmost channel till stopped by a raft of drift logs, whence they turned back, descending by another channel. Continuing eastward up Matagorda bay for a short distance on the seventeenth, they then turned back, coasting Matagorda peninsula, looking for an outlet to the gulf, and crossed to the west side of the bay, where they camped near Point Connor (25).

With this camp as a base, several days were spent in exploring and sounding the channel. While here a soldier died and his body was thrown into the bay. Finally, on the twenty-ninth, they crossed the bar into the gulf, and set sail for Vera Cruz, which they reached on the ninth of December, after an absence of fifty-nine days.

Anyone who will take the trouble to compare a modern map with that made by Cárdenas will be struck by the accuracy of the latter, and will be filled with admiration for the engineer's skill. His merit was recognized by the officials in Mexico, and on his return to Vera Cruz he received the special thanks of the viceroy for his notable work.

The bearing of the Cárdenas report and map upon the location of La Salle's colony is obvious. They simply settle the matter once for all and without argument. The settlement was on the Garcitas river and not on the Lavaca, as has been supposed. This I realized as soon as I studied the map, as must everyone conversant with the conditions of the problem. But I had the curiosity to see the locality, to test more minutely the work of Cárdenas, and, although the proof in no way depended upon this confirmation, to see if perchance the site of the colony was still marked by archeological remains and was known to local tradition.²⁸

Accordingly, on July 3, 1914, I left Austin for the Garcitas river. Going next day from San Antonio by the Southern Pacific railroad, and passing on the way gatherings of people participating in barbecues and other holiday activities, about 1 p. m. I stopped at Placedo station, having before me the prospect of taking the midnight train to Ben West, some fifteen miles east on the Brownsville road, and on the Garcitas river, there

²⁸ Especially in view of the opinion expressed by General J. S. Clark, *post*, 179.

to wait for daylight and the assistance of the local inhabitants. But a little inquiry at Placedo made it clear to me that the place which I was seeking was on Keeran ranch, and that I must see Mr. Claude Keeran, owner of the ranch and a lifelong resident of the place. I made bold, therefore, to call him up by telephone, introduce myself, and tell him of my errand. He was interested at once, and generously volunteered to coöperate. At his suggestion I rode out seven miles that night in a wagon with Mr. Vickers, who was boring a well on the Keeran ranch, spending the night in the camp as Mr. Vicker's guest. Next morning as we were eating breakfast, Mr. Keeran, accompanied by his foreman, Mr. Charles Webb, came in his automobile, and together we spent the forenoon going over Cárdenas' ground, with copies of his map and the accompanying report in hand.

Conversation at Placedo with Mr. J. S. Webb, who for years had ridden the Keeran ranch, had elicited the fact that on a bank overlooking the Garcitas river were ruins known in the neighborhood tradition as "The Old Mission," but otherwise unexplained. Mr. Keeran confirmed this report, took me to the spot, and informed me that, like most "old sites" in the Southwest, it has long been an object of attention to treasure seekers. It is exactly where Cárdenas' map shows La Salle's settlement, on the west bank of the Garcitas river, about five miles above its mouth, and on the highest point of the cliff-like bank of that stream. The place is between Malden Mott and Letts's Mott, but considerably nearer the former than the latter. The spot is the vantage point of all the country round. To the south, west, and northwest, stretch indefinitely the great level prairies, now sprinkled with a recent growth of mesquite, but in La Salle's day an open prairie dotted with buffalo herds. In front lies a beautiful little valley through which winds the Garcitas river, a good sized stream, from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet in width, and still navigable with a launch for a number of miles above its mouth.²⁹ On the other side the valley is hemmed in by a range of low hills which, off to the northwest, fade away into the great plain lying east of Victoria. The choice by La Salle of the spot for his colony is no cause for sur-

²⁹ Mr. Keeran runs a launch on the river, his landing being a mile or more above the site of the fort.

prise. A careful comparison of the topography of the valley with Cárdenas' map and description showed that he had delineated correctly every important bend in the stream, and had even placed on his map west of the river and below the French fort the small lagoon now known as Red Fish lake.

The archeological remains of the settlement, so far as we ascertained, are not extensive, but they are palpable and of certain character. Before we went to the site Mr. Keeran stated that years ago there were distinct remains of an ancient wall, but feared they had entirely disappeared. But he was mistaken in this, for we easily found the wall, then just visible above the surface of the ground, and without any digging were able to trace it for many feet. The wall is made of large, red, adobe-like blocks, apparently of baked red clay. Subsequently Mr. Keeran has found it to be two and a half feet thick and to inclose an area ninety feet square.³⁰ From the surface of the ground I gathered a handful of small fragments of antique blue and white porcelain. The story of the finding of the "vases," which made its way into the daily press, is a pure fiction of the reporter, for which I am in no way responsible. Mr. Keeran told me, with full circumstantial details, of the unearthing on the spot, some thirty years ago, of half of an immense copper kettle, nearly a yard in diameter. It was exhumed at dead of night by a party of treasure hunters, who were working under the direction of a fortune teller and were frightened away by uncanny sounds. Mr. Keeran states that the kettle remained neglected on the site for several years and then disappeared.

It is interesting now to note that heretofore several students have independently concluded that the La Salle colony was on the Garcitas and not on the Lavaca, but have lacked sufficient data to give acceptance to their findings. Twenty or more years ago General J. S. Clark, on the basis of the archeological and topographical data, expressed the belief that the site was on an elevation on the west bank of the Garcitas, about five miles above its mouth, where he found the remains of an ancient settlement. The spot was doubtless the same as that which Mr. Keeran and I examined. Clark's opinion was mentioned by

³⁰ Letter from Mr. C. A. Keeran, August 26, 1914. He writes me that in addition he found a carving fork, crockery, pottery, a bullet, spikes, and a coal pit.

Justin Winsor, but dismissed as inconclusive.³¹ About seven years ago C. C. Small, one of my students in the University of Texas, on the basis of Joutel's journal and such Spanish documents as were then available, reached a similar conclusion, though he attempted no topographical or archeological confirmation. Subsequently both his and General Clark's conclusions were rejected by another student of mine in the University of Texas.³² Finally, Miss Florence B. Stanton, one of my students in the University of California, in the light of the new data, independently reached the conclusion to which I had already come, both with regard to La Salle's death-place and to the site of his colony.³³

Now that we are on certain ground, we find plenty of confirmatory evidence. The Sigüenza map of De León's expedition of 1689,³⁴ which has long been known and has been published, gives a somewhat crude delineation of Lavaca bay in general, but shows with reasonable correctness the western shore and its inlets, which De León visited, and places the French fort on a stream which corresponds clearly with Garcitas river. At the same time that I secured the Cárdenas map, I for the first time obtained a copy of the official map of De León's expedition of 1690.³⁵ This contains a small outline map of Matagorda bay

³¹ "General J. S. Clark, a recent investigator of the topographical features of the region, is confident that the camp first occupied was on Mission Bay, near the Espiritu Santo Bay, and that the Fort St. Louis was on the Garcitas River five miles above its junction with Lavaca Bay, while the adjacent river of that name has usually been considered the site of the fort. General Clark represents that the ground of his supposed site still bore, at a recent day, remains of the fort, and was marked by other relics. To most inquirers the evidence has been sufficient that the vicinity of Matagorda Bay — and Espiritu Santo is not far off — was the scene of these fearful experiences." Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, 317.

³² Eleanor Claire Buckley, "The Aguayo expedition into Texas and Louisiana, 1719-1722," in the Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, 15:59-60.

³³ "La Salle's colony in Texas." Manuscript thesis.

³⁴ Camino que el año de 1689 hizo el Governador Alonso de Leon desde Cuahuila hasta hallar cerca del Lago de Sa Bernardo el lugar donde havian poblado los Franceses. Sigüenza 1689. Published by Elizabeth Howard West in the Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, 8: facing p. 199.

³⁵ Viage que el año de 1690 hizo el Governador Alonso de Leon desde Cuahuila hasta la CAROLINA, Provincia habitada de Texas y otras naciones al Nordeste de la Nueva España. Manuscript in archivo general de Indias, estante 61, cajon 6, legajo 88. There are indications that this map, like that of the 1689 expedition, may have been executed by Sigüenza.

which is quite as accurate in general as the Cárdenas map, and shows the Garcitas and Lavaca rivers coming in at the head of Lavaca bay. On the Garcitas, just where Cárdenas puts it, is shown the "Pueblo de los Franceses." Manifestly this map contains data secured by the Llanos expedition.

One of the tests of a scientific hypothesis is whether it is contradicted by or harmonizes with individual phenomena. As might be expected, the substitution of truth for error on this fundamental point of the location of La Salle's fort dispels several other difficulties which have arisen regarding early expeditions in Texas. The San Marcos river described by De León as from three to six leagues east of "the River of the French," has been taken by students to be the Colorado, a stream which in fact is a good fifty miles away.³⁶ The San Marcos referred to was obviously the Lavaca, as shown on Cárdenas' map. Starting with the Lavaca as the site of the French fort, Joutel's report of La Salle's last expedition to the eastward raises difficulties regarding the streams at every part of his journey. But with a correct start his itinerary is easy to follow. Starting too far east, students have come out too far east in locating the place where La Salle was murdered, placing it on the Neches or the Trinity, instead of on the Brazos.

One point further remains to be dealt with, lest misunderstandings creep in. For two or three years after the destruction of La Salle's colony its site was frequently visited and was temporarily occupied by the Spaniards, as a base of operations in the interior of Texas. Later on, in 1722, it became the site of what was intended to be a permanent Spanish settlement. A fort was built by Aguayo square on the site of the one which had been erected by La Salle. We are sure of this, because in digging the trenches Aguayo's men unearthed numerous remains of the French establishment.³⁷ The Spanish fort was given the name of Nuestra Señora de Loreto. Across the river was established the mission of Espíritu Santo. Four years later the fort and mission were moved northwest to Mission Valley,

³⁶ Bancroft, *History of the north Mexican states*, 1:400.

³⁷ "On the sixth of April his lordship began to draw the lines for the erection of the *presidio*, as the king our lord (God preserve him), had ordered, in the place where the French, under command of M. de la Salle [Monsieur la Sala], had it con-

near the present Victoria, and in 1749 were transferred to the San Antonio river, to become the nucleus of the present city of Goliad. Thus, the relics on the banks of the Garcitas mark the site of both La Salle's colony and the Spanish *presidio* of Loreto. The walls still visible are probably the remains of the Spanish rather than of the French fortification.

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structed, from the year of 'eighty-four until that of 'ninety, when the Indians destroyed them, there remaining alive in their power three Frenchmen and a girl. They buried the artillery (which later the Spaniards secured, and took to Vera Cruz), the excavation, which is within the place where the *presidio* has been placed, being visible today, as is also that in which they burned the powder; and on opening the trenches for the fortification there were found nails, pieces of musket-locks, and fragments of other things which the French use." Juan Antonio de la Peña, *Derrotero de la expedición en la provincia de los Texas* (Mexico, 1722), f. 27.

THE FIRST LEGATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES IN LATIN AMERICA

The United States has not always considered herself as the leader of an American family of republics. Many years passed after the adoption of the federal constitution before her statesmen caught the vision of the nation's continental destiny. At the beginning of our national history we faced Europe; later we undertook to plant settlements in the Mississippi valley; recently we have at times turned towards the Orient; we have become the mistress of Porto Rico and the Philippines. At the present time some of our merchants and captains of industry are turning their attention to the nations in the South. Some students of American history and politics perceive that there are in the new world more significant sections than our North, our South, our East, our West; they realize that there exist in America two great sections: Anglo-America, the section profoundly affected by Anglo-Saxon civilization; and Latin America, the region in which live the wayward children of Spain and Portugal.

The revolution, or rather the series of revolutions, which culminated in the establishment of independent states in continental Spanish America was provoked by the usurpations of Napoleon in the Iberian peninsula. The deposition of Ferdinand VII, king of Spain, was followed by the formation of revolutionary *juntas* in the Indies. During the second and third decades of the nineteenth century the Spanish empire in America split into states which proclaimed their independence of the mother-land.

In 1822 there could be seen in Spanish America the shadowy outlines of a number of new states. The viceroyalty of Mexico had just been severed from Spain by a bloodless revolution which was accomplished through the promulgation of the sagacious plan of Iguala by the warrior-statesman, Agustín de Iturbide. In northern South America the revolutionary soldiers who followed their dauntless liberator, Simón de Bolívar, had triumphed over the royalists at the battles of Boyacá and Carabobo, and

delegates from New Granada and Venezuela had adopted a constitution for "Great Colombia." After the victories of the southern revolutionists guided by their heroic commander, José de San Martín, over the royalists at Chacabuco and Maipo, the captaincy general of Chile had been liberated from Spanish rule. On the Pacific plateau, near the equator, Simón de Bolívar, aided by his indefatigable lieutenant, Antonio José de Sucre, was crowning the military achievements of his rival, José de San Martín, and thus promoting the independence of Peru. On the banks of the Rio de la Plata the citizens of Buenos Aires were striving to form a government for the United Provinces of la Plata — the nucleus of the Argentine nation. But certain sections of the fair viceroyalty of la Plata had not adhered to the revolutionary movement which had been led by the city of Buenos Aires: *la Banda Oriental del Uruguay* was a battleground of contending parties; Paraguay was under the sway of that eccentric despot, José de Francia; while the people of Upper Peru, later Bolivia, had not yet formally declared their independence of Spain. And although Mexico, Colombia, Chile, Peru, and Argentina had begun their national existence, yet in Peru, at least, the royalists were still formidable: the decisive struggle between the royalists and the patriots had not taken place: the battle of Ayacucho — the Armageddon of Spain on the continent of South America — was not fought until December 9, 1824.

At an early stage in the wars for independence the revolutionary governments sent agents to the republic of the north to plead for the recognition of the revolted provinces in Spanish America as independent states. As the government of the United States strove to pursue a neutral policy in the struggle between Spain and her colonies, these agents were not received in their official capacity.¹ But, from 1810 to 1822, agents were sent from Washington to various sections of South America who were instructed to promote the commercial intercourse between the United States and Spanish America and to make reports concerning the prog-

¹ The earliest agents sent by the revolted Spanish colonies to the United States are considered in W. S. Robertson, "The beginnings of Spanish-American diplomacy," in F. J. Turner, *Essays in American history* (New York, 1910), 248-262. For later agents see F. L. Paxson, *The independence of the South-American republics* (Philadelphia, 1903), 113, 152-157.

ress of the revolutionary movements.² As early as October, 1817, President Monroe laid before his cabinet certain queries in regard to the recognition of the revolted colonies, asking whether the appointment of a minister to a new state should be "considered an acknowledgment of its independence."³ While the cabinet delayed a decision upon the mooted question of recognition, Henry Clay won the gratitude of some South Americans by eloquently championing the cause of recognition in congress: on March 24, 1818, he proposed an amendment to the general appropriation bill providing that eighteen thousand dollars be appropriated to send a minister to the provinces of the Rio de la Plata, whenever the president should deem this measure expedient.⁴ In a letter dated August 24, 1818, from John Quincy Adams, the virile secretary of state, to President Monroe, Adams stated succinctly the principle which governed his policy towards the Spanish-American struggles for independence. After declaring that there was a stage in such contests when a neutral state might rightly acknowledge the independence of the revolutionists, the secretary said: "It is the stage when independence is established as a matter of fact so as to leave the chances of the opposite party to recover their dominion utterly desperate."⁵

In 1822 President Monroe decided that the time had arrived

² The first commercial agent appointed to Spanish America was William Shaler, who in the summer of 1810, was made "agent for commerce and seamen" at Vera Cruz. (Secretary Smith to Shaler, June 16, 1810, state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Despatches to consuls, 1.) There is no evidence to show that Shaler served as agent of the United States in Mexico at this time, but his instructions evidently served as a model for those of commercial agents who were sent to other parts of Spanish America, as Robert K. Lowry, who was sent to La Guaira, Venezuela. In regard to the other agents of the United States in Spanish America, see Robertson, "Beginnings of Spanish-American diplomacy," in Turner, *Essays*, 250-252, 258-260; and in *Francisco de Miranda and the revolutionizing of Spanish America* (American Historical Association, *Report*, 1907, v. 1), 444, n. a; and especially Paxson, *Independence of South-American republics*, 106-112, 120-124, 161-166.

³ For the attitude of Secretary Monroe towards Spanish America in 1811, see Robertson, "Beginnings of Spanish-American diplomacy," in Turner, *Essays*, 254, 255, 256. For Monroe's proposals when president in 1817, see J. Monroe, *Writings* (Hamilton ed. — New York 1898-1903), 6: 31.

⁴ *Annals of congress*, 15 congress, 1 session, 2: 1468, 1469.

⁵ J. B. Moore, *A digest of international law* (Washington, 1906), 1: 78; "Memorandum upon the power to recognize the independence of a new foreign state," 54 congress, 2 session, Senate executive document 56, p. 52.

when the United States should acknowledge the independence of the revolted Spanish colonies in America. Accordingly, in response to a request from the house of representatives for information concerning these colonies, on March 8, 1822, Monroe addressed a message to congress declaring that five revolted colonies, Colombia, Chile, Peru, Buenos Aires, and Mexico should be recognized as independent nations and suggesting that congress should make appropriations for diplomatic missions to these countries. After a spirited debate in the lower house, a bill appropriating one hundred thousand dollars to defray the expenses of such diplomatic missions "to the independent Nations of the American continent" as the president might deem proper, passed both houses of congress and was signed by the president on May 4, 1822. President Monroe's message of March 8 provoked an angry protest from Joaquín de Anduaga, the Spanish minister at Washington. A short time afterwards, through its ambassadors the liberal government of Spain presented to the chief members of the holy alliance a manifesto denouncing the policy of recognition which had been announced by the United States, as an attack upon the sacred doctrine of legitimacy.⁶ Spain did not readily abandon her attitude of protest, for long after Ferdinand VII had again become absolute king, his ambassadors at the courts of the leading nations on the European continent were directed to protest vigorously against the recognition of the independence of the Spanish-American states by the reception of diplomatic agents, or by other acts.⁷ And, when Russia learned that Colombia had appointed a diplomatic agent to the court of St. Petersburg, she took occasion to inform the government of the United States that the Czar Alexander, faithful to

⁶ W. S. Robertson, "The United States and Spain in 1822," in *Americal historical review*, 20: 781-800.

⁷ As illustrations of the policy of Spain after 1823 may be given "Circular dirigido en 21 de enero de 1825 á los agentes diplomáticos de las cortes aliados en Madrid," protesting against the attitude of England towards Spanish America, archivo general de Indias, estado, América en general, 6; "Protesta dirigida á las potencias extranjeras contra el reconocimiento de América en 5 de mayo de 1828," in *ibid.*, 8. See further P. Torres Lanzas, *Independencia de América* (1st ser. — Madrid, 1912), 5: 562, 573. It was not until December 16, 1836, that the Spanish *cortes* passed a decree which authorized the government to conclude treaties with the states of Spanish America recognizing their independence and renouncing Spain's right of sovereignty over them. *Colección legislativa de España* (Madrid, 1818-1889), 21: 584-585.

the principles which he held in common with his allies, would not receive a minister from any of the *de facto* governments of Spanish America.⁸ This announcement evoked from Secretary Adams on November 15, 1823, a note to Baron Tuyll, the Russian minister at Washington, in which he justified the action of the United States. Adams declared that in acknowledging the independence of the South American states, the United States was influenced by the considerations which prescribed it as "a duty to independent nations to entertain with each other the friendly relations which sentiments of humanity and their mutual interests" required.⁹

President Monroe had indeed apprehended that the action of the United States in regard to the independence of the Spanish-American states might arouse the nations of Europe. In a letter to Jonathan Russell, the chairman of the house committee on foreign relations, on March 12, the president said: "A doubt arises in my mind whether it will be politic to give any *distinguished* eclat to the recognition until we see its effect on the powers of Europe, who will, I have great cause to presume, be much excited by the measure, from its bearing on *legitimacy*. . . . It will merit consideration whether it may not be most advisable to appropriate a gross sum for carrying into effect the proposed missions, enumerating the places, to sanction the recognition to that extent, and leave it to the executive to fix the grade, as in appointments to European Courts. If missions of the first grade are sent to all the places, or to more than Mexico, it may be inferred by foreign powers that our object is to organize these new Governments against the Governments of Europe, and thus do the provinces more harm than good, by organizing Europe against them, if not against ourselves. The object is to serve the provinces essentially by promoting the independence of all, with the establishment of free republican governments and, with

⁸ W. C. Ford, *John Quincy Adams; his connection with the Monroe doctrine* (Cambridge, 1902), 32; "Correspondence of the Russian ministers in Washington," in the *American historical review*, 18: 342. A letter from Juan d'Evereux to Dr. William Thornton, January 17, 1823, announcing his appointment by Colombia as "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Courts of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark," is found in the Thornton papers, 1829-1844, in the Library of Congress.

⁹ Adams to Tuyll, November 15, 1823, state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Notes to foreign legations, 3.

that in view, to obtain their recognition by other powers, as soon as possible.”¹⁰ Indeed before he nominated a single minister to the new governments Monroe heard that certain European diplomats were curious to learn the extent to which the United States intended to carry out the policy of recognition by appointing ministers to the new nations of Spanish America.¹¹

In an interpretative note for a reply by Secretary Adams to a query from Mr. Russell, President Monroe clearly indicated that, when congress made an appropriation for the recognition of the independence of the revolted Spanish colonies, the judgment of congress would influence him in determining the scope of his policy.¹² Soon after the bill was framed providing for diplomatic missions to Spanish America, Adams urged Monroe to determine upon a system of procedure in regard to recognition.¹³ On April 19, the cabinet discussed at length the policy to be followed towards the new states. According to the diary of Adams, one question was “whether Ministers of Plenipotentiary rank should be immediately sent” to all the new governments, or whether the United States should wait “to receive Ministers from them, and return Ministers of the same rank.” Crawford, secretary of the treasury, favored “sending immediately four Ministers, without standing upon any point of etiquette.” Adams thought that the best course would be “to wait and reciprocate; to receive Mr. Torres as Chargé d’Affaires from the republic of Colombia; to receive the minister from Mexico when he shall arrive, and immediately send one of the same rank in return; to ascertain from the Governments of Colombia, Buenos Ayres, and Chili upon what footing they wish the political relations with us to be placed; and to send Ministers Plenipotentiary whenever they send Ministers of that rank to us.”¹⁴ Several months after this cabinet meeting Adams interpreted the act of

¹⁰ Monroe, *Writings* (Hamilton ed.), 6: 211, 212.

¹¹ On October 22, 1822, Richard Rush, minister of the United States to England, wrote a letter to President Monroe in which he said that the recognition of the independence of the South American states was being discussed in diplomatic circles in London and that the ministers of the Netherlands and of Denmark had asked him “to which of the new states we had sent a minister.” Monroe papers, 20, in Library of Congress.

¹² Monroe, *Writings* (Hamilton ed.), 6: 212, 213, n. 1.

¹³ C. F. Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (Philadelphia, 1874-1877), 5: 491.

¹⁴ Adams, *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, 5: 492.

May 4, 1822, to mean that congress had authorized diplomatic missions to five independent nations of Spanish America.¹⁵ It was probably about the time when the action to be taken in carrying out the policy of recognition was being considered by the cabinet that President Monroe wrote the undated memorandum in which he discussed the status of the Spanish-American republics. He said that, as the new governments had declared their independence and maintained it, and, as the government of the United States had acknowledged their independence, that the United States could regard them "in no other light than that of sovereign and independent nations," which were entitled to all the privileges of other nations. The United States had "a right to trade with them," and they had the right to trade with the United States "subject to no other restrictions," than such as were applicable "to legitimate blockades, and to contraband of war."¹⁶

In March, 1822, Manuel Tórres was the only authorized agent of a Spanish-American government in the United States.¹⁷ As early as April 22, President Monroe told Adams that he was willing to receive Manuel Tórres officially.¹⁸ Not until May 23, however, did Adams write to Tórres informing him that, whenever it might suit his convenience and be compatible with the state of his health to visit Washington, President Monroe would receive him "in the character of Chargé d'Affaires from the Republic of Colombia."¹⁹ But, as Tórres was ill, several days elapsed before he could proceed from Hamiltonville, near Philadelphia, to Washington.²⁰ On June 18 Tórres informed Adams of his arrival at the capital "in a bad state of health," but willing to call immediately at the department of state.²¹ On June

¹⁵ Adams, *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, 6: 101.

¹⁶ Monroe papers, 6, in Library of Congress.

¹⁷ A part of the correspondence of Tórres with the Columbian government is found in P. I. Cadena, *Anales diplomáticos de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1878), 101-143; his credentials as agent and chargé d'affaires of Colombia to the United States are found in *American state papers: foreign relations*, 4:833, 834; on his relations with Adams, see Adams, *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, 5:43, 45-47, 51, 113-116, 186.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 495.

¹⁹ Adams to Tórres, May 23, 1822, state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Notes to foreign legations, 3.

²⁰ Tórres to Adams, June 8, 1822, June 18, 1822, state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Notes from Colombian legation, 1.

²¹ *Ibid.*

19, 1822, Adams accordingly presented Tórres, as chargé d'affaires from Colombia, to President Monroe. Adams declared that Tórres, who had "scarcely life in him to walk alone, was deeply affected by it. He spoke of the great importance to the republic of Colombia of this recognition, and of his assurance that it would give extraordinary gratification to Bolívar." President Monroe sat down beside Tórres, "and spoke to him with kindness which moved him even to tears. The President assured him of the great interest taken by the United States in the welfare and success of his country, and of the particular satisfaction with which he received him as its first representative."²² Manuel Tórres was thus the first diplomatic representative from the Spanish-American nations to be received officially by the government of the United States: the reception of the invalid chargé of Colombia was the first formal act of recognition by the United States of an American state which had cut adrift from old world monarchies. With the exception of the Portuguese monarchy which was seated at Rio de Janeiro,²³ the North American republic was the first member of the family of nations formally to recognize the independence of a Spanish-American state.

The republic of Colombia, according to the constitution of 1821, included the territories which in colonial days had been under the jurisdiction of the captain general of Venezuela and the viceroy of New Granada.²⁴ In 1822 the titular president of "Great Colombia" was Simón de Bolívar, but as he had led his soldiers against the royalists in the presidency of Quito, the able

²² Adams, *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, 6:23; see also the *National Intelligencer*, June 20, 1822. The services of Tórres in Washington were mentioned by Pedro Gual, the Colombian secretary of foreign affairs, to the congress of Colombia. See *Memoria de la secretaría de estado y relaciones exteriores de la república de Colombia leída al primer congreso constitucional el día 21 de abril del año de 1823* (Bogotá, 1823), 9; also, Moore, *International law*, 1:90. In *ibid.* (90-92) a summary is given of the reception by the government of the United States of diplomatic agents from the states of Latin America. On the reception of Tórres, see also Paxson, *Independence of South-American republics*, 177.

²³ Portugal recognized the independence of Buenos Aires in 1821. *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, 1:569, 570; J. M. Pereira da Silva, *Historia da fundação do imperio brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1870-1871), 2:280.

²⁴ J. F. Blanco, *Documentos para la historia de la vida pública del libertador de Colombia, Perú, y Bolivia* (Caracas, 1875-1877), 8:24-40, prints the Colombian constitution of 1821 which was adopted at Cúcuta.

vice president, Francisco de Paula Santander, was acting as the chief civil executive of the state.²⁵ In Colombia the news of the policy which the United States had announced in regard to the recognition of Spanish-American independence was received with joy. As early as May 9, 1822, Pedro Gual, the Colombian secretary of foreign affairs, had seen a copy of Monroe's message of March 8 and had forwarded the good news to Bolívar.²⁶ In the credentials for José M. Salazar, who was appointed minister to the United States in September, 1822, credentials which were signed by Vice President Santander and Secretary Gual, there was an expression of pleasure that the United States had decided to recognize the independence of Colombia — "a conduct so frank, so noble, and so disinterested."²⁷ Meanwhile, an agent, Charles S. Todd of Kentucky, was sent from the United States on a special mission to Colombia as the herald of recognition.²⁸ On December 26, 1822, Todd informed Gual of his arrival in Bogotá and congratulated him upon the "signal act" of the United States in recognizing the independence of Colombia.²⁹ On January 2, 1823, Gual responded to the effect that Colombia was already aware of the recognition of her independence by the United States and of the reception of Tórres by President Monroe. He said that these two measures had pleased his government, which had never despaired that the United States would be the first to render justice to the Colombians.³⁰

Soon after Monroe had expressed to Adams his willingness to receive Tórres as the diplomatic agent of Colombia, a step was taken which foreshadowed the formal acknowledgment of Mexican independence. As early as April 23, 1822, Adams wrote to José M. Herrera, the secretary of foreign affairs for the independent government of Mexico, to announce Monroe's willing-

²⁵ J. Gil Fortoul, *Historia constitucional de Venezuela* (Berlin, 1907), 1:327, 328.

²⁶ S. B. O'Leary, *Memorias del General O'Leary* (Caracas, 1879-1888), 19:256.

²⁷ Salazar's credentials as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from Colombia to the United States, dated September 1, 1822, are found in the state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Notes from Colombian legation, 1.

²⁸ Adams to Todd, July 2, 1822, state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Despatches to consuls, 2.

²⁹ Todd to Gual, December 26, 1822 (copy), in state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Despatches from Colombia, 2.

³⁰ Gual to Todd, January 2, 1823, *ibid.*

ness to receive officially an envoy from Mexico and to declare that the government of the United States would reciprocate by sending an envoy to represent it in Mexico City.³¹ There the liberator, Agustín de Iturbide, had established a provisional government that, according to the plan of Iguala,³² was to invite a Spanish prince to occupy the throne of Mexico — a state which included the territory stretching from the Colombian provinces on the isthmus of Panama to the parallel of forty-two degrees north latitude. But in the very month when President Monroe signed the bill providing for the establishment of legations in Spanish America, Iturbide was proclaimed emperor of Mexico with the title of Agustín I.³³ A short time afterwards President Monroe decided to send Joel R. Poinsett on a mission to Mexico for the purpose of gathering information concerning conditions there.³⁴ Poinsett left Charleston on the corvette *John Adams* with a letter of introduction from Henry Clay to Agustín I.³⁵ While in Mexico City Poinsett had an interview with the emperor who impressed him somewhat unfavorably.³⁶ Still, the government of the United States could not postpone the formal acknowledgment of Mexican independence, for Emperor Agustín I soon dispatched a diplomatic agent to Washington. In September, 1822, José M. B. Zozaya, an honorary member of the emperor's council of state, was appointed envoy extraordinary and

³¹ *La diplomacia mexicana* (Mexico, 1910-1912), 1:73. Monroe's message to congress of March 8, 1822, recommending the recognition of the independence of certain Spanish-American states had been translated into Spanish and printed in *Gaceta extraordinaria del gobierno imperial de México*, May 1, 1822, without comment.

³² A manuscript copy of this plan found by the writer in archivo general de México, historia, operaciones de guerra, Iturbide, 4, differs somewhat from the commonly accepted text. C. M. de Bustamante, *Cuadro histórico de la revolución de la América mexicana* (Mexico, 1823-1832), 5: carta sexta, 12-15, prints the text of a copy which he presumably secured from the Mexican archives.

³³ In *A statement of some of the principal events in the public life of Augustin de Iturbide, written by himself* (London, 1824 — pp. 38-44) is found his account of the events which precipitated the change from a provisional government to imperial rule; see further [V. Rocafuerte] *Bosquejo ligerísimo de la revolución de Méjico* (Philadelphia, 1822), 230-234.

³⁴ Poinsett to Monroe, July 20, 1822, acknowledged the receipt of Monroe's letter of the eleventh instant, and spoke of his trip to Mexico as an excursion. Monroe papers, 20, in Library of Congress.

³⁵ *La diplomacia mexicana*, 1:67.

³⁶ J. R. Poinsett, *Notes on Mexico, made in the autumn of 1822* (London, 1825), 91-93.

minister plenipotentiary from the Mexican empire to the United States.³⁷ One of the chief objects of this mission, as specified in Zozaya's instructions, was to solicit the government of the United States to recognize Mexico as independent of Spain and as governed by an imperial dynasty.³⁸ On December 10, 1822, Zozaya announced to Adams his arrival at Washington; he also sent to the secretary of state a copy of his credentials and expressed a desire soon to meet him.³⁹ These overtures were favorably received, and on December 12, 1822, Adams presented Zozaya to President Monroe as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the Mexican empire:⁴⁰ this act constituted the formal recognition of the independence of Mexico by the United States.

The recognition of the independence of the other nations of Spanish America was consummated by the appointment of envoys to those countries. In January, 1823, President Monroe nominated diplomatic agents to Colombia, Buenos Aires, Chile, Peru, and Mexico.⁴¹ On January 27, the senate confirmed the appointment of Richard C. Anderson of Kentucky as minister plenipotentiary to Colombia.⁴² As the first legation of the United States in Spanish America was established at Bogotá, and as the general instructions to the first minister of the United States in Colombia were sometimes cited in the instructions to ministers of the United States in other Spanish-American states, whereas his personal instructions typify those which were given to the

³⁷ *La diplomacia mexicana*, 1:76-79.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 82.

³⁹ Zozaya to Adams, December 10, 1822, state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Notes from Mexican legation, 1.

⁴⁰ The *National Intelligencer*, December 13, 1822; *La diplomacia mexicana*, 1:94. Cf. Moore, *International law*, 1:91. On December 13, 1822, there was filed in the papers of the department of state the list of eleven persons who were attached to the first Mexican legation at Washington. (State department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Notes from Mexican legation, 1.) A brief mention of the reception of Zozaya was made in the *Gaceta del gobierno imperial de México*, February 6, 1823.

⁴¹ *Senate executive journal*, 3:320, 325. A summary of the appointments of ministers from the United States to the Latin-American states is given by Moore, *International law*, 1:90-92. There is found in the *Register of the department of state* (Washington, 1873 — pp. 50-91), a list of the first diplomatic agents of the United States in Latin America, with the years of their service.

⁴² *Senate executive journal*, 3:327.

diplomatic agents of the United States in Latin America during the period under consideration, they will be described in some detail.⁴³

It was according to a practice which Secretary Adams had introduced into the department of state,⁴⁴ that Minister Anderson was furnished with both personal and general instructions. The personal instructions dealt with certain details of the mission. Anderson was informed that his salary was nine thousand dollars per annum for all personal and other expenses, with an outfit valued at one year's salary, a quarter's salary for his return to the United States, and an allowance for contingent expenses. The duties of a minister were carefully described. The minister was informed that one of his most important duties was to transmit to his government "accurate information" concerning the policy and the views of Colombia and of "the character and vicissitudes of its important relations with other Powers." He was "to collect and transmit information of every kind, relating to the Government, Finances, Commerce, Arts, Science, and Condition" of Colombia, which might be useful to the United States. He was told of the procedure of his government in drafting and signing treaties. He was directed to send to the department of state the names of all the Colombian ports to which consuls should be appointed, in addition to those consuls who were already stationed at La Guaira and Carthagena. Anderson was to carry on such correspondence with the consuls of the United States in Colombia as he thought "conducive to the public interest." With the consent of the Colombian government, he was authorized to make temporary appointments to fill any vacancies which might occur in these consulates. He was to exercise great caution in granting passports. He was to accept no presents from the government to which he was accredited. With these instructions Anderson was sent his commission, a letter directed to the president of Colombia, a "full power for negotiating concerning matters of Commerce and Naviga-

⁴³ In reality the instructions to the minister to Buenos Aires were written first, the personal instructions to Anderson being modeled upon the instructions to Rodney, *mutatis mutandis*, but Anderson was the first minister of the United States formally received by an independent Latin-American state.

⁴⁴ G. Hunt, *The department of state of the United States* (New Haven, 1914), 331, 332.

tion," a cypher for use in diplomatic correspondence when occasion required, an "engraved design of the uniform worn by the Ministers of the United States at Foreign Courts on occasions when full dress" was required, and letters of credit upon the bankers of the United States in London. There was sent to Baltimore, where Anderson was to embark, a leather trunk containing paper and books for the legation: two reams of dispatch paper, a volume containing the commercial regulations of foreign countries with which the United States had commercial relations, a set of *Niles' weekly register*, a set of Waite's *State papers*, and a set of the statutes of the United States.⁴⁵

In his general instructions to Anderson, May 27, 1823, Adams made an exposition of the policy which the United States had pursued towards the Spanish-American revolution. He declared that the "political course of the United States, from the first dawning of South American independence," had been such as was prescribed by her relative duties to all the parties in the revolution. Being at peace with Spain, the United States had "considered the struggles of the colonies for independence as a case of civil war," to which her national obligations obliged her to remain neutral. Her policy, her interests, and her feelings, "all concurred to favor the cause of the colonies" and while she forebore, as her duties prescribed "from every measure which could justly be construed as hostile to Spain," she had "exercised all the moral influence" which she possessed "to countenance and promote the cause of independence. . . . When that contest became so manifestly desperate that Spanish Viceroy, Governors, and Captain Generals themselves, concluded treaties with the insurgents, virtually acknowledging their independence, the United States frankly and unreservedly recognized that fact, without making their acknowledgment the price of any favor to themselves, and although at the hazard of incurring the displeasure of Spain." The policy which certain European powers had pursued towards the revolution was unfavorably contrasted with the policy of the United States. Adams also pointed out that the United States had consistently

⁴⁵ May 28, 1823, state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Instructions to ministers, 9; a brief extract from these instructions is printed in Moore, *International law*, 4:762.

tried to promote the recognition of the independence of the Spanish-American states by European powers. He mentioned the proposals of certain South Americans for a confederacy of American nations "as a counter-poise to the European *Holy Alliance*." Adams declared that so far as the proposed confederacy had as its object "a combined system of total and unqualified *independence* of Europe, to the exclusion of all partial compositions of any one of the emancipated colonies with Spain," the project would have "the entire approbation and good wishes of the United States." That government wished it success so far as its purpose might be "to concert a general system of popular representation for the government" of the Spanish-American states. If, however, the object was to promote a "meeting, at which the United States should preside, to assimilate the politics of the south with those of the north," then the United States desired a more definite statement of the means which were to be used as well as of the end which was desired. Further, Adams declared that the government of the United States was aware that the "recognition of South American independence was not palatable to the taste of any of the European governments. But we felt that it was a subject upon which it became us to take the lead . . . We hope . . . that Europe will be compelled to follow the whole of our example — that is, to recognize without condition and without equivalent. We claim no exclusive privilege for ourselves. We trust to the sense of justice, as well as to the interest of the South Americans, the denial of all exclusive privileges to others." ⁴⁶

It was not until December 10, 1823, after a long and toilsome journey from La Guaira, that the envoy of the United States caught a glimpse of Bogotá, the capital of Colombia.⁴⁷ On December 12, Anderson notified the Colombian secretary of foreign affairs of his arrival.⁴⁸ Gual replied on the following day: he expressed the gratification of Santander at Anderson's arrival, and declared that the vice president would be pleased to receive Anderson as the minister of the United States at half-past eleven

⁴⁶ *American state papers: foreign relations*, 5:888-897.

⁴⁷ Anderson to Adams, December 22, 1823, state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Despatches from Colombia, 3.

⁴⁸ Anderson to Gual (copy), *ibid.*

o'clock on December 16.⁴⁹ On that day Anderson proceeded to "the flat-roofed house," styled the palace of government, which served as the official residence of Vice President Santander.⁵⁰ There, in the reception room where the viceroys of New Granada had been accustomed to sit, Anderson was presented to Santander. According to the *Gaceta de Colombia*, on presenting his credentials, the North American made an address; he declared that President Monroe ardently wished to maintain "the relations of perfect harmony and generous friendship" between the United States and Colombia. Vice President Santander responded by complimenting the United States which he characterized as "the classic land of American liberty." Colombian official sentiment in regard to the reception of Anderson was reflected in the *Gaceta de Colombia* in the following words: "The arrival of the first minister plenipotentiary of the United States in the capital of Colombia cannot fail to inspire the most pleasing sensations in the bosom of every friend of liberty."⁵¹

On the same day as that on which the senate of the United States confirmed the appointment of Minister Anderson, that body confirmed the appointment of Caesar A. Rodney of Delaware as minister plenipotentiary to the government of Buenos Aires.⁵² As the personal instructions of Adams to Rodney dated May 18, 1823, were the model on which Anderson's were based, it is not necessary to describe them in detail here. Let it suffice to notice some passages in Rodney's general instruc-

⁴⁹ Gual to Anderson, December 13, 1823, *ibid.*

⁵⁰ C. S. Cochrane, *Journal of a residence and travels in Colombia during the years 1823 and 1824* (London, 1825), 2:17-20.

⁵¹ J. F. Blanco, *Documentos para la vida pública del libertador de Colombia, Perú, y Bolivia*, 9:161-163; a translation of the excerpt from the *Gaceta de Colombia* is found in *Niles' weekly register*, 26:23. Minister Anderson sent a brief account of his reception to Adams, December 22, 1823. (State department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Despatches from Colombia, 3.) After some negotiations, on October 3, 1824, Anderson and Gual signed a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation between the United States and Colombia, the first treaty negotiated by the United States with an independent state of Latin America. W. M. Malloy, *Treaties, conventions, international acts, protocols and agreements between the United States of America and other powers*, 1:292-301. With regard to the attitude of Colombia towards the message of President Monroe to congress of December 2, 1823, see W. S. Robertson, "South America and the Monroe doctrine," in *Political science quarterly*, 30:83-92.

⁵² *Senate executive journal*, 3:327.

tions which express the ideas of the secretary of state concerning the significance of the revolution which had taken place in South America and the spirit which he thought should animate the diplomatic representatives who were sent from Washington to the new states: "The establishment of Independent nations and Governments in South America forms a remarkable aera in the History of the world, and the formal interchange of diplomatic Missions with them is a memorable event in that of our own Country. . . . With relation to *Europe* there is perceived to be only one object, in which the interests and wishes of the United States can be the same as those of the Southern American Nations and that is that they should all be governed by Republican Institutions, politically and commercially independent of Europe. To any confederation of Spanish American provinces for that end, the United States would yield their approbation, and cordial good wishes. . . . We have not commanded, nor would we have accepted special privileges for an acknowledgment of Independence. But that which we have not desired and would not accept for ourselves, we have a right to insist ought not to be granted to others. Recognition is in its nature, not a subject of equivalent; it is claimable of right, or not at all. You will therefore strenuously maintain the right of the United States to be treated in every respect on the footing of the most favored; or it is more properly expressed, the most friendly nation — *Gentis amicissima*; and should you negotiate a Treaty of Commerce you will make that principle the foundation of all its provisions. . . . Our intercourse with Buenos Ayres, as with all the other new Nations of this Hemisphere, is of recent origin; formed while their own condition has been altogether Revolutionary; and continually changing its aspect. Our information concerning them is imperfect, and among the most important objects of your Mission will be those of adding to its stores; of exploring the untrodden ground, and of collecting and transmitting to us the knowledge by which the friendly relations between the two Countries may be extended and harmonized to promote the welfare of both, with due regard to the Peace and good-will of the whole family of civilized man . . . In all your consultations with the Government to which you will be accredited, bearing upon its political relations with this Union,

your unvarying standard will be the spirit of Independence, and of Freedom: as *equality* of rights and favors will be that of all its commercial Relations.”⁵³

In the middle of November, 1823, Rodney disembarked at the city of Buenos Aires. At that time the United Provinces of la Plata did not possess a real national government. The governor of the important littoral province of Buenos Aires, General Martín Rodríguez, was acting as the chief executive of the so-called United Provinces.⁵⁴ On November 18, the government of the province of Buenos Aires issued a decree proclaiming that, by virtue of the credentials which Rodney had brought, he was recognized as minister plenipotentiary of the United States.⁵⁵ The serious illness of that minister, however, prevented him from being presented to Governor Rodríguez for several weeks: on December 27, Rodney proceeded to the government building, where, in the presence of the chief officials of the province, he was formally presented to Rodríguez.⁵⁶ According to the report which Rodney sent to Monroe, that minister made an address in which he declared that “in recommending spontaneously, to Congress, the decided step of recognizing the Independence of the Governments, South of the U. States,” President Monroe “was influenced by the purest motives and the most just and generous principles; supported by the almost unanimous vote of the virtuous representatives of the nation, and the voice of a free and enlightened people.” In reply, Bernardino Rivadavia,

⁵³ May 17, 1823, state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Instructions to ministers, 9.

⁵⁴ L. V. Varela, *Historia constitucional de la república argentina* (La Plata, 1910), 3:392.

⁵⁵ *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, 2:46.

⁵⁶ Rodney to Adams, May 22, 1824, state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Despatches from Buenos Ayres, 2. On December 23, 1823, General Carlos de Alvear, who had been supreme director of the government at Buenos Aires, was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the United States. (*Registro oficial de la república argentina*, 2:48.) He appeared in Washington early in October, 1824; and his credentials, which indicated that he had been appointed largely because of the mission of Rodney, were filed with the department of state. (M. Rodríguez and B. Rivadavia to the president of the United States, January 5, 1824, state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Notes from Argentine confederation and Buenos Aires, 1.) It does not appear however that Minister Alvear was presented to President Monroe: he soon left Washington for South America, having been appointed minister to Colombia. *Registro oficial de la república argentina*, 2:65.

the talented secretary of foreign affairs for Rodríguez, said that this action of "the great and good" Monroe was "above all praise"; he declared that the recognition of the independence of Buenos Aires by the United States "was the most important event in the history of his country."⁵⁷

On January 27, 1823, the senate of the United States also confirmed the appointment of Heman Allen of Vermont as minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Chile.⁵⁸ Besides his own general and personal instructions, Allen was furnished with copies of the general instructions to Rodney, as well as those to Anderson: these instructions he was to consider as addressed to himself upon any point to which they might be applicable.⁵⁹ In supplementary instructions to Allen dated November 30, 1823, Adams said, speaking of the objects of the diplomatic missions to Chile and Peru: "These objects are the establishment of the most friendly relations with the people of those Countries, under their new Republican Institutions: the manifestation of a warm and cordial sentiment of favor and sympathy to the cause in which they are engaged, so far as that sentiment can be indulged, consistently with our neutrality, and the firm and fearless support of the rights and lawful interests of the United States and of their citizens."⁶⁰

In April, 1824, Allen arrived at Santiago de Chile. At that time, General Freire, who became supreme director of Chile after the abdication of the revolutionary leader, Bernardo O'Higgins, was absent from the capital, for he had taken command of an expedition which had been sent against the Spaniards in the Chiloé islands. As his substitute, Freire had left

⁵⁷ "Substance of the address of the minister to B. Ayres, to the Governor of that Republic with his reply," addressed to James Monroe, Monroe papers, 20, in Library of Congress. A description of the reception of Rodney by the government of Buenos Aires, taken from a gazette of that city, is found in the *National Intelligencer*, April 7, 1824. With regard to the attitude of the government of Buenos Aires towards the Monroe doctrine at this time see Robertson, "South America and the Monroe doctrine," in *Political science quarterly*, 30:98-104.

⁵⁸ *Senate executive journal*, 3:325, 327.

⁵⁹ The general instructions of Adams to Allen, dated November 23, 1823, are found in state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Instructions to ministers, 10; extracts from these instructions are printed in Monroe, *Writings* (Hamilton ed.), 6:399-401.

⁶⁰ State department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Instructions to ministers, 10.

Fernando Errázuriz at the head of the government.⁶¹ In the end of April, 1824, Minister Allen was formally received at Santiago de Chile by Acting Supreme Director Errázuriz. According to his dispatch to Adams, on this occasion Allen made an address in which he declared that the United States "at a time, best calculated to give effect to the act, in the most solemn and unconditional manner, recognized the independence of Chili, and commissioned me as its Representative, to reside near its Court, for the purpose of cultivating the relations of peace and friendship, and for the interchange of mutually kind offices, on terms of the most perfect reciprocity, between the two nations." Allen also reported to Washington that, in an interview with Juan Egaña, the Chilean minister of foreign affairs, that minister had declared that the Chilean government "had uniformly regarded the United States, as its best and most powerful friend, and that with its conduct, throughout her revolutionary struggle, she had experienced nothing but the most entire satisfaction—that the act of recognition, and the subsequent acts of our government, and lastly the President's Message, had cheered all hearts; and that great benefits were anticipated from the intercourse which was about to be opened between the Two Nations." ⁶²

Of the South American states which presumably came within the purview of the act of May 4, 1822, Peru was the last to receive a diplomatic agent from the United States. On April 11, 1826, James Cooley of Ohio was nominated by President Adams chargé d'affaires of the United States to Peru: this appointment was confirmed by the senate on May 2.⁶³ Cooley's general instructions dated November 6, 1826, were written by Henry Clay, who had become secretary of state under President Adams. These instructions declared that it was Cooley's "duty generally, to take care of the interests of the United States, and of their Cit-

⁶¹ D. Barros Arana, *Historia jeneral de Chile* (Santiago, 1884-1902), 14:365-368.

⁶² The message which Egaña thus referred to was Monroe's message to congress of December 2, 1823. On April 29, 1824, Allen sent a copy of his address, marked A, with the dispatch announcing his reception, to Adams. State department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Despatches from Chile, 1. See further *Niles' weekly register*, 26:398; Barros Arana, *Historia jeneral de Chile*, 14:367, 368.

⁶³ *Senate executive journal*, 3:528, 534. On January 13, 1823, President Monroe had nominated John B. Prevost as chargé d'affaires to Peru, but this nomination was soon withdrawn. *Ibid.*, 320, 340.

izens . . . The wish of the President is to establish the most amicable relations with the Republic of Peru, and, on all occasions, to cultivate that harmony and good will which should prevail between the United States and that Republic.”⁶⁴ The chargé of the United States arrived in Lima, the capital of Peru, on May 15, 1827,⁶⁵ several months after Bolívar, the liberator of Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia, had left Lima for Bogotá. During the interval which elapsed between the departure of Bolívar and the meeting of a constituent congress, the government of Peru was in the hands of a council of government.⁶⁶ On May 21, 1827, the chargé d'affaires of the United States was formally presented to General Santa Cruz, a soldier of the revolution who was acting as the president of the council of government. On that occasion Santa Cruz expressed his pleasure at receiving the representative of such a “great” and “magnanimous” nation — “a nation whose example they were all trying to imitate. . . .” In reply, Cooley expressed his gratification at these remarks; he voiced the desire of the United States to establish “the most amicable relations” with the republic of Peru; he spoke of the interest which the United States took in the welfare of the Peruvian state, and expressed the hope that his mission might “render solid and lasting the friendly relations which existed between the two Republics.”⁶⁷

The establishment of a legation of the United States in Mexico City was somewhat retarded by the reluctance of the government to send a minister to an American empire. Two men were successively appointed to the post but did not serve.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, a political transformation took place in Mexico. In March, 1823, the Emperor Agustín I resigned his throne; soon

⁶⁴ State department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Instructions to ministers, 11.

⁶⁵ Cooley to Clay, May 22, 1827, state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Despatches from Peru, 1.

⁶⁶ C. R. Markham, *A history of Peru* (Chicago, 1892), 284.

⁶⁷ Cooley to Clay, May 22, 1827, state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Despatches from Peru, 1.

⁶⁸ Andrew Jackson declined the appointment in a letter to Adams, March 15, 1823; Ninian Edwards resigned the position in a letter to Adams, June 22, 1824. State department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Despatches from Mexico, 1. On these appointments see further, Adams, *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, 6:128, 129, 249, 262, 296-307; 339, 370-376, 386-393; Monroe, *Writings* (Hamilton ed.), 6:307.

afterwards he became an exile from his native land.⁶⁹ On October 4, 1824, a constituent congress which assembled in Mexico City promulgated a constitution for the United Mexican States which much resembled the constitution of the United States.⁷⁰ Perhaps it was this change in the form of government which induced President Monroe to nominate Joel R. Poinsett of South Carolina envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Mexico, an appointment which was confirmed by the senate on March 8, 1825.⁷¹ The general instructions of Secretary Clay to Minister Poinsett were dated March 26, 1825. In these instructions the minister was told that he undertook an important mission, for he was the first minister of the United States to a sovereign power of the North American continent whose dominions were coterminous with the territories of the United States. Clay declared that the chief purpose of this mission was "to lay, for the first time, the foundations of an intercourse of amity, commerce, navigation, and neighborhood, which may exert a powerful influence, for a long period, upon the prosperity of both States." Poinsett was informed that his conduct was to be guided by the general instructions of Adams to Minister Anderson, which he was to consider as being incorporated in his own, so far as they were applicable. The secretary of state of the United States declared that his government asked no favors because it had recognized the independence of Mexico at an early date; but he said that this action should induce Mexico to deny "to the commerce and navigation" of European states "any favors or privileges which shall not be equally extended to us." For guidance in negotiating a treaty with Mexico, Poinsett was given a copy of the treaty which had just been negotiated between the United States and Colombia; but he was to substitute for the most favored nation rule which had been adopted as the basis for the Colombian treaty "that of placing the commerce and navigation of the two countries on the more liberal footing of reciprocity between the resident citizens and the foreigner,"

⁶⁹ C. M. de Bustamante, *Continuación del cuadro histórico: historia del emperador D. Agustín de Iturbide* (Mexico, 1846), 125-128, 135, 136.

⁷⁰ *Colección de ordenes y decretos de la soberana junta provisional gubernativa y soberanos congresos generales de la nación mexicana* (Mexico, 1829), 3:79-106.

⁷¹ *Senate executive journal*, 3:441, 443, 444.

which was provided for by the act of January 7, 1824. Poinsett was directed to bring to the attention of the Mexican government the president's message to congress of December 2, 1823, announcing the Monroe doctrine. He was instructed that the United States did not wish to see Cuba transferred to any European state or made a dependency of any Spanish-American state. If Cuba was to become a dependency of any American state, the "law of its position" proclaimed that "it should be attached to the United States."⁷²

On June 1, 1825, the first minister from the United States was officially received in Mexico City by President Guadeloupe Victoria, a leader of the revolution who had just become president. At this reception there were present the diplomatic representatives of certain foreign powers, the secretaries of the Mexican government, and deputations from various corporations of Mexico City. After presenting his credentials, Poinsett made a speech in which he aimed to place the conduct of the United States toward Mexico "in its true light." He declared that the United States regarded "with deep interest the political movements" in Mexico; that "with unfeigned satisfaction" she had seen the only free government which adjoined her "erect itself into a sister republic"; and that the United States was pleased that Mexico had adopted "a Federal Constitution so similar" to her own. He briefly described the policy which the United States had followed in regard to the recognition of the independence of Spanish America: "In this act of recognition, they took the lead of the whole civilized world, and gave an example which has since been followed by the freest government of Europe." He mentioned Monroe's message to congress of December 2, 1823, as containing a declaration on the part of the United States that "they would not regard with indifference any attempt on the part of the powers of Europe" to wrest independence from the new American states. According to Poinsett's dispatch to Clay, in reply President Victoria declared that Mexico and the United States were bound together by territorial contiguity, by

⁷² The general instructions to Poinsett, dated March 26, 1825, are found in state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Instructions to ministers, 10; extracts from these instructions are found in *Register of debates*, 17 congress, 1 session, pt. 1, ap., 83, 84; *American state papers: foreign relations*, 6:578-581, where the date of the instructions is given as March 25.

their common liberty, by their fundamental law, and by their common interests — bonds which “identified the fortune and the destiny of the United States of North America with the destiny and fortune of Mexico.”⁷³ It does not appear that Poinsett’s speech evoked from Victoria any allusion to the Monroe doctrine.

After the downfall of Agustín I, the provinces of Central America had separated from Mexico, and proclaimed their independence.⁷⁴ A short time afterwards Antonio José Cañas was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the United Provinces of Central America to the United States. In July, 1824, Cañas appeared in Washington, where, on August 4, 1824, he was presented by Secretary Adams to President Monroe as the minister from Central America. On this occasion Cañas did not deliver any address, perhaps because he could not speak the English language.⁷⁵ Probably the most important question which was considered by Minister Cañas and Secretary Clay was the proposal of the Central American that the United States and Central America should coöperate in opening a transisthmean canal through the province of Nicaragua.⁷⁶

Clay’s general instructions to John Williams, the first chargé d’affaires of the United States to Central America, were signed on February 10, 1826. On arriving in Santiago de Guatemala, the chargé was to present to the government for ratification the treaty of amity and commerce which Clay and Cañas had just signed. Williams was instructed to gather such information as might aid the United States in making a decision with regard to the proposal of Cañas concerning a transisthmean canal. One

⁷³ Poinsett to Clay, June 4, 1825, incloses a copy of his speech to President Victoria and of the latter’s reply. State department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Letters from Mexico, 1. J. M. Bocanegra, *Memorias para la historia de México independiente* (Mexico, 1892 — 1:379-383), prints an account of Poinsett’s reception from *La águila mexicana*, June 3, 1825, and the speeches of Poinsett and Victoria. With regard to Mexico and the Monroe doctrine at this time see W. R. Manning, “Statements, interpretations, and applications of the Monroe doctrine and of more or less allied doctrines from 1823 to 1825,” in *Proceedings of the American Society of International Law at its eighth annual meeting*, 34-52.

⁷⁴ *La diplomacia mexicana*, 2: 216-219.

⁷⁵ Adams to Cañas, July 10, 1824, state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Notes to foreign legations, 3; Adams, *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, 6: 405, 406.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 530. Clay to Cañas, April 18, 1825, state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Notes to foreign legations, 3.

of the great objects of his mission was to gather information regarding the physical condition of Central America and the political and moral state of its inhabitants. In particular, the chargé was "to observe the Country with reference to its future capabilities of a commerce, mutually advantageous, with the United States . . ." If any foreign power attempted to secure "peculiar concessions" for its commerce, he was to oppose such proceedings: all that the United States desired was "free competition."⁷⁷

During the first three decades of the nineteenth century, the colony of Brazil was establishing its independence of the motherland. In a sense this movement dates from the flight of the house of Braganza from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro in 1807-1808 to escape Napoleon's soldiers: thus from 1808 to 1821 the colonial city was the capital of the Portuguese dominions. Another step in this movement was the decree issued on December 16, 1815, declaring that the colony of Brazil was a kingdom, which placed it upon the same basis as Portugal and Algarves.⁷⁸ Then, on March 20, 1816, Queen Maria I, who had long been incapable of ruling, died:⁷⁹ and her son John, who had been acting as regent, was formally proclaimed king of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves on February 6, 1818.⁸⁰ Further, at the invitation of the Portuguese *cortes*, in April, 1821, King John VI sailed from Rio de Janeiro for Lisbon, after declaring that his eldest son, Pedro de Alcantara, was prince regent of Brazil. Lastly, the reactionary policy of the Portuguese *cortes*, which passed decrees that much dissatisfied the Brazilians, stimulated a party in Brazil which favored separation from Portugal. Hence, in September, 1822, Prince Pedro formally proclaimed the independence of Brazil from Portugal. On October 12, 1822, Pedro was solemnly acclaimed constitutional emperor of Brazil at Rio de

⁷⁷ State department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Instructions to ministers, 10; for the treaty between the United States and Central America, see Malloy, *Treaties between the United States and other powers*, 1: 160-170. The appointment of Williams as chargé to the federation of Central America was confirmed by the senate on December 29, 1825. *Senate executive journal*, 3:461, 469.

⁷⁸ *Collecção das leis do Brazil de 1815*, pp. 63, 64; see further, J. Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro and the southern parts of Brazil* (London, 1820), 567-569.

⁷⁹ M. de Oliveira Lima, *Dom João VI no Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1908), 2: 951.

⁸⁰ *Collecção das leis do Brazil de 1818*, pp. 11-15; Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro*, 570-573.

Janeiro.⁸¹ Even before a constitution was proclaimed for the empire of Brazil, the ministers of Pedro I were trying to initiate diplomatic relations with the nations of Europe and America.⁸² On January 21, 1824, Luis de Carvalho e Mello, Brazil's minister of foreign affairs, appointed José Silvestre Rebello chargé d'affaires to the United States.⁸³ The instructions of that envoy, dated January 31, 1824, urged him to ask for the recognition of the independence of the empire of Brazil by the United States.⁸⁴

Soon after arriving in Washington, Rebello made Secretary Adams acquainted with the purpose of his mission. On April 5 Adams made an entry in his diary to the effect that he had received a note from Rebello announcing himself as chargé d'affaires from Brazil.⁸⁵ On the following day the cabinet considered the question whether or not the independence of the empire of Brazil should be recognized by the reception of Rebello in his official capacity. Wirt doubted the expediency of such recognition, for the revolutionary government of Brazil was not republican but monarchical; Calhoun warmly favored the recognition of the independent government of Brazil, arguing that the United States had recognized the independence of the Mexican empire by receiving a minister from Agustín I; while President Monroe took the view that the recognition of the empire of Brazil would make the recognition of the independence of the Spanish-American states less offensive to the holy alliance. Adams held that there were stronger reasons for the acknowledgment of Brazilian independence than there had been for the recognition of Spanish-American independence, alleging that while the king of Portugal was residing in Brazil he "had proclaimed it an independent

⁸¹ For a detailed discussion of the movement which culminated in the independence of Brazil from Portugal, see M. de Oliveira Lima, *Formation historique de la nationalité brésilienne* (Paris [1911]), 151-168. J. M. Pereira da Silva, *História da fundação do império brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1870-1871), 3: especially pp. 109-129.

⁸² The Brazilian constitution of 1824 is found in *Collecção das leis do império do Brasil de 1824*, pt. 1: 7-36; on the negotiations of Brazil with European powers, see M. de Oliveira Lima, *O reconhecimento do império* (Paris, 1902).

⁸³ *Collecção das leis do império do Brasil de 1824*, pt. 2: 4.

⁸⁴ A translation of Rebello's instructions is found in a pamphlet entitled "Brazil, the United States, and the Monroe doctrine" (Washington, 1908), 8, 9, which is a translation of an article in *O jornal do commercio* of Rio de Janeiro, January 20, 1908, that has been attributed to J. M. da Silva Paranhos Rio Branco.

⁸⁵ Adams, *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, 6: 279, 280.

kingdom." Secretary Adams proposed that he should secure from Rebello a statement of facts in regard to the condition of Brazil.⁸⁶ A short time afterwards in response to a request from the secretary of state, the Brazilian chargé sent to Adams a note accompanied by an exposition of the events which led the Brazilians to declare themselves independent of Portugal. This exposition closed with a plea that the United States should recognize the independence of Brazil. In Rebello's note he expressed a hope that when his exposé was read, a day and an hour would be set for his presentation to the government of the United States. Further, he declared that the governments of France and England, which were seeking influence in the councils of Brazil, had proposed to recognize the independence of that state. He argued that the United States should oppose European influence in America; that that government should send diplomatic agents to the capitals of the Latin-American states; and that a diplomatic agent should be sent from Washington to Rio de Janeiro at once. Like Rebello's exposition, his note ended with a plea for the recognition of the independence of Brazil.⁸⁷ On April 29 Rebello sent to Adams another note asking that the independence of the Brazilian empire should be recognized: on this occasion, he referred to the recognition of the independence of the Spanish-American states by the United States as constituting a precedent for the recognition of the independence of Brazil.⁸⁸

Rebello's pleas for recognition were transmitted by Adams to Monroe, but unfavorable reports concerning the conditions at Rio de Janeiro apparently influenced Adams and Monroe to postpone action. When the Brazilian chargé was informed of the reasons for Monroe's delay in receiving him, he declared that there was no basis "for the suspicion that Brazil was not finally and irrevocably independent of Portugal." Again, the Brazil-

⁸⁶ Adams, *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, 6: 281, 282.

⁸⁷ Rebello's credentials, dated January 31, 1824, are found in state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Notes from legations: Brazil, 1; Rebello to Adams, April 20, 1824, containing a "Succinct and true exposition of the facts that led the Prince, now Emperor, and the Brazilian People, to declare Brazil a free, and Independent Nation," *ibid.* See also A. Pereira Pinto, *Apointamentos para o direito internacional ou collecção completa dos tratados celebrados pelo Brazil com diferentes nações estrangeiros* (Rio de Janeiro, 1864-1865), 2: 388.

⁸⁸ Rebello to Adams, April 29, 1824, state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Notes from legations: Brazil, 1.

ian cited the action of the United States in regard to the revolted Spanish-American colonies. As Monroe believed that the essential factor was the independence of Brazil and felt that if the recognition of that state were delayed until after congress adjourned, some people might suppose that he had "purposely deferred it, to assume the authority of recognizing it without consulting congress," on May 22 Adams proposed to Monroe that Rebello should be formally received early in the following week.⁸⁹ Accordingly, on May 25, Adams addressed a note to the Brazilian chargé informing him that he would "have the honour of presenting him in his character of Chargé d'affaires to the President of the United States, at one o'clock to-morrow, the 26th of May."⁹⁰ On that day Secretary Adams formally presented Rebello to President Monroe as chargé d'affaires from Brazil:⁹¹ this ceremony constituted the recognition of Pedro I as emperor of Brazil by the United States.

On May 31 following, Joaquin Barrozo Pereira, chargé d'affaires of Portugal in the United States, addressed a letter to Adams protesting against the reception of Rebello. In his reply, dated June 9, 1824, Adams declared that this ceremony was "in no wise intended as an act unfriendly to the government or people of Portugal." He declared that it was "the recognition of a government existing in fact"; he affirmed that this government was ruling in a country which "his Majesty, the King of Portugal, had several years since, proclaimed as an Independent kingdom. . . ." He declared that differences between the European powers and their American colonies had never been encouraged by the United States.

"In recognizing as independent States, some of the countries which had been Spanish Colonies, they have done no more than has been done by his Majesty, the King of Portugal, himself. The recognition of the Independence of those States was, in no

⁸⁹ Adams, *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, 6:317-319, 348.

⁹⁰ Adams to Rebello, May 25, 1824, state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Notes to foreign legations, 3; A. Pereira Pinto, *Apontamentos para o direito internacional ou collecção completa dos tratados celebrados pelo Brazil con diferentes nações estrangeiros*, 2: 389.

⁹¹ Adams, *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, 6:358, 359; the *National Intelligencer*, May 28, 1824. With regard to the attitude of Brazil towards the Monroe doctrine at this juncture see Robertson, "South America and the Monroe doctrine," in *Political science quarterly*, 30:94-97.

wise induced by any existing differences between the United States and Spain; nor was it deemed, in any manner incompatible with her sovereign rights. Such was the opinion of the Portuguese Government itself, with reference to the Ex-colonies of Spain; and such, by an application of the same principles, must it ultimately be, as is presumed, with regard to its own relations with Brazil. . . . Faithful to the principle that every Independent people have the right to form, and to organize their Government as to them shall seem best, in the pursuit of their own happiness, and without encroaching upon the rights of others, they have recognized the Brazilian Government, as existing in fact, and exercising all the authorities essential to the maintenance of the usual relations between the United States and other foreign Independent Powers.”⁹²

Before the recognition of the independence of Brazil there had been a legation of the United States at Rio de Janeiro.⁹³ On March 5, 1825, Condé Raguet was appointed chargé d'affaires of the United States to the empire of Brazil: on March 9, the senate confirmed the appointment,⁹⁴ and on April 14, 1825, Henry Clay signed Raguet's general instructions. The chargé was directed “to lose no opportunity” to advance the interests of American commerce, while resisting any attempts by France and England to secure any commercial advantages which were not granted to the United States. Secretary Clay rightly declared that the United States was the first government to recognize the independence of Brazil: “The United States were the first to acknowledge that Government, disregarding all the risks incident to the fact, and to the nature of its recent establishment, and overlooking the anomaly of its political form in the great family of American Powers. The United States do not claim from this prompt and friendly measure, favor; but they insist upon equal justice to their commerce and navigation. And the

⁹² State department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Notes to legations, 3.

⁹³ Thomas Sumter, Jr., of South Carolina had been minister plenipotentiary of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, March 7, 1809—July 24, 1819; John Graham of Virginia, from January 6, 1819—July 31, 1820; and John J. Appleton of Massachusetts had been chargé d'affaires ad interim from June 10, 1820-1821, according to the *Register of the department of state*, 52.

⁹⁴ *Senate executive journal*, 3: 437, 445.

President is altogether unprepared to see any European State, running off with commercial advantages which shall be denied to an earlier and more uncalculating friend."

With regard to a commercial convention between the United States and Brazil, Clay declared that if the Brazilians strongly desired to negotiate a treaty at Rio de Janeiro, Raguet would be furnished with special instructions. Clay also referred to certain proposals which Rebello had made to the United States in regard to the application of the Monroe doctrine against Portugal, declaring that the decision of the United States not to intervene had been made in conformity with a policy of neutrality. Still, the chargé was instructed to suggest to the government of Brazil that it should maintain "in its correspondence and intercourse with the European Powers, the same principle which has been proclaimed here against the establishment, on this Continent, of new European Colonies."⁹⁵

On the very day when he received his credentials, November 26, 1824, Condé Raguet presented them to the government of Brazil. Two days later the Brazilian minister of foreign affairs informed Raguet that the emperor would receive him on the following day. Accordingly, on November 29, Raguet was formally received by Pedro I. At this time, following the example which had been set by the ministers of the United States to the independent nations of Spanish America, Raguet made an address to the chief executive which he considered "appropriate to the occasion": in reply, the Emperor Pedro I merely thanked him.⁹⁶

This study shows that by receiving diplomatic agents from Colombia and Mexico and by sending envoys to Buenos Aires, Chile, and Peru, the government of the United States carried out its policy formally to recognize the independence of the revolted Spanish colonies — a policy which President Monroe had recommended in his message to congress of March 8, 1822. In all, from 1822 to 1827, the United States accredited diplomatic agents to six Spanish-American states which were evidently in-

⁹⁵ State department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Instructions to ministers, 10.

⁹⁶ Raguet to Clay, November 12, 1825, state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Despatches from ministers: Brazil, 4.

cluded within the scope of the act of May 4, 1822. In accordance with the precedent established in regard to Spanish America, the colony of Brazil which had separated from Portugal, was also recognized by the United States as being independent of the mother-land. Thus, during a critical period in Hispanic history, the United States established legations in seven of the new states of Latin America. Contemporaneously, several of these states established legations at Washington. Although by her policy of recognition the United States had braved the anger of the holy alliance, yet she did not on that account ask favors from the new states: for example, our ministers were directed to solicit a square deal in commercial matters — nothing more and nothing less. Ignorant of the excitement which the decisive policy of the United States had provoked in the chancelleries of the continental allies, the significance of the acknowledgment of their independence by the great republic of the north was not sufficiently appreciated by statesmen throughout the Spanish-American republics. To adapt the phrase of that distinguished American publicist whose name is intimately associated with the diplomacy of his age, the formal interchange of diplomatic missions between the United States and Latin America constitutes a memorable event in the history of the American states — an event which laid the foundations for Pan-Americanism.

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BRITISH CARTOGRAPHY OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The fondness displayed by the British in the eighteenth century for stereotyping phrases and manners can be matched by their acceptance of stereotyped maps of a somewhat unknown country just then coming into their possession: North America west of the Alleghenies. Up to the middle of the century British interest in the West was conspicuously weak. The literature descriptive of the country which was read in England was chiefly the writings of the old French explorers. Though these were full of ridiculous inaccuracies they proved immensely popular and circulated in English translations even after British exploration had gained much more complete information.

The maps of the western country produced in England before the middle of the eighteenth century were only feebly suggestive of the region which they claimed to portray and showed practically no originality. For that reason the maps of the great French cartographers, the Delisles and D'Anville, were not superseded and remained very popular as standard maps of America both in the originals and in translation. When the English engraver went so far as to make alterations to suit himself in order that he might attach his own name to the production the result was likely to be a jumble of more inaccuracies than the original itself could boast. Even when English geographers had revolutionized English knowledge there was a tendency to use the old French norms for popular publication, though they had been in the meantime discarded by the French as well as the leading English map makers.¹

In the earlier years of the eighteenth century the superiority of French over British knowledge was particularly evident in the treatment of the lake region with which the British were not at first hand acquainted. Even their later maps which drew upon original information for the course of the Ohio river used

¹ *Gentleman's magazine* (1763), 33: 284.

the old French outlines for the lakes in one of the two characteristic forms which had been developed by the French cartographers of the early eighteenth century from the accounts of the first explorers of the region. Of these the list is headed by the Delisles, father and son, who achieved a great reputation in the first quarter of the century. Their maps of *Amérique Septentrionale* were published at Paris in various prints before 1729 and their *Carte de la Louisiane et du cours du Mississippi* which appeared first at Paris in 1703 was published in amended form at several later dates.² If the *Carte d'Amérique* of Guillaume Delisle, published in 1722, seems crude, it has but to be compared with *Le Canada ou Nouvelle France . . . et le cours de la rivière de Misisipi par N. de Fer, géographe de monseig. le dauphin* (Paris, 1705), a map rightly belonging to the seventeenth century, to show what rapid progress in map making had taken place in twenty years. The mouth of the Mississippi had found its proper location and was no longer on the western coast of the gulf. The Wabash and the Ohio rivers were no longer parallel, flowing into the Mississippi two hundred miles apart, although the naming and relationship of the two rivers were still confused, for the Ohio was represented as a tributary of the Wabash. The length of the lower Mississippi was much better appreciated. As for the lakes, one sees in Fer and Delisle suggestions of the two norms developed later by D'Anville and Bellin respectively. *Amplissimae regionis Mississippi . . . nova tabula* by Jean Baptist Homann³ (c. 1730) was a mere perversion of a Delisle map. Its publication in Nuremberg gives an idea of the broad popularity which the maps of the latter enjoyed.

Reference has already been made to the two great French cartographers of the mid-eighteenth century, Bellin and D'Anville. Of these the latter was by far the more famous, "having gained the name of being the first to raise geography to the dignity of an exact science."⁴ In the case of conflicting reports his own judgment was brought to bear on the problem and later surveys verified his selection repeatedly. While his *Carte de la Louisiane; dressée en 1732, publiée en 1752* still confused the

² J. Winsor, *Narrative and critical history of America* (Boston, 1889), 5: 81.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

Ohio and the Wabash, representing them as a single river, his *Amérique Septentrionale* of 1746 gave them in their proper relation. Good evidence of the popularity of the D'Anville maps is the number of reprints which were made, either frankly copied or plagiarized, and appearing in both French and English. Such is *Canada et Louisiane par le sr le Rouge ingenieur geographe du roy*, 1755, and the same may be said of as late a one as *États-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 1785; *supplément à l'atlas de M. Robert de Vaugondi*. Across the channel many bore the D'Anville stamp. *A new map of the whole continent of America* which appeared in London in 1786 was "compiled from Mr. d'Anville's maps of that Continent," according to the frank statement of its publisher, Sayer. More than thirty years before this date the D'Anville map was popularized in the *Gentleman's magazine* (1754) where it was called *A map of the British American plantations extending from Boston in New England to Georgia*. . . by Eman: Bowen geogr to his majesty. Many other English prints of the D'Anville map are in existence.

Parallel to the work of D'Anville is that of Nicholas Bellin, "Hydrographer of the Marine," who succeeded even earlier than D'Anville in tracing the course of the Ohio with approximate accuracy. It was he who was responsible for the drawings for the *Nouvelle France* of Charlevoix, published in 1744, and his maps were used by Washington in 1753 when, though ten years old, they were better than anything which the English had produced.⁵ *A new and accurate map of Louisiana with part of Florida and Canada*. . . by Eman. Bowen (no date) is an English reproduction, only half translated, which Bowen frankly attributes to Bellin as his authority. By attaching his name to both D'Anville and Bellin maps Bowen showed how far he was from being an original cartographer, "geographer to His Majesty" though he claimed to be. The *Gentleman's magazine* for 1762 prints a map on Bellin lines called *An accurate map of the British empire in North America as settled by the preliminaries in 1762*.⁶

To Bellin and D'Anville respectively must be attributed the

⁵ J. Winsor, *Mississippi basin* (Boston and New York, 1898), 306.

⁶ *Gentleman's magazine* (1762), 32: 603.

development of the two norms for the great lakes which appear depicted in one extreme form or the other in almost all English and French maps of the second half of the eighteenth century. In fact these old norms disappeared only after the United States surveys established the true outlines of the lakes which are a curious compromise between those of the two old forms. Bellin's norm can best be seen in his *Carte des lacs du Canada* drawn for the *Journal* of Charlevoix. Here appears a bulky lake Superior, well stocked with large islands, a rounded lake Michigan, extending slightly northwest and southeast, and an oval lake Erie, lying due east and west. In contradistinction to this the D'Anville lakes present a more normal lake Superior, a pointed lake Michigan and a curiously irregular lake Erie lying northeast and southwest. The Bellin norm was included in every detail in John Mitchell's great English map of 1755; the D'Anville outlines were reproduced in the map of Ellis Huske which appeared in the same year.⁷

As a cartographer and writer of distinction the name of Le Page du Pratz should here be mentioned, but the map which appeared in his *Histoire de la Louisiane* (1757) and was reproduced in English translation in the *Gentleman's magazine* for 1763 was years behind the date. No map of so late a period had a right to show Lahonton's "long river," or to represent the Ohio and the Wabash as one stream. An effort was made by the English translator to remedy matters by applying the name "Ohio" to the river in its whole course, removing the "Ouabache" from its lower waters, but no Wabash river was anywhere supplied.⁸

So far there has been considered merely the more important French maps of the eighteenth century which were freely copied into English; but the authors of a few early English maps have been given credit for more or less originality as cartographers. Of these the first place is taken by Hermann Moll, a Dutchman who came to London about 1698 and acquired a great reputation for the excellence of his English maps.⁹ His *New and exact*

⁷ Reproduced in E. Channing, *A history of the United States* (New York and London, 1907-1912), 2: 556. The shape of lake Erie is slightly modified.

⁸ It is curious that the *Gentleman's magazine* published this map in 1763 when it had already, in 1754 and 1755, given much better ones to the public. A slightly better one appeared later in the year.

⁹ *Dictionary of national biography*.

map of the dominions of the king of Great Britain in the continent of North America appeared in 1715 and showed how far the English were behind the French in information. Although he attributed to Delisle much of his *New map of the north parts of America*, published in 1720-1729, his work was far inferior to the Delisle maps of the same date. The great lakes are grotesque and the Ohio is called the Ouabach or St. Ierome river. In spite of its glaring faults the Moll map was used by Templeman in computing his survey of the globe.¹⁰

Though Moll's name is met often, the standard English cartographer of the mid-eighteenth century was Henry Popple whose *Map of the British empire in America with the French and Spanish settlements adjacent thereto* was issued in London, in twenty sheets, under the patronage of the lords of trade in 1732, and was reissued in 1733 and 1740.¹¹ Yet this map was based largely on Delisle and displayed little knowledge beyond that which the French had had fifteen years earlier. In spite of this the map was a standard and was not surpassed by any original work for twenty years. The *Gentleman's magazine* for June, 1754, in giving the account of Major Washington's "journey from Williamsburg to the French Fort near the Lake Erie in Virginia," remarked that "the reader may consult Mr. Pople's map of North America, for the situation of the several places above mentioned."¹²

In 1755 British map making was revolutionized by the issue of two maps, one on either side of the Atlantic, which combined with a certain amount of old French information much that was new and essentially British. These were the map of John Mitchell and that of Lewis Evans and both came into existence as a result of the intense interest in the American frontier which the approach of the French and Indian war produced, particularly the heated controversy over the French and British claims to the territory beyond the mountains. While the same period produced numerous other maps these two gained unusual popu-

¹⁰ John Mitchell, *The present state of Great Britain and North America, with regard to agriculture, population, trade, and manufactures, impartially considered* (London, 1767), 115.

¹¹ Winsor, *Narrative and critical history*, 5: 81.

¹² *Gentleman's magazine* (1754), 24: 255, n.; B. Franklin, *Writings* (Smyth ed. — New York, 1907), 2: 297, 355. Cf. B. Fernow, *The Ohio valley in colonial days* (Albany, 1890).

larity. Mitchell was a botanist who is said to have come to America early in the century and lived in Virginia, at Urbanna on the Rappahannock river, about seventy miles from Richmond. Just before 1750 he returned to England and published some material of a scientific nature as well as his American map, for which he was rewarded by being made a member of the Royal Society.¹³ The map itself which bears the title *A map of the British and French dominions in North America with the roads, distances, limits and extent of the settlements* was published by the author February 13, 1755. It was undertaken, Pownall tells us, at the request of the board of trade, and was drawn largely from charts and surveys which had been made recently on the order of the lords of trade by the governors of the various colonies.¹⁴ A high compliment to the map is given by Smith, the New York historian, who said of it: "Dr. Mitchell's is the only authentic one extant. None of the rest concerning America have passed under the examination or received the sanction of any public board, and they generally copy the French."¹⁵ In the correspondence of Andrew Johnston, president of the council of proprietors of East New Jersey, is a letter to Dr. Mitchell, mentioning a very slight error which he has made in marking the boundaries of the province, but employing most flattering terms in speaking of the map as a whole. "Upon perusing your late excellent map of the British dominions in the continent of North America," he begins, and concludes with the statement that "nothing but a high sense of the weight given to your map by your own character and the general approbation of the Lords of Trade, would have engaged us to have taken the trouble of writing this letter."¹⁶ The general excellence of the map caused its immediate popularity on both sides of the Atlan-

¹³ *Dictionary of national biography*.

¹⁴ "This map was undertaken with the approbation & at the request of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations; and is chiefly composed from Draughts, Charts and Actual Surveys of different parts of His Majesties Colonies and Plantations in America: Great part of which have been lately taken by their Lordships Orders, and transmitted to this Office by the Governors of the said Colonies." Inscription on the map, signed by Thomas Pownall, secretary, plantation office, February 13, 1755.

¹⁵ William Smith, *History of the province of New York*, quoted in Winsor, *Narrative and critical history*, 5: 83.

¹⁶ *Gentleman's magazine* (1756), 26: 287.

tic. It was often quoted in boundary negotiations and was reproduced in numerous reprints, large and small, in England and on the continent. That it lost Mitchell's name in the process is not surprising or is it extraordinary that in several instances the prominence of an engraver's name has occasionally detracted from the honor due the original author.

Some instances of its reprinting may be of interest. On the continent it was reengraved at Amsterdam by Covens and Mortier. *Partie de l'Amérique Septentrionale qui comprend le cours de l'Ohio la N^{le} Angleterre, la N^{le} York, le New Jersey, la Pensylvanie, le Maryland la Virginie, la Caroline, par le s^r Robert de Vaugondy géographe ordinaire du roi* is a French translation appearing in the same year as the original and showing many curious misreadings of English names. Glastenbury appears as Glasoenbury and Hatfield as Halfield. I. Palairret's *Carte des possessions angloises & françoises du continent de l'Amérique Septentrionale* of 1759 shows Mitchell's outlines again. There were many later reproductions with "additions and corrections" in both French and German. In England the *Gentleman's magazine* popularized Mitchell's map by presenting a simplified reproduction in the very year of its publication, giving it the title *A map of the British and French settlements in North America*; the *American gazetteer*, London, 1762, included it in its third volume with the title *A new and accurate map of the provinces of Pensilvania, Virginia, Maryland and New Jersey*, while the *Annual register* for 1763 placed it in its appendix with the title *A new map of the British dominions in North America with the limits of the governments annexed thereto by the treaty of peace and settled by proclamation Oct. 7, 1763; engraved by T. Kitchin, geog.* It may also be found in Charlevoix's *Voyage* (Dublin, 1766), where it is entitled *A map of the British dominions in North America settled by the late treaty of peace, 1763*. The Kitchin print which first appeared with the title *A new and accurate map of the British dominions in America according to the treaty of 1763* was a popular one and was used in Captain John Knox's *An historical journal of the campaigns in North America* (London, 1769). Bowen's adaptation of Mitchell is called *An accurate map of North America describing and distinguishing the British Spanish and*

French dominions in this great continent, according to the definitive treaty concluded at Paris 10th Feb. 1763.

The position of such men as Bowen, Kitchin, and Jefferys in relation to map making needs some explanation. Eman Bowen was a map engraver to George III and Louis XV and he possessed the happy faculty in his American work of presenting the best which the period offered, calmly affixing his name to Bellin, D'Anville, or Mitchell maps as it struck his fancy.¹⁷ Thomas Kitchin was a mere map publisher who displayed his eighteenth century unscrupulousness in copying whatever pleased him, ignoring the name of his authority. Thomas Jefferys' habits were much like those of Kitchin, but though starting as a mere map engraver at Charing Cross he rose to the position of geographer to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George III.¹⁸

The original Mitchell map, including the author's name, went through several editions between 1755 and 1774. In its "second state" the author engraved ten columns of closely printed descriptive text in the Atlantic ocean. Here he described the sources of his information and the names of the surveyors of the various parts of the country. Decided changes were made in places in the outlines and some points were altered more than a degree. In the "third state" important changes were made in boundary lines. As the third edition bears the signature of Jefferys and Faden as its publishers it cannot be earlier than 1773. Though Jefferys died in 1771 the business was carried on, and not until 1773 did the firm become Jefferys and Faden.¹⁹ In 1775 the title of the map was altered so that the second line read "The British Colonies" instead of "The British and French Dominions," but no more alterations were made in the map itself.

The Mitchell map was in use for almost fifty years. One existing print has the outlines of the proposed colony of Vandalia carefully marked. Of far greater importance is the fact that the Mitchell outlines became the basis for the discussions leading up to the proclamation of 1763,²⁰ and for the treaty of Ver-

¹⁷ *Dictionary of national biography.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Manuscript letters from Henry Stevens of London to Clarence W. Alvord, Urbana, Illinois.

²⁰ *Report on Canadian archives*, 1907, no. 18, p. 103, n.

sailles (1783).²¹ In the work of John Adams the Mitchell map figured constantly.²²

The second important map of 1755 is of special interest on this side of the Atlantic because it was the work of an American and was published in Philadelphia. *A general map of the middle British colonies, in America, viz Virginia, Mariland, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. . . by Lewis Evans* appeared in the early summer of the year and was followed by the *Analysis* of the map in August.²³ It was based, as far as the West was concerned, on surveys made by Gist, Walker, and various other recent explorers²⁴ and was hurried in its publication in order to be of use in Braddock's expedition. Evans was himself a personal friend of Benjamin Franklin and the map was early in Franklin's possession. In the very year of its publication he sent a copy to Jared Eliot²⁵ and eleven years later, when giving to Shelburne the proposals for the Illinois scheme with letters from George Croghan and Sir William Johnson on the subject, he accompanied them with a small-scale Evans map on which he had marked the boundaries of the proposed colony.²⁶ In America it was a general favorite and was for a long time accepted as the standard authority for settling boundaries and purchases.²⁷ While less famous in England it had a curious history there and went through various editions. It was first pirated by Kitchin,

²¹ C. C. Baldwin, *Early maps of Ohio and the West* (Cleveland, 1875), 15.

²² J. Adams, *Works* (C. F. Adams ed. — Boston, 1850-1856), 8: 20, 210, 392, 398, 518, 519.

²³ Lewis Evans, *Geographical, historical, political, philosophical, and mechanical essays, number II* (London, 1756), 24; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 17, 1755, no. 1386; July 24, 1755, no. 1387; *New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy*, August 18, 1755, quoted in *New Jersey archives*, 1st ser., v. 19, "Newspaper extracts," v. 3.

²⁴ Lewis Evans, *Geographical, historical, political, philosophical, and mechanical essays; the first containing an analysis of a general map of the middle British colonies in America . . .* (Philadelphia, 1755), 10; T. Pownall, *A topographical description of such parts of North America as are contained in the (annexed) map of the middle British colonies* (London, 1776), preface.

²⁵ "I send you one of Evans's new maps, which I imagine will be agreeable to you. Please to accept it." Franklin to Jared Eliot, August 31, 1755. Franklin, *Writings* (Smyth ed.), 2: 412.

²⁶ Franklin to his son, September 27, 1766, *ibid.*, 4: 139; Winsor, *Mississippi basin*, 38.

²⁷ H. N. Stevens, *Lewis Evans, his map of the middle British colonies in America* (London, 1905), 6, 21; Pownall, *Topographical description*, preface; *Documentary history of New York*, 1: 587.

then by Jefferys and others, and was printed often with more or less inaccuracy. When the map had first appeared in 1755 it bore a dedication to Thomas Pownall, who had become acquainted with Evans in Philadelphia, though rumor has accused him of obtaining the dedication "for a valuable consideration."²⁸ In his *Topographical description* he called the Jefferys reproduction badly done and republished the map under the title *A map of the middle British colonies in North America; first published by Mr. Lewis Evans of Philadelphia in 1755; and since corrected and improved. . . by T. Pownall . . .* but the older inaccurate plates persistently reappeared.²⁹ In spite of difficulties of this sort the Evans charts may be given high ranking. To Evans, Mitchell, or D'Anville may be traced the best large-scale maps in English published in the two decades following 1755.³⁰

Such was the general development of British cartography of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys up to the American revolution, covering therefore the years of the British claim to the country. While many minor variations characterize the various maps under consideration, there are certain general misconceptions belonging to all which had an important bearing on the history of the country between 1748 and 1775. Even a cursory examination of the eighteenth century maps of the Mississippi valley shows that in practically all of them the distance between lake Michigan and the Mississippi is much greater than is actually the case. Mitchell's Mississippi has a definitely southeasterly direction in its whole upper course, thus making the Illinois country very broad at the north; other maps, while giving the river its proper curve, place the lake too far to the east so that a similar result is obtained. The Illinois country is therefore made to appear much larger than is actually the case. Another inaccuracy is in the misplacing of the Ohio. The explorer and geographer not only failed to give the river its great bend around the south-

²⁸ *Massachusetts historical collections*, 1st ser., 7: 136.

²⁹ Stevens, *Lewis Evans, his map*, 11 et seq. See map no. 4, in *The American military pocket atlas*, published by R. Sayer and J. Bennett, 1776.

³⁰ One well known adaptation of D'Anville is *North America from the French of Mr. D'Anville improved with the back settlements of Virginia and course of Ohio*, published in 1755 by Thomas Jefferys. There were several later prints of this map by other publishers. The same strong D'Anville influence appears in *A new and accurate map of North America . . . humbly inscribed to the Honorable Charles Townshend by Ellis Huske*, also published in 1755.

ern side of the present state of Ohio but they were also guilty of underestimating greatly the distance between the Ohio and lake Erie. Contemporary descriptive texts support this view. We are told that "Presq' Isle, on the banks of Lake Erie" is "distant from Du Quesne about 90 miles."³¹ Again we read of "the river Ohio, which is navigable 1000 miles farther (above the Mississippi), some say 1500, nigh to its source, not far from Lake Ontario in New York."³²

The constant repetition of these misconceptions gave the public a somewhat distorted view of the country. Most of the first-hand information in regard to the West which reached the eastern seaboard came from the forks of the Ohio, but the supposed extent of the far western country had a real effect on the imaginations of many persons who were interested in the future of the great valleys. The period between 1748 and 1775 was full of colonial schemes, but of these astonishingly few were concerned with the country lying between the Ohio and lake Erie and all the most ambitious among them were planned for the country of the Illinois.

In summarizing these suggestions on the cartography of the West it may be stated once more that until the opening of the seven years war British interest and British exploration in the West had been so limited that there was in existence no good English map based on original surveys. It may be further pointed out that the maps printed in English before this date were therefore obliged to be slavish copies or incorrect alterations of French originals and that in the main the English engravers showed very little keenness in their choice of foreign maps to reproduce, holding often to older outlines which the French had already discarded. With the outbreak of the war however two excellent maps of British authorship appeared, while at the same time a number of English engravers and printers set themselves the task of making the best possible use of these and of the best French charts in their possession. Such success was attained in the decade following 1755 that in many re-

³¹ *Gentleman's magazine* (1755), 25: 378. The actual distance between lake Erie and the Ohio river proper at its nearest point is eighty-five miles, but the average distance is very much greater.

³² *Ibid.* (1763), 33: 285. Some of these statements are not untrue for the Allegheny.

spects the maps of this period were not superseded until the time of United States surveys at the close of the century.

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HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES IN CANADA, 1914-1915

In the June and September numbers of the *REVIEW*, last year, surveys were published of historical activities in the old Northwest and eastern Canada, and of the trans-Mississippi Northwest and western Canada, both for the period 1913-1914. It was thought desirable this year to publish a separate survey of historical activities in eastern and western Canada. This will have the double advantage of leaving a clearer view of the material relating to the old Northwest and the trans-Mississippi Northwest, and bringing together in one article material relating to the dominion.

ORGANIZATION, LEGISLATION, AND EQUIPMENT

Three years ago a royal commission was appointed by the Canadian government to inquire into the state of the records of the public departments of the dominion of Canada. The commission, which consisted of Sir Joseph Pope, under secretary of state for external affairs, Mr. E. F. Jarvis, assistant deputy minister of militia and defense, and Mr. Arthur G. Doughty, dominion archivist, has now submitted a report. The report goes minutely into the condition of the public records in each of the federal departments at Ottawa, and makes a number of very important recommendations. These would be interesting in any event, but they gain added significance from the fact that since the report was submitted the government has passed an order-in-council approving of the recommendations. As they involve a considerable expenditure, it is possible that they may not be carried out in full until after the conclusion of the European war, but the important fact is that the principle has been accepted, and appropriate action is only a matter of time.

"Some better plan than the present policy of drift," says the report, "must be devised if the public records are to be rescued from their present unsatisfactory condition. . . . No reform can be permanent or effective which does not provide for concentration and unity of control." The commissioners recom-

mend the creation of a public record office by the enlargement of the present archives building. The plans for the proposed new building, of which the existing archives building will form but a wing, have already been laid before the prime minister. Provision is made for the storage of all records, books, plans, papers, etc., not in current use in the various departments of the public service; for the examination and segregation of documents, and for the storage of all records which are to remain for a given number of years under the control of the departments from which they were received; for the destruction of all records considered by competent authority to be useless; for the natural expansion of the archives for a reasonable length of time; and for the reception of all such documents as the various departments, after examining the records, shall wish to transfer to the archives proper in the public record office.

Immediately after the construction of the proposed building all records, books, papers, plans, etc., over twenty-five years old, or in some cases of more recent date, are to be transferred to the public record office, and there, under the supervision of a permanent commission, carefully gone over, in the presence of a representative of the department to which the documents belong. When the work of selection has been completed the documents which it has been decided to preserve will be transferred either to the archives proper in the public record office, or to the section in the same institution allotted to the papers of that department.

The commission also recommends the establishment, in connection with the public record office, of a blue book reference library — “blue book” being the common name for all government publications. This library is to contain, as far as practicable, copies of every publication of the government of Canada, from the year 1792 to date. In order that the mass of historical and other valuable material now buried in these public records may be made accessible, the commission recommends that provision be made for the preparation of subject catalogs, printed on cards, and that these card catalogs be supplied to the various federal departments, the Library of Parliament, and other important libraries throughout the country. The photostat is also to be used for the purpose of supplying copies of parts of any of these publications to government officials, students, or anyone

interested. Expert bibliographers will also be available, to prepare bibliographies of important questions as they arise, and trace the historical development of the subject as revealed in the blue books. To insure the systematic supply of copies of all current government publications to the blue book reference library, the commission makes the novel suggestion that no account for the printing of such publications be passed by the auditor general unless accompanied by a certificate of deposit of a copy of the document in the reference library.

To those who may remember the discouraging conditions under which the first dominion archivist, Douglas Brymner, labored unceasingly to collect and preserve the manuscript records of the country, the progress that has been made in a comparatively short period will be equally surprising and gratifying. As it was mainly owing to the enthusiasm and persistence of his successor, Mr. Doughty, that the Canadian Archives were removed to the present well-equipped and thoroughly fireproof building, so this present long step forward must also be credited to the dominion archivist. When the recommendations of the royal commission have been carried out, Canada will possess a public record office of which the country may well feel proud.

Turning from federal to provincial fields, it is noticeable in Canada as in the United States that the new western provinces, though their history is more recent and less rich in material, are showing much more enterprise and breadth of view than the eastern provinces in the establishment and equipment of archives departments. Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia have all made provision within the last year or two for the collection and preservation of their manuscript records, in each case the work having been put under the charge of a provincial archivist. British Columbia is doing particularly well. The government of the province has just completed a handsome building, modern in every respect, for the provincial library and archives department. It contains reading, reference, special collection, and other departments; metal shelving for over three hundred thousand volumes, with all conveniences in the way of booklifts and elevators; a large department for the traveling library system; offices for cataloging, order, and other branches, three large rooms devoted respectively to the special library of

Northwest Americana, the collection of maps and charts relating to western America and the north Pacific, and the provincial collection of manuscripts and state papers. Adjoining these three rooms are two large study rooms for the use of research workers. With all the essential equipment available, with the sympathetic support of the provincial government, and with his own wide knowledge of the field, the provincial librarian and archivist, Mr. E. O. S. Scholefield, cannot fail to do excellent work both in the collection and preservation of historical material and in making it conveniently accessible to students.

The archives section of the provincial library of the province of Saskatchewan has recently been organized and placed in the charge of Mr. William Trant. Special efforts are being made to obtain the reminiscences of early settlers in the prairie province since the organization of the territory in 1869-1870 as well as material relating to the earlier period of the fur traders, the two western rebellions, and the Indians. The early records of towns and settlements in the province are also being gathered together. Some of these are particularly interesting. For instance, Tantallon and other places were organized on coöperative principles; Esterhazy was settled by Count Esterhazy and a party of Hungarians from Pennsylvania; Montmartre by a party of emigrants from Paris. There are also the Doukhobor, Galician, and other settlements. Work is progressing on the classification and cataloging of the archives of the old northwest territories, preserved at Regina, formerly capital of the territories and now of the province of Saskatchewan.

In Manitoba, the provincial archives are under the charge of the provincial librarian, Mr. J. P. Robertson, who says, in his last *Annual report* (Winnipeg, 1914): "All books bearing upon the early history of Manitoba and the Great West have been secured. Manuscript and other public documents pertaining to the Hudson's Bay régime, and the troublous times of the fur-trading companies, and the Riel Rebellions of 1870 and 1885, are available for reference to the student of history. . . The library has been supplementing the work of the archives section by keeping scrap books, suitably indexed, of all leading social, biographical and political events." It is hoped that suitable provision will be made in the new legislative building for both the provincial library and the archives.

In the eastern provinces there is not much to record, so far as organization, legislation, and equipment are concerned. Ontario has had an archives bureau for some years under the charge of the provincial archivist, Mr. Alexander Fraser, who is gradually bringing together an invaluable collection of papers relating to the history of the province in all its various aspects. In the province of Quebec, the great bulk of manuscript documents is preserved in the courthouses at Quebec and Montreal. By direction of the provincial government steps have recently been taken to safeguard these precious records, which go back to the beginnings of French rule in Canada, and to make them more readily accessible. Nova Scotia has, in Halifax, a small collection of manuscripts relating to the history of the province, under the charge of a provincial officer, Mr. Harry Piers, who is also curator of the provincial museum. The government has published, at considerable intervals, three volumes of *Nova Scotia archives*. The governments of New Brunswick and Prince Edward island have, so far as is known, done nothing so far toward the collection and preservation of their early records. The Dominion Archives has, however, for some years past had field officers at work in these and other provinces collecting material, and has lately established branch offices in Montreal, Quebec, Halifax, and Winnipeg.

In addition to these federal and provincial archives bureaus, more or less valuable collections of manuscripts are preserved in the libraries of the universities of Laval (Quebec), McGill (Montreal), Laval (Montreal), and St. Mary's College (Montreal), of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, the Historical and Literary Society of Manitoba, the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick historical societies, the Ontario Historical Society, the Library of Parliament, the Toronto Public Library, and other Canadian institutions of a like nature. The same institutions also possess collections of books relating to Canadian history, the most complete of which are those of the Library of Parliament, the Dominion Archives, McGill University, the Municipal Library of Montreal, and the Toronto Public Library.

ACQUISITION OF MATERIAL

The European war has inevitably interfered with the collection of historical material, as it has with practically every other

human activity except those relating to the great conflict. For many years the Dominion Archives has had men employed in France, England, and elsewhere in Europe, under the direction of Mr. H. P. Biggar, investigating the sources of manuscript material relating to the history of Canada, and securing copies of the documents. During the last twelve months most of this work has been discontinued, and it is unlikely that it can be resumed until the close of the war. A few documents have, however, been obtained, among the more important of which are the collection of papers of the Chevalier de la Pause, who served under Montcalm in Canada; those of Governor Prescott, relating to the surrender of Chambly and St. Johns, in what are now known as the eastern townships of Quebec; and the log book of *H. M. S. Pegasus* (1786), then commanded by the Duke of Clarence, afterward King George IV. The first of these was acquired in France, and the other two in England. The Prescott papers are peculiarly interesting, including original letters by General Montgomery, and a journal apparently kept by Major John André. The log book covers the cruise of the *Pegasus* in American waters in 1786, and contains a number of original colored sketches of Halifax and its harbor.

During the last twelve months the Dominion Archives has also added to its collection a large number of important documents obtained in different parts of Canada, notably a series of original letters by Charles Michel d'Irumberry de Salaberry bearing on the war of 1812, a large collection of united empire loyalist muster rolls, and many documents relating to Indian affairs, naval affairs on the great lakes, early land grants, township registers, etc.

The dominion archivist is also steadily adding to the valuable collection of books and pamphlets in the archives library, which is now peculiarly rich in early Canadian pamphlets, over one thousand having been acquired during the past year.

In his last annual report, the provincial archivist of British Columbia says: "During the year the Provincial Archives have been enriched by approximately 3000 accessions, consisting of manuscripts, portraits, views, maps, charts, photographs, and medals illustrative of historic events. The new material covers all periods and phases of Provincial history, and alone would

form a collection of no small interest and value. The maps and charts include several exceedingly scarce items, such as an illuminated copy of 'Typus Orbis Terrarum,' circa 1579, by Ortelius; the 'Diversa Orbis Terræ,' 1694, of the great Dutch cartographer Peter Schenk; an official Spanish manuscript of 1790, showing the Strait of Juan de Fuca; and a fine set of the Dalrymple sketches. Inasmuch as it is in such ancient and rare productions — the surviving 'sea-cards' and 'mappes' of the old cosmographers and cartographers — that one catches the first glimpse of the Pacific seaboard of North America, it is needless to emphasize the importance of these acquisitions.

"The manuscripts which were acquired in the period covered by this report comprise a mass of valuable literary matter in the form of letters, diaries, journals and memoirs, running from 1753 to 1871, amongst the chief of which may be noted two autograph letters of Captain James Cook, written at the Sandwich Islands in 1778 and addressed to Captain Clarke of H.M.S. 'Discovery'; two letters written at Nootka in 1792 by Captain New, of H.M.S. 'Daedalus,' to his sister; the journal of a voyage to the north-west coast of America in the ship 'Ruby,' 1794-6, by Captain Charles Bishop; a memoir of the discoveries of the Russians in the Eastern Sea, by P. I. Pallas; papers relating to voyages and discoveries in the North Pacific Ocean down to 1753, by Philip Buache; a collection of autograph letters and diaries by Sir James Douglas, Dr. John McLoughlin, Sir George Simpson, the Hon. John Work, Dr. W. F. Tolmie, Archibald McDonald, and many others; a number of journals of the fur-trading period; many interesting letters written at the time of the gold excitement, 1858 to 1865; a daily record of the overland expedition to Cariboo in 1862; and a large number of illuminating documents relative to early days and activity in the gold districts."

The provincial archivist also records the acquisition of a collection of photographs, taken in the early sixties in various parts of British Columbia. "This great collection of views," he says, "forms a pictorial memoir of our transitional period which will prove of great human interest and historical importance." Among the medallions presented to the archives is one of the silver medals struck by the royal society in honor of

Captain James Cook; also a set of the Hudson's Bay company's coins, and a North West company token of 1820.

The provincial archives of Saskatchewan has obtained copies of some of the minutes and other records of the Hudson's Bay company relating to western Canada; papers bearing on the political and constitutional history of the province and the old northwest territories; also a number of photographs of pioneers, early buildings and landmarks connected with western Canadian history.

In Nova Scotia, the most notable acquisitions are the Akins collection, in the provincial library, and the J. J. Stewart collection in the library of Dalhousie University, Halifax. Both these collections are rich in books and other material relating to the history of Canada, and particularly of Nova Scotia. The former consists of some five thousand volumes, and the latter of about six thousand. The Stewart collection includes a valuable collection of Canadian coins.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES, GUIDES, AND CALENDARS

The *Report of the work of the public archives for the year 1913* (Ottawa, 1914) contains a list of "Documents added to the manuscript division"; a list of "Maps added to the map division"; "List of acts of the province of Nova Scotia, 1749-1753"; "List of acts of the province of New Brunswick, 1795-1798"; "List of ordinances of Cape Breton, 1790-1803"; "List of duplicate despatches, Amherst and Boscawen, 1758"; "Schedule of the John Lowe papers"; "Ordinances made for the province of Quebec since the establishment of civil government until 1767"; "Memorandum by the Honourable Toussaint Pothier on political conditions in Canada, 1829"; "Calendar of the public letters in the Neilson collection, between the years 1801 and 1824"; "Abstract of political correspondence relating to the affairs of the United States (1780-1781) in the ministry of foreign affairs, France (continuation of correspondence calendared in report of 1912)"; and "Completion of the [calendar of the] correspondence and journals of the Right Reverend Charles Inglis, and John Inglis, first and third bishops of Nova Scotia." The value of the *Report* for reference purposes is very much increased by the addition of a comprehensive index.

The Dominion Archives has just published as number 10 of its series of *Publications* the first volume of a *Guide to the documents in the manuscript room at the public archives of Canada*, compiled by David W. Parker, who also prepared, for the Carnegie Institution, a *Guide to the materials for United States history in the Canadian archives*. The archives has in preparation a new and very much enlarged edition of the *Catalogue of pamphlets*, published several years ago; also a *Catalogue of prints, engravings, &c., relating to Canada*, of which it possesses a notable collection.

The ambitious work, *Canada and its provinces*, was completed during the last twelve months, with the exception of a very full index, which is to appear in a separate volume. A feature of the main work is the special bibliographies appended to each article. Scholefield and Howay's *British Columbia* also contains a very satisfactory bibliography. A valuable feature of J. Ross Robertson's *Landmarks of Toronto*, sixth series, is the section containing a bibliographical account of the official gazettes of each province of the dominion. A second volume of Philéas Gagnon's *Essai de bibliographie canadienne*, the first of which appeared in 1895, has been published by the librarian of the Municipal Library in Montreal. This completes the catalog of what was probably the most extensive private collection of Canadiana in existence. An analytical index volume is announced for publication. The collection, now the property of the Municipal Library of Montreal, comprises some seven thousand volumes including a number of exceedingly rare books and pamphlets. The *Guide to the principal parliamentary papers relating to the dominions, 1812-1911*, prepared by Margaret I. Adams, John Ewing, and James Munro (London, 1913), contains sections dealing with Canada.

A valuable feature of the scientific sections of the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada is the annual bibliographies of Canadian geology, zoology, botany, and entomology. The preparation of an annual bibliography of Canadian history has been urged from time to time, but no one has yet been unselfish enough to undertake the task. It may come in time. The department of education of Ontario has issued an annotated *Bibliography of the European war*. E. Z. Massicotte, of Montreal,

published in the February and March numbers (1914) of the *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, a very useful "Inventaire des cartes et plans de l'île et de la ville de Montréal." The Library of Parliament, Ottawa, has issued its *Annual supplement to the catalogue* (Ottawa, 1915); and the legislative library, Toronto, a *Catalogue* of the books in its collections.

This section would not be complete without a reference to the admirable *Review of historical publications relating to Canada*, volume XIX of which has lately been published; or to the Canadian section of *Writings on American history*, the 1912 issue of which is published by the Yale University Press; or to Henry O. Severance's *Guide to the current periodicals and serials of the United States and Canada* (Ann Arbor, 1914). For the more general bibliographical guides, in all of which a certain amount of material relating to Canada will be found, reference may be made to Mr. Buck's article on "Historical activities in the old Northwest," in the June, 1915, number of the REVIEW (pp. 80-81).

PUBLICATION OF SOURCE MATERIAL

In addition to its bibliographical publications already mentioned, the Dominion Archives has in preparation a third volume of the series *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada*. It is also proposed to republish the first two volumes with some additional matter. Another Dominion Archives publication is E. H. Oliver's *The Canadian North-West, its early development and legislative records* (1914-1915. 2 v.). W. L. Grant published as an appendix to his paper on "The capture of Oswego by Montcalm in 1756" (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, vol. VIII), a series of letters from Captain Housman Broadley, commander of the British forces on lake Ontario. At the last meeting of the royal society, in May, 1915, a paper was read by Helen M. Merrill, on "John White, attorney general, Upper Canada, 1792-1796," containing extracts from his journal, 1792-1794.

The *Tenth report* of the bureau of archives for the province of Ontario (Toronto, 1914), contains the journals of the legislative assembly of Upper Canada for 1818, 1819, 1820, and 1821. The period is of unusual interest in the history of the province. During the last twelve months the Champlain society, Toronto,

published the first two volumes of *An historical journal of the campaigns in North America for the years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760*, by Captain John Knox, edited with introduction, appendix, and index, by Arthur G. Doughty. The third and final volume is promised for publication this year. The same society has also issued the third and final volume of *The history of New France* by Marc Lescarbot, with English translation, notes, and appendices by W. L. Grant. The ninth series of *Historical documents* issued by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, contains "Lady Durham's journal, 1838," and "Memoirs of M. de Chevalier de Johnstone, 1759." Two other Canadian historical documents to be published this year are the "Diary of Lieutenant Charles Grey" and "Letters of Alicia Cockburn."

Portions of several interesting journals relating to western exploration and the fur trade have lately been published as follows: J. B. Tyrrell contributes to the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada "Peter Fidler, trader and surveyor, 1769 to 1822"; the April, July, and October, 1914, numbers of the *Washington historical quarterly* contain "A new Vancouver journal," annotated by Edmond S. Meany; T. C. Elliott edits for the same periodical, "The journal of John Work, from June 21, 1825, to June 12, 1826," and for the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society, "The journal of David Thompson, from July 3 to August 13, 1811."

The archives of British Columbia issues as its first *Memoir*, *The first circumnavigation of Vancouver island*, edited by C. F. Newcombe. This is the journal of Menzie, the naturalist of Vancouver's expedition. Judge Howay is editing the journals of the early American expeditions to the north Pacific seaboard; and the provincial archivist is editing the "Journal of a voyage to the northwest coast of America in the ship 'Ruby,' 1794 to 1796," by Captain Charles Bishop. These will be published as *Memoirs*, 2 and 3. The *Report* of the provincial archives department of British Columbia, 1913 (Victoria, 1914) contains the following series of documents: "Papers relating to Nootka sound and to Captain Vancouver's expedition"; "Papers relating to the colonization of Vancouver island"; "Letter from A. Colville, deputy governor, to the Rt. Honble. Earl Grey, dated Hudson Bay House, London, December 18, 1850"; "Letter from

the Rt. Rev. Modeste Demers, bishop of Vancouver island, to Benjamin Hawes, Esq., secretary, 1850"; "Letter from Archibald McDonald, dated at Fort Langley, 20 February, 1831"; "Letters of Peter Skene Ogden and James Douglas to W. F. Tolmie, 1846"; "Letters of James Douglas to W. F. Tolmie, 1845-1857"; "Letters of James Douglas to Archibald Barclay, 1850-1852"; "Provisional regulations respecting gold mining in the districts of Fraser river and Thompson river, 29 December, 1857"; "Letters and reports of David Thompson relating to the Oregon territory, 1842-1845"; "Letter of Chartres Brew, dated at Fort Yale, 26 February, 1859."

In the *Annual report and transactions*, number 12, of the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto, 1912-1913, is published the diary of John Goldie, a Scottish botanist, who journeyed through Upper Canada in 1819. The *Report* for 1913-1914 contains the "Memoirs of Captain Michael Emeric Vidal and Vice Admiral Alex. Thos. Vidal, pioneers of Upper Canada"; the "Diary of Dr. Gibson," who visited Toronto in 1858; and "Extracts from the biography of Captain Wright." *Paper no. 26* of the Niagara Historical Society publishes Colonel E. A. Cruikshank's "Notes on the history of the district of Niagara, 1791-1793." The following papers have since been presented before the same society but not yet published: "Reminiscences of Mrs. Pilkington of Grimsby"; "Letters of Hon. Wm. Dickson from Albany, when a prisoner of war, and correspondence with General Dearborn"; "Reminiscences of Michael Gonder of Black creek"; "Extracts from diary of Hon. James Crooks of Niagara during the war of 1812-14"; "Letters giving an account of the voyage of two companies of the Royal Canadian Rifles in 1857 to Fort Garry, by way of Hudson bay." In volume v of the *Papers and records* of the Lennox and Addington Historical Society will be found "The Bell and Laing school papers," annotated by Clarence M. Warner; and "An early school register," edited by W. S. Herrington.

The *Annual transactions* of the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada, 1904-1913, embrace among other contributions the "Reminiscences of Hannah Ingraham, united empire loyalist"; "Memoirs of Major Thomas Merritt"; and "Reminiscences of William Kirby," edited by Janet Carnochan.

The *Papers and records* of the Huron Institute, volume II, contains the "Reminiscences of F. T. Hodgson, 1848-1857"; and "Reminiscences of John Nettleton, 1857-1870. Volume XIII of the *Papers and records* of the Ontario Historical Society (Toronto, 1915), just published, contains "Some unpublished letters from General Brock"; "Gleanings from Ottawa scrap-books" by Amey Horsey; and "Early militia matters in Upper Canada, 1808-1842," by A. B. Sherk. Volume XII of the *Papers and records* of the same society (1914) gives among other material the "Reminiscences of earlier years in Brant," by Augusta I. G. Gilkinson; and "Reminiscences of the first settlers in the county of Brant," by Charles and James C. Thomas. The *Bulletin* of La société historique de Saint-Boniface, volume III (St. Boniface, Manitoba, 1913), contains "Lettres de Monseigneur Joseph-Norbert provencher, premier évêque de Saint-Boniface." Mr. J. R. Anderson of Victoria, British Columbia, is preparing for publication his own memoirs and those of his father, the late A. C. Anderson, of the Hudson's Bay company. These memoirs run from 1831 to 1865, and throw an important light upon the fur trade on the Pacific coast and the early history of British Columbia. An interesting historical document, published in Montreal, 1913, is *Expense book of John Halsted, commissary under Benedict Arnold, before Quebec, 1776*. Emile Chartier edits the "Journal de Jacques Viger," relating to the war of 1812, in the *Revue canadienne*, 1914. In the *Transactions* of the London and Middlesex Historical Society, part 6 (London, Ontario, 1915), are published "The Proudfoot papers, part i, 1832," collected by Harriet Priddis. The *Collections* of the New Brunswick Historical Society for 1914 contain "Historical-geographical documents relating to New Brunswick," edited by W. F. Garong; and the "State of the Madawaska and Aroostook settlements in 1831," edited by W. O. Raymond. The department of external affairs, Ottawa, issued in 1914 a volume containing *Treaties and agreements affecting Canada in force between his majesty and the United States of America, with subsidiary documents, 1814-1913*.

Among the various articles and papers published in the *Canadian antiquarian and numismatic journal* (1914-1915), by members of the Archæological and Numismatic Society of Montreal,

are the following: "Correspondence de Lafontaine en 1837 et 38," edited by Montarville de la Bruère; "Registre du fort de la Presque-Isle," by O. M. H. Lapalice; and "Les registres de l'état civil des églises protestantes de Montréal," by E. Z. Massicotte; and a paper on the same subject, in English, by R. W. McLachlan. The Royal Horticultural Society of London, England, has published the *Journal kept by David Douglas during his travels in North America, 1823-1827* (London: William Wesley and Son, 1914).

MEETINGS AND PUBLISHED TRANSACTIONS

At the thirty-third general meeting of the Royal Society of Canada, held in Montreal, in May, 1914, a very important decision was reached as to the method of publishing the *Transactions* of the society. The publications of the society consist of *Proceedings and transactions*, both of which have been issued in the past in one unwieldy volume. It was decided to continue to publish the *Proceedings* annually, but to issue the *Transactions* quarterly, in three distinct series, one to contain papers contributed to sections I and II, the second, papers contributed to section III, and the third, papers contributed to section IV. It is perhaps unnecessary to explain that section I of the royal society is devoted to French literature, history, archeology, sociology, etc.; section II to English literature, history, archeology, sociology, etc.; section III to the mathematical, physical, and chemical sciences; and section IV to the geological and biological sciences. The advantages of the new arrangement are obvious. Under the old system fully a year would elapse between the acceptance of a paper and its publication in the *Transactions*. Also the same huge volume, running to a thousand pages or more, contained papers on such a wide variety of subjects that very few individuals, and not many institutions, were interested in all. Now the student of history or archeology will find the papers he needs, published promptly in a convenient quarterly; and the student of chemistry, or of geology, will have the same prompt and convenient access to the material relating to his subject. An editorial board is selected by each section, and given the duty of selecting and arranging the material for each quarterly number. Papers by non-members of the society may

be accepted for publication, as in the past, when presented by fellows; and also papers not presented at a meeting of the society.

Among the papers published in the first four quarterly numbers, devoted to sections I and II, are several that should be included in this survey. The veteran French-Canadian historian, Benjamin Sulte, writes on "La noblesse au Canada avant 1760"; Judge L. A. Prud'homme, of Manitoba, discusses "Le règne de la compagnie de la baie d'Hudson, 1821-1869"; E. L. Massicotte turns up more ground in his favorite field, in "Les premières concessions de terre à Montréal, sous M. de Maisonneuve, 1648-1665"; Abbé Auguste Gosselin reviews an interesting phase of the religious history of Quebec, in "France et Canada: Dieppe-Québec (1639); Québec-Dieppe (1912)"; Colonel E. A. Cruikshank adds another to his contributions to the history of the war of 1812, in "From isle aux Noir to Chateauguay; a study of military operations on the frontier of Lower Canada in 1812 and 1813"; W. L. Grant writes of the "Capture of Oswego by Montcalm in 1756; a study in naval power"; Adam Shortt, of "Railroad construction and national prosperity: an historic parallel"; Wilbur H. Siebert, of "The loyalist settlements on the Gaspé peninsula," and "The temporary settlements of loyalists at Machiche, P. Q."; Archdeacon Raymond of "The first governor of New Brunswick and the Acadians of the river St. John"; and the present writer, of "Highways of the fur trade."

At the thirty-third general meeting of the Royal Society of Canada, held in Ottawa, May, 1915, the following among other papers were read: "The money of Canada from the historical standpoint," by R. W. McLachlan; "The progress in development of Canada in the past half century," by Sir James Grant; "More notes on the meeting place of the first parliament of Upper Canada, and the early buildings of Niagara," by Miss Janet Carnochan; "Captain George Vancouver," by H. M. Ami; "Lord Strathcona," by George Bryce; "The loyalists and Six Nation Indians in the Niagara peninsula," by W. H. Siebert; "The heraldry of Canada," by G. S. Hodgins; "Robert Cruikshank, an early Montreal silversmith," by R. W. McLachlan; "Le problème des races au Canada," by Archbishop Paul Bruchési; "Le réorganisation de la société canadienne après la

conquête, 1re phase: le rétablissement de l'ancien régime des classes," by Léon Gérin; "Les conseillers au conseil souverain de la Nouvelle-France," by Pierre-Georges Roy; "La mort de Champlain," by Benjamin Sulte; "Notes sur les études des trois premiers notaires seigneuriaux de Montréal (1648-1657)," by E. Z. Massicotte; "Les médailles décernées aux indiens de l'Amérique du Nord," by Victor Morin; and "La sépulture d'Etienne Brulé," by Jules Tremblay.

It may be noted here that there are at present one hundred and thirty-nine fellows of the royal society divided as follows: twenty-six in section I, thirty-two in section II, forty in section III, and forty-one in section IV, with several vacancies, some of which have since been filled by the election of new fellows. There are also thirteen corresponding members. Some forty-six Canadian societies are listed as associated with the royal society.

The *Annual report* of the Ontario Historical Society (1914), contains the proceedings of the society for the past year, including the presidential address of John Dearness on "The sphere of historical societies"; the report of the committee on historic sites and monuments, referred to elsewhere in this article; and the reports of affiliated societies. The membership is at present five hundred and five, including annual, ex-officio, delegate, honorary, and corresponding members. There are also twenty-two affiliated societies. At the 1915 meeting of the society the presidential address, by Clarence M. Warner, was on "The growth of Canadian national feeling."

Volume XII of the *Papers and records* of the Ontario Historical Society (Toronto, 1914) contains the following papers that should be noted here: "The toon o' Maxwell — an Owen settlement in Lambton county, Ontario," by Rev. John Morrison; "The united empire loyalists of the old Johnston district," by Judge H. S. MacDonald; "Local history of the town of Brockville," by Lieutenant Colonel W. H. Cole; "The war of 1812-15," by J. Castell-Hopkins; "The past and present fortifications of Kingston," by George R. Dolan; "Feudalism in Upper Canada," by Marjorie J. F. Fraser; "Bush life in Upper Canada," by John May; "The Peter Perry election," by George M. Jones; and "Influence of the war of 1812 upon the settlement of the Canadian West," by the present writer. Volume XIII of the

Papers and records of the same society includes: "Some mistakes in history," by Miss Janet Carnochan; "The valley of the Ottawa in 1613," by Benjamin Sulte; "The highway of the Ottawa," by T. W. Edwin Sowter; "The county history as a factor in social progress," by Edith L. Marsh; "The Rush Bagot agreement of 1817," by E. H. Scammell; and "The British North American league, 1849," by L. D. Allin.

The ninth annual meeting of the Champlain Society was held in Toronto, October 21, 1914. The *Ninth annual report* has since been published. The *Report* notes the publication of *Knox's journal*, volume I, edited by A. G. Doughty (already referred to), and announces that volumes II and III were in the press (volume II since published), as well as volume III of H. P. Biggar's edition of Lescarbot's *History of New France* (since published), and the *Journal of David Thompson*, edited by J. W. Tyrrell. The society then had ready, or nearly ready, for the press, Colonel William Wood's three volumes on the *War of 1812*, Mr. Kylie's *Bagot papers*, two volumes of Mr. Biggar's edition of the *Works of Champlain*, and the present writer's *Journals of La Vérendrye*.

The province of Ontario, in addition to the provincial historical society, possesses a number of local historical societies, some of which are doing excellent work. Among these may be mentioned the Niagara Historical Society (Niagara), the Lennox and Addington Historical Society (Napanee), the London and Middlesex Historical Society (London), the Wentworth Historical Society (Hamilton), the Elgin Historical and Scientific Institute (St. Thomas), the Waterloo Historical Society (Berlin), the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto, the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa, the Huron Institute (Collingwood), the Essex Historical Society (Windsor), the Brant Historical Society (Brantford), the Kent Historical Society (Chatham), and the Thunder Bay Historical Society (Fort William). Although rather dominion than Ontario associations, it may be convenient to include here the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada, the Royal Canadian Institute, and the Historic Landmarks Association.

Taking these in the order named, the Niagara Historical Society has issued its nineteenth *Annual report*, and number 26 and

number 27 of its *Publications*. *Publication*, number 26, has already been referred to under source material. Number 27 contains material relating to Niagara, under the title "Names only but much more," by Miss Janet Carnochan; and "No. 1 Company, Niagara," by Mrs. E. Archer. The *Annual report* records two hundred and fifty members on the roll, and notes, as do many of the institutions referred to below, the activities of the society in connection with the Canadian Red Cross Society, the Belgian Relief Fund, Secours National, Patriotic Fund, and other philanthropic associations established for the benefit and relief of soldiers at the front and their families.

Of the *Papers and records* of the Lennox and Addington Historical Society, volume v has been dealt with elsewhere. Volume vi contains two papers by Walter S. Herrington, K. C., "Pioneer life on the bay of Quinte," and "The court of requests."

The London and Middlesex Historical Society has published parts v and vi of its *Transactions*. The former contains a number of papers relating to the history of education in the London district. C. B. Edwards writes on "London public schools, 1848-1871"; W. C. McCutcheon on the "London grammar school"; and N. C. James on "The Western University." Part vi is taken up with the "Proudfoot papers," mentioned elsewhere.

Volume vi of the *Papers and records* of the Wentworth Historical Society contains three papers by John H. Land, "Echoes from 1837-38," "Tales of the war — Queenston heights," and "Tales of the lines" (war of 1812); and one by J. H. Smith on "The city of Hamilton."

The last volume of *Transactions* of the Elgin Historical and Scientific Institute (1914) contains a paper by Clarence M. Warner on "One aspect of the century of peace." Other papers are John F. Langan's "Queen Charlotte islands"; R. I. Warner's "Treaty of Ghent"; Joseph E. Ryerson's "Faiths of our fathers"; and George R. Pattullo's "A page of Ontario's history," the last describing the legal and diplomatic struggle between Ontario and Manitoba for possession of the disputed territory west of lake Superior. The *Annual report* of the institute, in recording its various activities, expresses the general Canadian attitude towards the European war and its many prob-

lems: "All other objects of our Society may well remain in abeyance as long as the existence of the Empire, our civilization, and the fundamental principles and aims of Christianity are in peril."

In the *First annual report* of the Waterloo Historical Society (1913) two papers by W. H. Breithaupt are presented: "Some German settlers of Waterloo county," and "Early history of Waterloo county." The principal paper in the *Second annual report* (1914) is by Otto Klotz, dominion astronomer, on the "Boundaries of Canada."

The *Annual report and transactions*, number 12 of the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto (1912-1913) includes a paper by Miss K. M. Lizars on "Early roads in York." The *Annual report and transactions*, number 13 (1913-1914) contains one by Miss Emily P. Weaver on "Domestic problems in olden days." These are in addition to several documentary contributions, mentioned elsewhere in this article.

The *Annual report* of the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa (1914) records the activities of the society, including some account of the Colonel By memorial tablet, elsewhere mentioned. The society has also in press its *Transactions*, volumes VI and VII. The following papers are included: "Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, 1632," by Miss Magdalen Casey; "Treaties of Breda, 1667, and Ryswick, 1697," by Mde. Léon Gérin; "Treaty of Utrecht, 1713," by Mde. L. N. Rheume; "Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, 1748," by Mde. S. Lelièvre; "Treaty of Paris, 1763," by Mrs. G. M. Bayly; "Treaty of Versailles, 1783," by Mrs. J. B. Simpson; "Treaty of Ghent, 1814," by Miss Muriel Shortt; "Ashburton treaty, 1842," by Miss Hazel Biggar; "Reciprocity treaty of 1854," by Mrs. W. P. Davis; and "Treaty of Washington, 1871," by Mrs. D. H. McLean.

Volume II of the *Papers and records* of the Huron Institute contains several papers and other material relating principally to the early history of the town of Collingwood and the township of Nottawasaga. An interesting feature of this society's work is the remarkable collection it has brought together of models of lake steamers.

The Essex Historical Society has published volumes II and III of its *Papers and addresses* (1914, 1915), in which the following

papers are noted: "The battle of Windsor" by John H. Harmon; "The Canadian rebellion of 1837-38" by John D. Sullivan; "History of Fort Malden or Amherstburg" by Francis Cleary; "Sandwich in 1812" by Jean Barr; "History of the town of Sandwich" by Francis Cleary; and "Early days along the border" by Friend Palmer.

In *Some of the papers read during the years 1908-1911 at meetings of the Brant Historical Society* (1913), the following are included: "Early history of Brantford" by Miss A. I. G. Gilkison; "Early days in Brantford" by J. J. Hawkins; "The Martin settlement" by Miss Evelyn H. C. Johnson; "Brant county" by T. W. Standing; "Land tenure in Brant county" by Gordon J. Smith; "The old burial ground at Burford" by M. F. Muir; "Whiteman's creek" by Gordon J. Smith; "A reminiscence of 1838" by S. F. Passmore; "Captain Joseph Brant" by Miss C. Gillen; and another paper on the same famous Indian chieftain by J. J. Hawkins.

The Kent Historical Society has published the first volume of its *Papers and addresses* (1914), containing a number of important papers. G. W. Mitchell writes of "Lord Selkirk's Baldoon settlement"; T. K. Holmes of "Pioneer life in Kent county"; Thomas Scullard on "The birth of Chatham"; Mrs. J. P. Dunn on "The Roman Catholic church in Kent"; and C. E. Beeston on "The old log school house."

The *Fourth annual report* of the Thunder Bay Historical Society (1912-1913) contains papers on "The history of Fort William" by J. J. Wells; "Port Arthur's first boom" by Mrs. M. Slipper; "Fort William mission" by Miss J. Robin; and "History of the postoffice and early mail service" by Donald McKellar. The *Fifth report* (1914) includes "Pioneer women of Port Arthur" by Belle Dobie; and "The Thunder bay harbor" by Peter McKellar.

The United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada has published its *Annual transactions*, 1904-1913, in one substantial volume (Brampton, 1914). The following papers are particularly noted: "Movement of the united empire loyalists from the United States to Canada" by Frederick T. Congdon; "George Ryerson, lieutenant First Regiment Norfolk militia in the war of 1812" by William Canniff; "The Tunkers in Canada" by A.

B. Scherek; "Captain Joseph Brant — Thayendanege" by F. O. Loft. Since the publication of these *Transactions*, papers have been read before the association on "Western Canada and the empire" by J. Castell-Hopkins and on the "United empire loyalists of Adolphustown" by A. R. Davis.

The Royal Canadian Institute has published volume x, parts 1 and 2, of its *Transactions* (Toronto, 1913, 1915). In addition to several papers on archeological questions noted later in this article, Mr. Justice Riddell writes on "The settlement of international disputes;" and Percy J. Robinson on "The derivation of certain place-names in the Georgian bay."

The *Ninth series of historical documents*, published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, has already been referred to under source material. The society, in addition to its other activities, has sent a collection of readable books for the use of the men of the first Canadian contingent at the front. An incidental but tragic feature of the annual reports of Canadian societies for the past year is the record of loss of members on the field of battle.

The principal papers in the *Fifth report of the transactions of the Missisquoi County Historical Society* (St. Johns, P. Q., 1913), are Judge McCorkill's series of papers on "The seigniories of Missisquoi;" and "Reminiscences of the early settlers of Dunham" by H. Watson. There are also some historical notes on the rebellion of 1837.

The New Brunswick Historical Society, which has lately completed thirty years of active work, has, as noted elsewhere, been foremost in the province in promoting commemorations, and permanent memorials, of notable events and men connected with the history of New Brunswick. Its last volume of *Collections* (St. John, 1914), contains a paper on "The exodus of the loyalists from Penobscot, and the loyalist settlements at Passamaquoddy," by W. H. Siebert.

The last volume of *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society (1914), contains the following among other papers: "Wolfe's men in Nova Scotia" by Beckles Willson; "Jonathan Belcher, first chief justice of Nova Scotia" by Sir Charles Townsend; "Dockyard reminiscences" by Charles Roche; "Early Scottish settlers in Cape Breton" by Mrs. Charles Archibald;

and "History of Nova Scotia postage stamps" by Donald A. King.

At intervals since the year 1879 the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society has published small volumes of *Transactions*, containing a number of valuable papers generally relating to the early history of Manitoba and the northwest territories. The volume published in 1906, contains "A sketch of the British Association for the Advancement of Science" by George Bryce. Nothing has apparently been published since 1906.

The Art, Historical and Scientific Association, of Vancouver, British Columbia, has published none of the contributions of its members since 1908, when it issued a volume of *Historical papers*. Among more recent papers read before the association, but not yet published, are: "The crown colony of Vancouver island," and "Early history of northwest America" by E. O. S. Scholefield; "A journey to British Columbia fifty years ago" by R. H. Alexander; "Indian lands of British Columbia" by A. E. O'Meara; and "The story of the royal engineers, British Columbia," "Early navigation of the straits of San Juan de Fuca," and "Vancouver street names," by Judge Howay.

The Archaeological and Numismatic Society of Montreal has published in its periodical, the *Canadian antiquarian and numismatic journal*, during the last year, the following historical articles: W. D. Lighthall, "The manor house of Lacolle"; R. W. McLachlan, "The original settlement of the township of Brompton"; E. Z. Massicotte, "Le combat de la rivière des Prairies en 1690," "La population de Montréal en 1673," "La bourse de Montréal sous le régime français," and "Fondation d'une communauté de frères instituteurs à Montréal en 1686"; O. M. H. Lapalice, "L'esclavage nègre au Canada;" Benjamin Sulte, "Samuel Champlain."

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Many important articles relating to the history of Canada — interpreting history in the broader sense — are to be found only in the pages of Canadian or other periodicals. Without attempting to list all of these that have appeared during the last twelve months, the following may be noted:

In the *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, an excellent periodical edited by Pierre-Georges Roy, at Beauceville, Quebec:

"Encore Frontenac" by Regis Roy; "Les La Vérendrye au Dakota" by Benjamin Sulte; "La famille de Lemieux" by E. Z. Massicotte; "Anoblissement des Couillard" by A. C. Després; "La Vérendrye avant ses voyages au nord-ouest" by Benjamin Sulte; "Les fondateurs de Montréal" and "Jacques Viger et sa famille" by E. Z. Massicotte; "Les brunswickers au Canada" by Pierre-Georges Roy; "Berthier" by Regis Roy; "La siège de Québec en 1759"; and a series of articles entitled "Notre-Dame de Québec: necrologie de la crypt," by P. V. Charland.

In the *Canadian magazine* (Toronto): "John Galt: founder of cities" by J. E. Wetherell; "The beginnings of British commerce at Montreal" by A. Gordon Dewey; "Canada's coast-guards and privateers" by Charles S. Blue; "Why Hearne surrendered" by R. J. Fraser; "When De Salaberry was worsted" by Francis A. Carman; "The overland loyalists" by W. S. Wallace; "William Lyon Mackenzie in Toronto" by E. J. Hathaway; "Bygone days in Toronto" by Mrs. Forsyth Grant; "Fifty-four forty or fight" by Harold Sand; "Louisbourg to-morrow" by Beckles Willson; "The house impregnable" by G. C. Holland; "A patriot general: Thomas J. Sutherland" by W. R. Riddell; "Self-government in Canada" by G. G. S. Lindsey; "Wizard of dominion politics" by G. O'Leary; and "The German legion in Canada" by C. S. Blue.

In the *Revue canadienne* (Montreal): "Pierre Boucher" by Laure Conan; "Notes d'histoire" by Benjamin Sulte; "Sir Joseph Dubuc" by Judge L. K. Prud'homme; "La colonie de repatriement" by C. E. Chartier; "Les premiers voyageurs vers le nord-ouest" by Judge L. K. Prud'homme; "La constitution fédérative de 1867" by Lionel Groulx; and a series of papers on Sir George Etienne Cartier, one of the "Fathers of Confederation."

In *Nouvelle France* (Montreal): "Notre dame de Québec" by P. V. Charland; "Un précurseur de la trappe du Canada" by Abbé L. Lindsay; and "L'avenir des canadiens-français dans l'ouest" by J. A. Brosseau.

In *United empire* (London): "The economic effect of the Panama canal on western Canada" by F. B. Vrooman; and an article on Frontenac, in the "Master-builders of Greater Britain" series.

In the *University magazine* (Montreal): "Benedict Arnold" by Hugh Fairchild; "Jacques Cartier's island" by William Wood; "The game of politics" by C. D. Allin; "The hill of error" by Andrew MacPhail; "Pioneers of Pictou" by A. L. Fraser; "The story of a pioneer" by Jean Graham; "International coöperation" by William Smith; "Farm labour problem" by W. J. Brown; "The navy and politics" by Andrew MacPhail and William Peterson; "Diary of Mrs. Simcoe" by Lynn Hetherington; "The naval policy" by Francis A. Carman; "The dominion and the provinces" by Andrew MacPhail; "The tariff and wages" by Theodore H. Boggs; "La leçon du Canada" by D. C. Harvey; "Immigration and agriculture" by W. J. Brown; "Canada and the American tariff" by O. D. Skelton; "Must we be Americans" by Beckles Willson; "William Greenwood" by Archibald MacMechan; and "Classical teaching in Ontario" by Percy J. Robinson.

In the *Bulletin de la société de géographie de Québec*: "Ottawa" by Benjamin Sulte; and "Les noms français au Nouveau-Brunswick" by Abbé François Bourgeois.

In the *Bulletins* of the departments of history and political and economic science in Queen's University (Kingston, Ontario): "The financial power of the empire" by W. W. Swanson; "Modern British foreign policy" by J. L. Morison; "The grange in Canada" by H. Michell; "Life of the settler in western Canada before the war of 1812" by Adam Shortt; and "The problem of agricultural credit in Canada" by H. Michell.

In *Queen's quarterly* (Kingston, Ontario): "The puzzle of the Canada clergy reserves" by J. P. Laycock; "Canadian ocean steamships and their early difficulties" by H. Smith; "The place of the Canadian-born in the empire" by Logie Macdonnell; and the articles by Adam Shortt and H. Michell afterward published in the series of *Bulletins* of the departments of history, etc., of Queen's University, referred to above.

And the following articles in the periodicals named: "America's achievement — Europe's failure" by J. A. Macdonald, in *Review of reviews*, January, 1915; "The boundary of peace" by P. W. Slosson, in *Independent*, February 22, 1915; "Canada in 1914 — at the portals of a change" by P. T. McGrath, in *Review of reviews*, May, 1914.

It may be convenient to mention here a number of recent articles, some published in magazines, others in pamphlet form, or in society transactions, relating to Canada and the European war. "Canada's part in the war" by F. Eckstein, in *World's work*, November, 1914; "Canada at war" by J. Street, in *Colliers*, January 16, 1915; "Canada and the war," in *Outlook*, April 21, 1915; "Why is Canada in the war?" by James H. Coyne, published by the Elgin Historical and Scientific Institute; "Canada, if Germany should win," by Clarence M. Warner," published by the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa; "Causes leading up to the war" by James Mavor (Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto); "The European war," by Colonel G. Sterling Ryerson (United Empire Loyalists Association of Canada); "Lessons of the war" by A. W. Wright (Niagara Historical Society); a series of lectures on the war, delivered before the Huron Institute; "The Duty of Canada at the present hour" by Henri Bourassa, Montreal, 1914; "The war and our banks," J. P. Busklin, Toronto, 1915. Mention may also be made of a periodical, *The Canadian war* (Toronto), devoted to Canada's participation in the war, the first number of which appeared several months ago.

It may also be convenient to include here several articles and pamphlets relating to the vexed question of bi-lingual schools in Ontario, which has an historical as well as an educational and a racial side: "Argument before the supreme court of Ontario *re* rule 17" by N. A. Belcourt (Ottawa, 1914); "The French language in Ontario" by Thomas O'Higgins, (Windsor, 1914); "La langue française" by A. T. Charron (Quebec, 1914); "La langue française au Canada," by Henri Bourassa (Montreal, 1915); "French in Ontario" by N. A. Belcourt (Ottawa, 1915).

MONOGRAPHS AND GENERAL TREATISES

Since the publication of Mr. Buck's article, in the *REVIEW* for June, 1914, the monumental work *Canada and its provinces*, in twenty-two volumes, under the general editorship of Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, has been completed with the exception of the index volume, which is still in preparation. The excellence of this work from every point of view, text, illustrations, type and paper, is too generally recognized to need any

comment here. The same enterprising Canadian publishers responsible for the above work are also issuing a series of attractive volumes, the *Chronicles of Canada*, under the editorship of George M. Wrong and H. H. Langton. The series will comprise thirty-two volumes, of which the following have already been published: *The dawn of Canadian history* by Stephen Leacock; *The seigneurs of old Canada* by W. Bennett Munro; *The great intendant* by Thomas Chapais; *The mariner of St. Malo* by Stephen Leacock; *The passing of New France* by William Wood; *The winning of Canada* by William Wood; *Brant, the war chief of the Six Nations* by Louis A. Wood; *The adventurers of England on Hudson bay* by Agnes C. Laut; *Pathfinders of the great plains* by Lawrence J. Burpee; *Adventurers of the far North* by Stephen Leacock; *The united empire loyalists* by W. Stewart Wallace; *All afloat* by William Wood. The following volumes are in press, and will be published this year: *The founder of New France* by Charles W. Colby; *The fighting governor* by Charles W. Colby; *The great fortress* by William Wood; *The Acadian exiles* by Arthur G. Doughty; *The invasion of 1775* by C. F. Hamilton; *Battlefields of 1812-14* by William Wood; *Pontiac, the war chief of the Ottawas* by Thomas G. Marquis; *Tecumseh, the last great leader of his people* by Ethel T. Raymond; *Pioneers of the Pacific coast* by Agnes C. Laut; *The Red river colony* by Louis A. Wood; *The cariboo trail* by Agnes C. Laut; *The family compact* by W. Stewart Wallace; *The rebellion in Lower Canada* by A. D. DeCelles; *The tribune of Nova Scotia* by William L. Grant; *The winning of popular government* by Archibald MacMechan; *The fathers of confederation* by Sir Joseph Pope; *The day of Sir Wilfrid Laurier* by Oscar D. Skelton; *The day of Sir John Macdonald* by Sir Joseph Pope; *The railroad builders* by Oscar D. Skelton.

Several books, of more or less importance, relating to Canadian history, have been published during the last twelve months. George Bryce has brought out a new and enlarged edition of his *Short history of the Canadian people* (New York: Scribners, 1914). George M. Wrong's *Fall of Canada* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914) is a brilliant study of the last year of French rule in Canada. W. L. Grant has written an admirable *High school history of Canada* (Toronto: Eaton Company, 1914). Isaac

Covie's book on the Hudson's Bay company, entitled *The company of adventurers* (Toronto: Briggs) has recently been published.

The British empire and the United States by W. A. Dunning (Toronto: Briggs, 1914) necessarily deals largely with the relations between the United States and Canada. Two important pamphlets relating to armaments on the great lakes are *Limitation of armament on the great lakes*, a report by Hon. John W. Foster (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1914); and *The Anglo-American agreement of 1817 for disarmament on the great lakes* by Charles H. Levermore (World's Peace Foundation, 1914).

The year has been fruitful in biographies of men connected with the history of Canada. Three lives of Cartier have appeared, to commemorate the centenary of his birth: *Sir George Etienne Cartier, his life and times* by John Boyd (Toronto: Macmillan, 1914);¹ *Georges-Etienne Cartier* by Arthur Dansereau, Benjamin Sulte, and others (Montreal: Beauchemin, 1914); and *Georges-Etienne Cartier, homme d'état canadien, 1814-1873* by C. E. Lavergne (Montreal: Langevin et L'Archevêque, 1914). Two volumes of reminiscences of Sir Charles Tupper, last survivor of the "Fathers of Confederation" have been published: *Recollections of sixty years in Canada* by the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Bart. (London: Cassell, 1914); and *Political reminiscences of Sir Charles Tupper* (London: Constable, 1914). The death of Lord Strathcona has brought the inevitable crop of biographies: *The life and times of Lord Strathcona* by W. T. R. Preston (London: Nash, 1914); *The life of Lord Strathcona* by W. R. Richmond (London: Collins, 1914); *Biography of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal* by J. W. Pedley (Toronto: 1915). Mr. John Macnaughton, of McGill University, has in preparation a life of Strathcona, which is to be issued as a new volume of the *Makers of Canada* series. Mr. Beckles Willson is also working on what will probably be the most ambitious biography of this very remarkable man. Edward Salmon has written a *Life of Admiral Sir Charles Saunders* (London: Pitman, 1914). Admiral Saunders, it will be remembered, commanded the fleet before Quebec in 1759. General S. B.

¹ Reviewed in this number.

Steele, who commands one of the Canadian contingents at the front, has written a volume of reminiscences: *Forty years in Canada* (Toronto, 1915). The present writer has just completed a life of Sir Sandford Fleming, the Canadian engineer who built the intercolonial railway, and made the original surveys for the Canadian Pacific railway.

Of books relating to the maritime provinces, the following may be mentioned here: *Pictonians at home and abroad* by J. P. MacPhie (Boston: Pinkham Press, 1914); *Dr. Mather Byles* by A. W. H. Eaton (Boston: Butterfield, 1915); *The St. John river* by W. O. Raymond (St. John, 1914). Archdeacon Raymond is writing a sketch of the life of Bishop Medley, 1805-1892. John MacMillan has published a *History of the Catholic church in Prince Edward island, 1835-1891* (1914).

Quite a considerable number of books and pamphlets, bearing upon the history of the province of Quebec, or some portion of it, remain to be listed. As a matter of convenience the Labrador strip is included here, though it belongs politically to Newfoundland. Mr. Castell-Hopkins writes entertainingly of the French-Canadians and their history, in *French Canada and the St. Lawrence* (Toronto: Bell and Cockburn). A work of quite a different character is *Les canadiens-français* by N. E. Dionne (Quebec: Garneau, 1914). The history and resources of the Gaspé peninsula are described by Alfred Pelland in *La Gaspésie* (Quebec, 1914); and the extreme northern portion of the province in *Extraits de rapports sur le district d'Ungava* (Quebec, 1913). An exhaustive treatment of the subject is W. G. Gosling's *Labrador, its discovery, exploration and development* (Toronto, 1914). Other works, dealing with various phases of Quebec history, are: *Montreal, 1535-1914*, by W. H. Atherton, in three volumes (Montreal, 1914); *Histoire de St. Martin, comte Laval* by J. A. Froment (Joliette, 1915); *United States campaigns to capture Montreal* by Robert Sellar (Huntington, 1914); *The Eastern Townships Bank, 1859-1912* (Sherbrooke, 1914); *Une page de nos annales* by P. A. Baril (Three Rivers, 1915); *Les franciscains et le Canada* by O. M. Jouve (Quebec, 1915); *Louis Hébert, premier colon canadien et sa famille* by Azarie Couillard-Després (Lille, 1913); *Souvenirs politiques, 1890-1896* by Charles Langelier (Quebec: Dussault and Proulz); *Gerbes et souvenirs* by A. C.

Dugas (Montreal: Arbour and Dupont, 1914); *Quebec 'twixt old and new* by George Gale (Quebec, 1915); *Les événements de 1837-38* by L. N. Carrier (Beauceville, 1914); *L'église du Canada depuis monseigneur Laval jusqu'à la conquête* by Abbé Auguste Gosselin (Quebec, 1914), third volume completing the work; *Le marquis de Montcalm* by Thomas Chapais (Quebec).

In material relating to the history of the province of Ontario, two books on the city of Toronto are *Recollections and records of Toronto of old* by W. H. Pearson (Toronto: Briggs, 1914); and the sixth series of J. Ross Robertson's valuable *Landmarks of Toronto* (Toronto, 1914). Miss Janet Carnochan has written the *History of Niagara* (Toronto: Briggs, 1914).

Norman F. Black has written a *History of Saskatchewan and the northwest territories*, in two volumes (Regina: Saskatchewan Historical Publishing Company). Another work of a similar character is *The prairie provinces of Canada*, compiled by Henry J. Boam, edited by Ashley G. Brown (London: Sells, 1914). *Pages de souvenirs et d'histoire* by Abbé J. M. Jolys (Saint-Pierre-Jolys, Man., 1914), gives the history of one of the older parishes of Manitoba. Katharine Hughes, in *Father Lacombe, the black-robe voyageur* (Toronto, 1914) describes the life of a famous western missionary. A book announced for publication is *The Hudson's bay road* by A. H. de Trémaudan (Toronto: Dent). A. O. MacRae tells the story of one of the prairie provinces in his *History of the province of Alberta* (Calgary, 1912). An important work, by competent writers, is *British Columbia from the earliest times* by E. O. S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay (Vancouver, 1914. 3 v.).

Another *History of British Columbia* is by E. O. S. Scholefield and R. E. Gosnell (Vancouver, 1913). An interesting volume of reminiscences is W. W. Walkem's *Stories of early British Columbia* (Vancouver, 1914). Other publications relating to the westernmost province of Canada are: *Blazing the trail through the Rockies* by Noel Robinson (Vancouver, 1914); *Treaties affecting the north Pacific coast* by F. C. Wade (Vancouver, 1914); and *Memorandum respecting claims of British Columbia for better terms* (Victoria, 1914).

Among a number of books, pamphlets, etc., dealing with public affairs in Canada are: *Getting into parliament and after by*

Sir George Ross (Toronto, 1913); *Canadian addresses* by Sir George Foster (Toronto, 1914); *The senate of Canada*, by Sir George Ross (Toronto, 1914); *The kingdom papers* by J. S. Ewart (Ottawa, 1914); *Canadian essays and addresses* by Sir William Peterson (London, 1915). Sir Charles Fitzpatrick has issued in pamphlet form his address before the American Bar Association on *The constitution of Canada*; and C. D. Allin read before the American Historical Association a paper on the "Genesis of the confederation of Canada." Gustavus Myers has published the first volume of his *History of Canadian wealth* (Chicago, 1914). J. L. Morison, of Queen's University, has in the press a volume on *British supremacy and Canadian autonomy*, to be published by Glasgow, Brook and company, Toronto.

The following doctoral dissertations relating to Canada are in preparation: *Canada in the seventeenth century* by S. M. Eastman (Columbia); *The sovereign council of New France* by R. D. Cahall (Columbia); *The Canadian constitutional act of 1791* by J. S. Custer (Wisconsin); *The history of the Canadian grain trade* by W. C. Clark (Harvard); and *The westward movement in Canada* by G. C. Davidson (California).

THE MARKING OF HISTORIC SITES

One of the important results of the Quebec tercentenary celebrations was the establishment of the Historic Landmarks Association of Canada. The objects of the association, as set forth in its first *Annual report* (1915) are "to gather from all parts of the Dominion of Canada all the information available regarding each site it is proposed to mark, obtain verification of the facts from documents in the Dominion Archives or elsewhere, submit reports from each province to the council of the Association, which will consider the merits of each application, and, when desired, recommend to the Dominion Government."

The association reports a number of activities of this nature in various parts of the dominion, some completed, and others projected or in progress. Of these one of the most important is the memorial tower at Halifax, erected by popular subscription throughout the country to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the day when the first provincial assembly was opened in Halifax (1758), the first of all the repre-

sentative assemblies in the British dominions beyond the seas. The tower contains a number of tablets contributed by federal, provincial, and municipal bodies, in Canada, Australia, South Africa, and other parts of the British empire.

In Charlottetown, the capital of the province of Prince Edward island, a memorial tablet has been placed to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Charlottetown conference, which led up to the confederation of the scattered colonies of British North America. The tablet reads: "In the hearts and in the minds of the Delegates assembled in this room, on Sept. 1st, 1864, was born the Dominion of Canada. Providence being their guide they builded better than they knew. This tablet is erected on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the event."

The dominion parks branch of the department of the interior of Canada has formulated a scheme for the setting apart of various places intimately connected with the history of Canada as historic parks. The project has been approved, and will be gradually developed. One of these parks will include the site of Louisburg, in Cape Breton; and another embraces the old Fort Howe site, St. John, New Brunswick. The working out of the more ambitious scheme for an historic park to include the sites of the battle of the plains and the battle of Ste. Foye, is in the hands of a special commission appointed by the dominion government.

In St. John, New Brunswick, the New Brunswick Historical Society has placed a tablet on Caton's island, to mark the site of the first known settlement by Europeans on the river St. John in 1611. The Women's Canadian Club of St. John are planning a memorial to commemorate the romantic defense of her husband's fort at the mouth of the river St. John by Madame La Tour. It is also proposed to erect a memorial to perpetuate the memory of the united empire loyalists who founded the city of St. John on the eighteenth of May, 1786.

The project of a Wolfe memorial church at Quebec, which was much discussed a year or so ago, is at present in abeyance, the principal mover in the scheme, Canon Scott of Quebec, having gone to the front with his son.

On April 23, 1915, a memorial tablet on the monument to Lieutenant-General Sir Benjamin d'Urban, was unveiled by H.

R. H. the Duke of Connaught. The monument, which was defaced by vandals about two years ago, is in the "old military burying ground" on Papineau avenue, Montreal. D'Urban was at one time commander of the forces in Canada. Durban in South Africa is named after him.

In Ottawa, the Champlain monument on Nepean point was unveiled at the last meeting of the Royal Society of Canada. The monument, which is the work of the Canadian sculptor Hamilton McCarthy, shows Champlain with astrolabe in hand. The curious story of the lost astrolabe of Champlain, which was found on the banks of the Ottawa river, in North Renfrew, in August, 1867, after lying there for two hundred and fifty-four years, is told in A. J. Russell's pamphlet *Champlain's astrolabe*.

The site of the home of Colonel By, who built the Rideau canal in 1826-1832, and founded Bytown (now Ottawa), has recently been marked by a bronze tablet inserted in the keystone of the old Sappers bridge built by Colonel By. The tablet was placed by the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa.

Mr. Frank Keefer, of Thorold, Ontario, has written a pamphlet on the site of the battle of Beaverdams, in the war of 1812. It is proposed to include this site in one of the historic parks.

The Thunder Bay Historical Society, Fort William, Ontario, is erecting a monument of red granite at that place "to commemorate the locality made famous by the pioneer Fur Traders of the Great North West."

In the West, the Canadian Club of Winnipeg has placed a memorial tablet on the old Fort Garry gate, Winnipeg — all that remains of the once famous post of the Hudson's Bay company.

Among many proposed historic memorials, none is more interesting than the suggested monument to Henry Hudson, on the shores of the great bay that he discovered and where he so tragically ended his adventurous life. The idea is to erect this memorial on the completion of the Hudson's Bay railway.

In British Columbia, it is proposed to mark in some way the site of David Thompson's fur-trading post on Windermere lake, "the stones where he built his fireplace, and the corners of his stoutly-built log house, being still visible."

Among many important additions to the historical and arch-

eological museum in the Chateau de Ramezay, Montreal, maintained by the archaeological and numismatic society of that city, is the stone doorway from the ruined home of Samuel Champlain at Brouage, France, presented to the society by Dr. John Finley, president of the University of the State of New York.

The *Annual report* of the Ontario Historical Society, for 1914, contains an interesting report of the committee on historic sites and monuments, with much valuable information as to present and projected monuments and memorials. The forthcoming *Report of the commissioner of dominion parks* will outline the plans of the Canadian government for the establishment and maintenance of historic parks in various parts of the dominion. Meanwhile the commissioner writes as follows as to the objects his department has in view: "The aim of the Historic Park," he says, "is both educative and humanitarian. It will serve, while incidentally providing healthful recreation, to educate the people in the history of their country, to stimulate patriotism and admiration for and emulation of noble actions, for it is intended to establish these parks in commemoration not merely of warlike or political fame, but also to perpetuate the memory of those who have helped in the development of the country." He adds that there is now before the government a proposal for the establishment near Ottawa of a national cemetery, "a memorial for all time to those who have fallen in the defence of Canada and the Empire in this and former wars." The report of the committee on historic sites and monuments, of the Ontario Historical Society, presented at the 1915 meeting, but not yet published, makes the interesting recommendation that a special committee be appointed, to consist of the professors of history of the various universities and colleges of Ontario, to collect and arrange material in the daily newspapers and elsewhere relating to Canada's part in the European war, to be preserved as material for the future historian. The same report records the unveiling, on October 1, 1914, by H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught, of a statue of King Edward VII, on Phillips square, Montreal. The statue is the work of the Canadian sculptor, Philippe Hébert. Vernon Marsh, the English sculptor, is executing a monument to Champlain, for the town of Orillia, On-

tario. It has been decided to erect a memorial library in connection with Wycliffe College, Toronto, in memory of the Hon. S. H. Blake, one of the principal founders of the college.

ETHNOLOGICAL AND ARCHEOLOGICAL WORK

The *Summary report* of the division of anthropology, of the geological survey of Canada, for 1914, announces the creation of a new section in this division, making three in all: ethnology and linguistics, in charge of E. Sapir; archeology, in charge of Harlan I. Smith; and physical anthropology, in charge of F. H. S. Knowles.

Mr. Sapir reports the addition of a number of specimens to the anthropological hall in the Victoria Memorial Museum. Nearly seventeen hundred ethnological objects have been acquired in the course of the past year, including Athabaskan and Eskimo collections from the far North. A most interesting feature of the work of the ethnology branch is the growing collection of phonograph records of Indian songs. A large number of valuable photographs have also been obtained, in connection with the field work among the various tribes. The following are a few of the many manuscripts added to the ethnology branch during the past year: "The hunting territories and mythology of the Timagami Indians"; "The social organization of the Winnebago Indians"; "Iroquois foods and food preparation"; "Huron and Wyandot mythology"; "Malecite myths"; "The Micmacs, their life and legends"; "Eskimo ethnological notes"; "Northeastern Athabaskan culture"; "Ucluelet war story" (Nootka). The following ethnological publications have been issued by the geological survey of Canada in its *Anthropological series*, during the years 1913-1914: F. W. Hawkes, *Inviting-in feast of the Alaskan Eskimo*; F. G. Speck, *The double-curve motive in northeastern Algonkian art*; P. Radin, *Some myths and tales of the Ojibwa of southeastern Ontario*; W. H. Mechling, *Malecite tales*; P. Radin, *Some aspects of puberty fasting among the Ojibwa*; V. Stefánsson, *Prehistoric and present commerce among the Arctic coast Eskimos*.

The *Summary report* for 1914 of the archeologist contains an interesting account of field work during the past year in Nova Scotia, eastern Ontario, and southwestern Manitoba; and of

archeological specimens added to the museum. A handbook under the title, *The archaeological collection from the southern interior of British Columbia*, has been issued in the *Archaeological series* of the geological survey. Articles by the archeologist have also been published on "The archaeology of Canada"; "Archaeological value of human bones"; and "Archaeology of the Rocky mountain park." The last was issued by the dominion parks branch of the department of the interior of Canada. An important item of research work in this branch is the preparation of a card catalog of archeological literature.

The *Archaeological report* (Ontario) for 1913, contains the following papers: "The Attiwandarons, or Nation of the Neutrals" by Rowland B. Orr; "Primitive civilization of the American Indian" by W. R. Harris; "Concerning a few well known Indian names" by Armon Burwash; "Ontario effigy pipes in stone" by George E. Laidlaw. The *Report* for 1914 contains a paper by Mr. Orr on "The Petuns or Tobacco Nation of the Nottawasaga lowlands"; and a continuation of Colonel Laidlaw's paper in the 1913 *Report*.

The *Proceedings* of the International Congress of Americanists (London, 1913) contains two papers relating to Canada: "Pre-Columbian copper in Ontario" by Rowland B. Orr; and "Notes sur les sauvages du Canada" by Alphonse Gagnon.

Other papers on the subject may be listed as follows: "Organization of the scientific investigation of the Indian place-nomenclature of the maritime provinces of Canada" (third, fourth, and fifth papers) by W. F. Ganong, in *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, 1913-1915; and in same society's *Transactions*, "Les indiens du Canada depuis la découverte" by C. M. Barbeau; "Some notes upon the discovery of a prehistoric human skeleton in British Columbia" by C. Hill-Tout; and "Social organization of the west coast tribes" by E. Sapir; "Tribal divisions of the Indians of Ontario" by A. F. Chamberlain; "Captain Joseph Brant's status as a chief, and some of his descendants" by Gordon J. Smith; "Chief John Smoke Johnson" by Evelyn H. C. Johnson; "Bear customs of the Cree and other Algonkin Indians of northern Ontario" by Alanson Skinner; "David Zeisberger and his Delaware Indians" by John Morrison; "An introductive enquiry in the study of Ojibwa

religion" by Paul Radin; "The history of the American Indians in relation to health" by P. H. Bryce; all in *Papers and records* of the Ontario Historical Society, 1914; "The early migrations of the Indians of New England and the maritime provinces" by R. B. Dixon, in *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, volume xxiv; "Supernatural beings of the Huron and Wyandot" by C. M. Barbeau; "Influence of the horse in the development of plains culture" by Clark Wissler; "Portraiture among the north Pacific coast tribes" by G. T. Emmons; and "Notes on the plains Cree, the cultural position of the plains Ojibway" by Alanson Skinner, all in the *American anthropologist*, volume xvi; "Northwestern Dénés and northeastern Asiatics" by A. G. Morice; "Algonquian Indian names of places in northern Canada" by J. B. Tyrrell; "The Chipewyan Indians" by the bishop of Keewatin, all in *Transactions* of the Royal Canadian Institute, volume x, parts 1 and 2; "Aboriginal pottery of New Brunswick," and "Aboriginal chipped and flaked implements of New Brunswick" by William McIntosh, in *Bulletin* of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, volumes vii, and viii; "Indian relics and implements" by Frank Wood; "The neutral nation" by Kirwan Martin; "Indian place names" by W. F. Moore; "Indian ossuary near Sheffield" by Oscar Main; and "The Ojibway Indians of North America" by Mary L. Claypole; in *Papers and records* of the Wentworth Historical Society, 1915; and the following papers on the Eskimo: "Eskimos as aboriginal inventors" by A. L. Kroeber, in *Scientific American*, volume cx; "Eskimos of the frozen North" by E. J. Peck, in *Missionary review*, volume xxxvii; "The Eskimo mission of the Mackenzie" by C. E. Whittaker (Toronto, 1914); and "Prehistoric and present commerce among the Arctic coast Eskimo" by V. Stefansson, already mentioned. It may be noted finally, that valuable additions have been made during the year to the collections in the public museums in Toronto, Montreal, Halifax, St. John, Victoria, and other Canadian cities.

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION
OTTAWA, CANADA

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

A JOURNEY THROUGH THE INDIAN COUNTRY BEYOND THE OHIO, 1785

During the winter of 1784-1785, representatives of various tribes, including the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa, and Ottawa, came together at Fort McIntosh to treat with commissioners of the United States. Fort McIntosh, the scene of this gathering, stood on the right bank of the Ohio near the mouth of Beaver creek, about twenty-six miles below Fort Pitt. It had been erected six years before, late in the autumn of 1778, soon after the signing of the treaty of Fort Pitt on September 17, and was named for Brigadier General Lachlan McIntosh at that time in command of the western department. The treaty of Fort McIntosh was signed January 21, 1785, and declared the boundaries of the tribal lands, but owing to the feeling of unrest of the majority of the tribes beyond the Ohio the treaty was never effective, and only after ten years, by virtue of the treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795, were the questions definitely settled.

The Shawnee, ever hostile to the frontier settlements of Virginia, did not join in the treaty of Fort McIntosh, but soon another treaty was contemplated by the United States to include this tribe. On August 18, 1785, four agents of the government left Pittsburgh, and during the late summer and early autumn passed through the Indian country, visiting many villages, arriving on September 20 at the Shawnee village of Mequachake, on the headwaters of Mad river, in the present Logan county, Ohio. Fortunately the following interesting account of the expedition was prepared by a member of the party, Samuel Montgomery, who dated it "At the mouth of the great Miami on the Ohio — 1785." The manuscript is preserved among the papers of the continental congress (no. 56, folios 231-250) in the Library of Congress.

The agents were partially successful in their endeavors to have members of the different tribes gather at the mouth of the Miami, a few miles west of the future city of Cincinnati. This

resulted in "a Treaty concluded at the Mouth of the Great Miami, on the North-western Bank of the Ohio, the thirty-first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, between the Commissioners Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, of the one Part, and the Chiefs and Warriors of the Shawanoe Nation, of the other Part." The treaty was signed by three commissioners and eight Indians. Among the witnesses were Samuel Montgomery, the author of the journal, John Boggs, Daniel Elliott, and James Rinker, his companions. "The Half King of the Wyandots" and "Capt. Pipe, of the Delawares," both of whom were mentioned in the narrative, were likewise witnesses, in addition to many others. Article ii, of the treaty states:

"The Shawanoe nation do acknowledge the United States to be the sole and absolute sovereigns of all the territory ceded to them by a treaty of peace, made between them and the King of Great Britain, the fourteenth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four."

DAVID I. BUSHNELL, JR.

JOURNAL OF SAMUEL MONTGOMERY

The present situation of the United States, with respect to the Indian nations who surround them, requires the greatest and most minute attention. Every circumstance which will tend to inform us of their genius or disposition ought to be most strictly attended to. Those particularly who have the public confidence should endeavour as much as possible to give their country such information as the capacity in which they act, and the opportunity they may have in consequence thereof, indispensably require. I have therefore from these considerations been particular in the occurrences, and the remarks which I have made relative to the Indians, and whether they should appear favourable or not, as I have derived them from observation, and not from mere conjecture. I think myself bound to communicate them without disguise in the manner in which they appeared to me.

I sett out from Pittsburg on the 18th of august in company with Mess^{rs} Boggs, Elliot, and Rinker,¹ with whom I was joined in the important and interesting business of inviting the western Indian nations to a treaty to be held at the mouth of the great Miami on the Ohio. The various re-

¹ These were evidently John Boggs, Daniel Elliott, and James Rinker, who, together with Samuel Montgomery and many others, were witnesses to the treaty with

ports of the unfriendly, unpacific, and dissatisfied temper and disposition of the Indian nations that circulated at Pittsburg not a little intimidated me in the undertaking, Yet the measure appeared so necessary — the objects arising from it so important to the interests of the United States and the welfare of my country that I thought it incumbent on us to proceed at all events upon the business upon which we were sent.

On the 23^d I arrived at Tuscarawas² — a post of trade, and frequented by traders from Pittsburg. I met here several Indians of the Delaware nation, who received us in a friendly manner, and appeared to be fully impressed with a disposition of adhering strictly to the treaty of peace entered into in January last. They expressed great anxiety that evil reports should subsist relative to them among the inhabitants of Pittsburg, with assurances of being well disposed towards us.

On the 29th I arrived at Upper Sandusky³ a town of the Wiandott nation, and the residence of the half King, their Chief,⁴ to whom we were conducted & who received us in a friendly manner — whereupon Mr Boggs informed him of the intention of our visit and business with him. A council was proposed, to which the Chiefs of the Delaware nation, who were contiguous, were called at the instigation of the half King who un-

the Shawnee “concluded at the Mouth of the Great Miami, on the North-western Bank of the Ohio,” January 31, 1786. Boggs had previously witnessed the treaty of Fort McIntosh one year earlier, and Montgomery was a witness of the treaty of Fort Stanwix, October 22, 1784. James Rinkin, which is probably a mistake for “Rinker,” is given as a witness to the treaty of Fort Harmar, January 9, 1789. C. J. Kappler, *Indian affairs* (Washington, 1904), v. 2.

² “A former settlement of Delawares and Wyandot on Tuscarawas r., Ohio, near the mouth of Big Sandy r. It was near the great trail leading from Muskingum on the s. and Sandusky on the n. to the Indian settlements in w. Pennsylvania, being situated almost due w. from Shingas Town at the mouth of Beaver r. The early traders gave the name Muskingum, or Elk’s Eye, to the three streams now known as the Muskingum, Tuscarawas, and Big Sandy. On account of its location near the intersection of the three trails, this settlement, which was made some time before 1750, was well known to traders.” *Handbook of American Indians* (Bureau of American ethnology, *Bulletin*, no. 30).

³ Upper Sandusky stood near the present town of the same name, in Wyandot county, Ohio. Another settlement, often called Lower Sandusky, is now perpetuated by Fremont, Sandusky county, Ohio. Both were Wyandot villages, the name being derived from the Huron *Otsaandosti*, “cool water.” *Handbook of American Indians*.

⁴ Half King. “A Huron chief of Sandusky, Ohio, who flourished during the latter part of the Revolutionary war. Under employment by the British he aided the Delawares in their resistance to the encroachment of the white settlements beyond the Allegheny mts., and it was through his intervention that the Moravians of Lichtenau were saved from massacre by the Indians in 1777. . . Under the name Daunghquat he signed the treaty of Fort McIntosh, Ohio, Jan. 21, 1785.” He signed other treaties, the last being at Miami Rapids, Ohio, September 29, 1817. *Handbook of American Indians*.

derstood that we had business of a similar nature with them, and the day following was fixed on, in order that they should hear it.

30th We received a message from the Chief of the Wiandotts, informing us of the arrival of the Chiefs of the Delawares, and their readiness to receive our message. We thereupon attended them, and met in council — the half King, Chief of the Wiandotts — Pipe, the Chief of the Delawares⁵ with seven Chiefs of the same nation. The council was opened by the Chief of the Wiandotts in a speech addressed to us — expressive of their gladness on our meeting them at his council fire, and the opportunity which presented itself again of hearing from their great *Friends and Brothers* — concluding that the great spirit had directed it. Mr Boggs then read the message addressed to these nations by the Commissioners, and presented to each nation, a copy of the definitive treaty between the King of Great Britain and the United States, and a proclamation of the United States in Congress, warning their Citizens from settling on the unreappropriated lands on the Ohio — these papers which accompanied the Messages were received with great satisfaction. They inquired then of us how many young men of their respective nations would be necessary to attend us as guides and companions, agreeable to the requisition contained in the message. We demanded two men from each nation, and retired that they might deliberate thereon, for, as they had observed “they hear with the same ear, and spoke with the same tongue.” Great parity usually exists in their resolutions! In the afternoon we met again at their council fire, and were questioned how far our journey extended, and what nations were to be visited by us previously to a compliance to the demands for their young men. These questions being answered the Chief of the Wiandott then addressed us, the purport of whose words were as follows: first, a dissapprobation of our visiting the Potowatomie nation, that they were unfavourable to us, and would not incline to attend the treaty.⁶

⁵ This was Hopocan, known to the whites by the translation of the word, Pipe. He was more often styled “Captain Pipe.” He belonged to the Wolf division of the Delawares and was war chief of the tribe. During the French and Indian war he fought against the British, and after the declaration of peace settled on the upper waters of the Muskingum. He signed the treaty of Fort Pitt, September 17, 1778, the first treaty made between the United States and Indians. He signed the treaty of Fort McIntosh, January 21, 1785, with the name Hobocan. *Handbook of American Indians*.

⁶ The Potawatomi were at this time living to the westward of the other tribes mentioned in this journal. The tribe served actively “with the French down to the peace of 1763; they were prominent in the rising under Pontiac, and on the breaking out of the Revolution in 1775 took arms against the United States and continued hostilities until the treaty of Greenville in 1795.” *Handbook of American Indians*.

secondly, a Proposition, that he would send the invitation contained in the message received by him, to the nations residing in the vicinity of Detroit, viz, a tribe of the Wiandotte, the Chippeways, and Ottawas; thirdly a compliance to the request for guides, and lastly an assurance of their attendance at the treaty. The first part of this speech was considered only as a mask of friendship, the other parts of it evidently showed his good intentions toward us. In the evening a small piece of cannon was discharged, and shortly after we were visited by the Chief, whose intention was to remove our surprise which he imagined might have arose on the discharge, by informing us, that it was an acknowledgement to the great spirit above for directing the council fire to be kindled with him and us on this day. Our acknowledgements in return were likewise tendered on this occasion. In the conversation we held with him this evening, he informed us that a young man of his nation, who resided on the waters of the Sioto, was returning thither, and therefore proposed to direct him to go to the Shawanese nation, with the intelligence of our intended visit to them, in order to prepare their minds towards us, observing that the present disposition of this nation was not favourable to us,⁷ accordingly he conveyed into the ears of the young man a message to them, and we furnished a string of wampum. He again proposed that his brother Rontonday, or the Warpole, might accompany us on our tour, recommending in high terms his influence and oratory. We assented to this proposition on the fullest reason of meeting with a reception thro' him among those nations who were unfavourable to us and consequently the greater hope of success.

On the 1st of September we arrived at Lower Sandusky⁸ accompanied by the Chief of the Wiandott, for the purpose of preparing the minds of this tribe, or part of his nation dwelling here, towards us, and were received very friendly by them.

From hence agreeably to the proposition made to us in council, an Indian was sent to those nations in the vicinity of Detroit and presented with a String of wampum by us.

From the manner of our reception and the facility with which the business was transacted by the Chief, he may appear to be fully impressed with a disposition to conform & strictly to adhere to the treaty of peace entered into in January last, and to use his endeavours to impress the same on the minds of the people, o'er whom he presides — and the parity

⁷ Less than eight years before this time, on November 10, 1777, Cornstalk, chief of the Shawnee then living in the vicinity of the Scioto, was murdered at Fort Randolph at the mouth of the Great Kanawha. This treachery on the part of the Americans was long remembered by the Shawnee.

⁸ Compare note 3, above.

of conduct subsisting between him and the Delaware Chiefs may induce that nation to be favourably disposed to the engagements entered into conjunctively with him.

We were directed to visit this place in order to engage the services of Abraham Kuhn⁹ an Indian by habit, for certain purposes. In this instance, we were unfortunately dissatisfied, we were informed that he was at this time employed in a flour trade carried on between some persons at Pittsburg and Detroit by the way of Cayahoga¹⁰ and at that place, under the immediate direction of a Captⁿ Caldewell¹¹ a man who commanded a ranging company during the late war in the service of Britain, who formerly exercised and continues to exercise the British influence o'er the minds of the Indian nations, and is now largely concerned in the trade with them.

Lower Sandusky is the principal post of trade in the Wiandott nation. Several traders reside here, who must find the trade beneficial from the easy communication by water to Detroit—the key of that business, and are subject to the regulations adopted by the Agent residing at Detroit for conducting it.

On the 7th we met a Chief of the Ottaway nation in a council at their town near Rouse de beaux,¹² on the Omi or Ottaway river, to whom was read the message addressed to them, and the Chippeway nation, conjunctively, and in consequence thereof he was charged with the delivering of it to that nation. The Chief received the message in a very agreeable manner, and said that he would return us an answer on the day following, as he conceived it necessary to take the minds of part of the nation who were too remote to attend this council.

M^r LeClair, a Frenchman, rendered us his service as an Interpreter on this occasion, and would not receive any other gratuity for them than our acknowledgements.

8th We met in council when the Chief returned us an answer to the message read to him, and the charge given him the preceding day—

⁹ ‘‘Abraham Kuhn, his X mark,’’ appears as a signer of the treaty of Fort McIntosh, January 21, 1785.

¹⁰ A village of the Wyandot, formerly stood on the northeast bank of Cuyahoga river, near the present Akron, Ohio. Name derived from *Kaya‘ha‘ge‘*, ‘‘the forks of the stream.’’

¹¹ This may have been Colonel William Caldwell who commanded the British forces and their Indian allies, at Upper Sandusky, June 4, 1781. It was here the American forces were defeated, their commander, Colonel William Crawford, and many others captured.

¹² Mr. James Mooney has suggested the probability of this being intended for ‘‘Roche des Boeufs,’’ the name of a creek flowing into the Miami, in Allen county, Ohio. ‘‘The Omi or Ottaway river,’’ was later designated the Miami of the Lakes, it enters the southwest corner of lake Erie.

"That for his part he was fully inclined to attend at the treaty, but he could not determine to accept the invitation, untill the arrival of their Chief, who was then at Detroit, that *he* would take charge of and deliver the message with the belt to the Chippeway nation, on the execution of which he observed that a tribe of the Potowatomies were in his route among whom he would diffuse the contents—" for which purpose a string of wampum was furnished by us.

The hereditary Chief of this nation is a grave, and reserved man, and seldom acts in their councils,—his uncle called by them *Wewisqua*¹³ generally presides, whose absence at this period, and visit to Detroit, bore no small resemblance of a compliance to the invitation given to his nation on his return. The Chief, who officiated in his absence, and called the *Otter*,¹⁴ is an affable, open, and unreserved man, and doubtless would act with candour and propriety. This nation is unconnected with any other nation than the Chippeway, if any connection subsists between them. They deliberate in their councils, determine and act independant of any influence over them by any particular nation, exclusive of that which holds the key. This place is a post of trade, but not very beneficial.

On the 13th we arrived at the great Miami town,¹⁵ and employed the day in procuring a knowledge of the disposition of the nation of the Miamies, residing here, and the means of advising them of the design of our visit.

The Chief of this nation, and called *Pedigue*,¹⁶ was on a visit to Detroit by a particular message, or invitation of the Agent residing there:

¹³ This was probably Wewisquia, the first Ottawa to sign the treaty of Fort Harmar, on the Muskingum, January 9, 1789.

¹⁴ This may have been Ottawerreri, a signer of the treaty of Fort McIntosh, January 21, 1785.

¹⁵ Kekionga, the principal village of the Miami, and often styled "Great Miami Village," stood on the east bank of St. Joseph river, opposite Fort Wayne, in the present Allen county, Indiana. It was destroyed in 1790. A tract of land six miles square, including and surrounding the site of Kekionga, was ceded to the United States by the treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795. This was one of the "Maumee Towns," a group of villages which stood on the banks of the various streams, within a radius of a few miles. These included settlements of the Miami, Delawares, Shawnee, and Ottawa. Compare note 12, above.

¹⁶ "Pedagogue, his X mark" appears as a signer of the treaty of Vincennes, August 7, 1803. The tribe to which he belonged was not stated, but the treaty was made with the "Eel River, Wyandot, Piankashaw, and Kaskaskia." The Eel River also acted for "the Kikapoes." Six days later, on August 13, 1803, a treaty was signed at Vincennes by United States commissioners and the Kaskaskia and other Illinois Indians. "The mark X of Pedagogue," appears as a signer of the latter treaty. Whether the chief Pedigue of the narrative, and the signer of the two treaties was the same individual is not known.

doubtless to receive instructions in what manner to act at this period, Pacan¹⁷ their next Chief, offended at, and discontent[ed] by their unpacific, and disorderly conduct, retired from them, and now resides at Post St Vincent. The Chief, with whom we were to transact the business, was only authorised as such in the absence of the Chief and is called *Orson*,¹⁸ a council was proposed to him, and the day following appointed to meet him, and inform the nation of the message to them.

Mons^r DuBois, an Frenchman and a trader, was requested to assist us as an Interpreter on this occasion, he declined our requisition on the principle "that he had been suspected of being favourable to the interests of the United States during the late war, and suffered in one or two instances in consequence thereof, that, as his property lay in Detroit he was apprehensive of confiscation if he interfered or interested himself in the business with us." It did not appear to us that want of inclination actuated him.

14th Having procured an Interpreter, we met the Chief in a council and read the message addressed to the nation, on presenting the belt it was received in a manner cool, and astonishingly indifferent, or rather irresolute and dubious whether to accept or reject. The conduct of the warriors attending, was also by no means descriptive of the character peculiar to the Indians, for, instead of being attentive, and dispassionate to things told them on such occasions: instead of acting with caution in secreting their sentiments by their actions, they were totally the reverse. We received as answer to the Message "That no resolutions could be entered into untill the arrival of their Chief, who was then at Detroit, and who was daily expected to return, and that on his arrival the message and belt should be given to him, and for that purpose carefully preserved."

Conformably to our instructions, we were directed to proceed from this town in different routs to visit the more western nations: This measure, however salutary and tending to expedite the business, we were prevented from executing by the robbery of all our horses, and those belonging to the Indians, our guides, committed by a *number of young men* of this nation, in the dusk of the evening, and a few hours

¹⁷ This name does not appear on any of the earlier treaties, but "Pucan" was the first Miami to sign the treaty of Fort Wayne, September 30, 1809, while "Pacan" is a name attached to the supplementary treaty of the same place and date. "Pecon" was the first of his tribe to sign the treaty of Greenville, Ohio, July 22, 1814, and again "Pacan" was the first of the Miami chiefs to sign the treaty of Spring Wells, September 8, 1815. All probably refer to the "Pacan" of the narrative.

¹⁸ This name is blurred in the manuscript and the spelling as here given may not be correct.

after the business which was transacted with them at their council — when they had accomplished this injury we were visited by them at our camp, grosly insulted and our persons threatened. Some of their elderly men, who were at this time in conversation with our guides, the Indians, in some measure overawed, and prevented those Savages from execution their threats, and effecting that, which their passions might influence them, or their late success in stealing might actuate them. Some more daring than the others, plundered us of some pack saddles and departed, leaving us to enjoy rest without slumber. We found it necessary to give our most valuable baggage in charge of our guides, the Indians, who gladly embraced the opportunity of serving us.

15th Reflecting on the injury we sustained, and the insults we received on the preceeding evening, and apprehension arising of personal safety, we were induced to move into the village or town. Rontonday a Chief of the Wiandott, and one of our guides, highly incenced at the provoking insult, which he, in conjunction with us had received, requested to know if we were instructed with messages for other nations, and for whom — being satisfied in this, he proposed to lay them before the Chief and nation, in order to convince them of our business to the Indian nations, and consequently our expectations that the road would be clear, as a means for urging a restoration of our horses.

The Chief being sent for, and having met in council, Rontonday a Chief of the Wiandott addressed them, assuring them, that we were instructed with those messages and belts (pointing to them as they were arranged on the ground) and instructed to deliver them — a road belt was then produced, in order it should appear that we expected the road was open and clear, but the road, he observed, was stopt by them by robbing us of our horses committed on the preceeding evening, an action unusual to persons on such business, he thereupon gave the message and belts to the Chief injoining him punctually to deliver them. The Chief deffered giving an answer to this untill the next day, but in the mean time he woud use his endeavours that our horses should be restored to us.

16th No disposition appeared to possess these people in the restera-tion of our horses, or to act as men inclined to do that which is right: the answer to the speech of the Wiandott chief again differred. In order therefore to recover our horses, we were induced to offer a premium of ten dollars for each horse, which should be restored to us, this measure appeared to produce the effect as one of them was brought in.

The horses of the Wiandotts and Delaware Indians, our guides, were restored to them by using threats with bribery, which was ineffectual with respect to us, altho they interested themselves.

17th Enraged by our detention, and our uncomfortable situation, we

sent to the Chief and having met him in council we spoke to him as follows:

Sachem —

We desire you to attend and to hearken to the words which we shall say to you.—

Four days ago we met you in a council, and read to you the words of our great commissioners, inviting you to a treaty to be held at the mouth of the great Miami on the Ohio. The day following our brother, the Wiandott Chief, spoke to you and told you that we were instructed with the message to you, and several for the nations more western of you, and instructed to visit them, that in the execution of this business we had great expectations that the road was clear, but that you had stopt this road by robbing us of our horses, and we were therefore obliged to put several of those messages and belts into your hands.

We now speak our words to you, as the messages and belts are left with you for the Potowatomies, Kikapoos, and Weachtinoos,¹⁹ we desire you to send them by careful and prudent men, that no blame may fall on you if they should not receive them. We shall proceed to-morrow to meet the great Commissioners, and now demand our horses which you have taken from us, that we may be enabled so to do—if they are not restored to us, and we are prevented from executing our business, you may incur the displeasure of a great nation, which lives on the same land with you, that wishes to be at peace with you.

A String —

The Chief then addressed the Wiandott Chief, to the following purport: “That *he* could not give an answer to the message which he had received in consequence of the absence of the Chief, who was then at Detroit: *Pacan* their next Chief had went to Post St Vincent, that therefore they were without one, or any person of influence to advise or direct them, that on the return of the Chief from Detroit he would deliver the message to him to determine thereon, and advise them in what manner to act,—that the distance from hence to the Wihaw, and St Joseph²⁰ was not great, but that *he* could not send the Messages and belts for the nations residing at those places, and which he had received, untill the arrival of their Chief. That the robbery of the horses was not the act of the nation, but committed by a number of young men, o’er whom he had no influence, he would, however, continue to use his endeavours that the horses should be restored to us.—

(A String to the Wiandott Chief —)

¹⁹ The Weachtinoos or Wea, a subtribe of the Miami.

²⁰ Wihaw refers to the Wea, mentioned in the preceding note. The villages of the Potawatomi were at this time near the river St. Joseph which enters the southeastern corner of lake Michigan.

Thus we fell into the power of a nation by whose recent conduct and present situation, neither friendship or personal safety could be expected from them.

18th Three horses being restored to us on the premium enabled us to take our departure, which we endeavoured to effect with as much expedition as possible, induced thereto by the information of some traders who resides here, and who had rendered us some private services, that personal danger threatened us, as well as the opposition of our guides to a measure adopting by us, that two should remain at this place to wait the arrival of the Chief, and to procure their final resolution,—this opposition was founded on information of similar designs. They urged us to depart by offering every assistance in their power to forward us. From these motives we proceeded, travelling late to avoid a pursuit, and encamping privately to elude a visit.

This nation is somewhat hostile, and illy disposed, blinded and misguided by the influence of a nation by their Agent and Emissaries, an influence which governs them in all their councils, and which has existed for a length of time. An influence which has instilled into them prejudices toward the United States, and which their Citizens have too severely felt—an influence, which will prevent, and by which they will not easily be induced to receive the protection and friendship offered them. They appear to be ignorant of the strength and importance of the United States and incline rather to be at enmity than to enter into a treaty of peace with them. They are not numerous but they are closely confederated with the nations more western of them, whose inclinations are actuated by the same influence towards us.

The Miami town ²¹ is a considerable post of trade, and consists of 12 or 14 commodious houses, situated on the Omi or Ottaway river. The easy navigation of this river for Boats to Detroit,—the near connection of it to the waters of the Wabash, must render this place very advantageous. Several traders reside here, subject to the power vested in Detroit. A Fort has been erected during the late war and situated in the center of the town, it is in the form of a square with three faces or bastions, strongly picketted, within the fort are two commodious houses, one of which has answered the purposes of barracks.

²¹ This was the village of Kekionga (see note 15). “The Omi or Ottaway river,” upon which the settlement then stood, later became known as the Miami of the Lakes. The names of the many streams in the vicinity of Fort Wayne were often changed. A brief note on this stream appears in *The United States gazetteer*, by Joseph Scott (Philadelphia, 1795): “Miami of the Lakes, a navigable river of the N. W. Territory, which is formed of 2 principal branches, one rising N. the other S. after running several miles, they unite at the Miami village; thence winding to the N. E. empty into the most western extremity of Lake Erie. . .” From these streams comparatively short portages led to waters flowing southward to the Ohio.

20th The horses of the Indians, our guides, were stole on the preceeding evening by Indians of different nations frequenting a village inhabited by Munseys — distant about 3 Miles from us — and returned to them with great reluctance.

We passed thro' several little villages inhabited by banditti of Savages in our rout to the Shawanese town with more danger to our persons than the loss of our horses.

25th We met the Shawanese nation in a council at a town called *Micochekay*,²² at which all their Chiefs were present, the message addressed to them was read, and an answer returned to it late in the evening. In the answer they desired that reflections may be withdrawn on their past conduct, by an acceptance of the present invitation, as soon as they heard that the Indian nations who were likewise invited, were in motion.

Simon Girty,²³ the partisan, in influencing the minds of the Indians to our prejudice, had visited this nation a few days before our arrival, in company with Captⁿ Caldwell and Abraham Kuhn,²⁴ and used their address with them.

Since this nation received the information of our intention of visiting them from the Half King, the Chief of the Wiandott, they have been industrious in procuring the resolutions of all the western nations, and advising with them in what manner to act at this period.

28th A Grand council was held near this town by this nation and deputies from several nations, attended with great secrecy and continued some days. Councils of Inferior note were held daily by them, while we remained in their town, all which denoted a dissinclination of accepting the protection and friendship offered to them.

A Number of young men of the Cherokee nation²⁵ resides among them, that were expelled their country in the late war, received and protected by them, and are permitted to exercise their wonton cruelty on our Citizens.

²² This was the village of the Mequachake (*red earth* — Hewitt), one of the five general divisions of the Shawnee. They occupied the land about the headwaters of Mad river, in the present Logan county, Ohio. Their villages were destroyed by United States troops in 1791. *Handbook of American Indians*.

²³ Simon Girty was with Alexander McKee when the latter fled from Fort Pitt, March 28, 1778. They went to the Scioto and later reached Detroit where they were received by the commander of the post, Colonel Hamilton. For many years they, with others, urged the Indians to attack the frontier settlements.

²⁴ Compare notes 11 and 9, above.

²⁵ During the revolution a small body of the hostile Cherokee left their homes in western Carolina and moved northward. They crossed the Ohio and joined the Shawnee, and together they attacked boats descending the Ohio, and committed other hostile acts. Later they returned to their southern mountains.

On the 6th of october I arrived at the mouth of the great Miami on the Ohio — fully impressed with an opinion the Indian nations who were invited to attend at the treaty to be held here were unfavourably, and generally disposed to refuse the protection and friendship of the United States.

SAM^L MONTGOMERY

AT THE MOUTH OF THE GREAT

MIAMI ON THE OHIO

1785

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The riverside history of the United States. Edited by William E. Dodd. In four volumes. (Boston, New York, and Chicago: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915. 279, xviii; 346, xvii; 329, xxiv; 342, xiv p. \$5.00 net)

Volume I. *Beginnings of the American people.* By Carl Lotus Becker, professor of European history, University of Kansas.

Volume II. *Union and democracy.* By Allen Johnson, professor of American history, Yale University.

Volume III. *Expansion and conflict.* By William E. Dodd, professor of American history, University of Chicago.

Volume IV. *The new nation.* By Frederic L. Paxson, professor of history, University of Wisconsin.

If we may judge from the recent and prospective issues of brief histories of the United States, for the college student and the general reader, we may anticipate such a series connected with each important university center and a resulting plethora for the public. The change in this respect during the last five years has been notable and may indicate a growing interest in the subject or a determination on the part of ambitious scholars to inform the public of their latest researches and interpretations. Perhaps both; at least it is comforting to hope so.

The series before us, like the more conspicuous of its predecessors is a coöperative work. Such, indeed, whether acknowledged or not, has been every important modern work in this field, and the question of detail alone has determined the number of collaborators. With an efficient general editor of such promise as Mr. Dodd; with a common motive, such as is found in the prevailing emphasis upon economic and social elements, at the expense, possibly, of political theory and action; with colleagues of assured position and tested output, we may anticipate a successful presentation of "those things which have counted in the final makeup of the Confederacy of 1783, and of the United States of today."

The authors are to be congratulated for giving us a proportionately adequate treatment of western history. The westward movement begins with the migration to the Connecticut and the Blue Ridge, following Mr. Turner's suggestive method, and keeps pace with the continually receding frontier. The Scotch-Irish and Germans of the eighteenth century are as conspicuous as the Pilgrims of the seventeenth, while the "Great

Awakening" ranks with the "Puritan Hegira." The proclamation of 1763 bulks larger than the Boston disturbances and George Rogers Clark is more prominent than Nathaniel Greene. Western separatism is one of the elements entering into the "grinding necessity" that extorted a "more perfect Union"; and its later manifestations in the intrigues of Genet and the struggle for the navigation of the Mississippi are rightly shown as only slightly less important than the financial problems that beset the new national government. With such an introduction one notes with satisfaction that the trans-Allegheny region, the entire Mississippi valley, and the far West are credited in turn with their due influence from the time the Louisiana purchase to the progressive crusade and the Panama exposition.

A comparison with other series in the apportionment of space may be of some interest. Mr. Becker tells the story to the close of the revolution in approximately a fifth of the total pages. The *American nation* devotes one-third of its volumes to the same period. Mr. Johnson closes volume II at the same point as Hart in the *Epochs series*, but uses double the number of words to corresponding topics. Mr. Dodd compresses the events from Jackson to Johnson into 329 pages, using only a little more than two brief chapters for the civil war. He evidently regards this struggle as only one phase in the overthrow of the planter aristocracy. Hosmer uses two volumes for this conflict and Burgess a like number in their respective series. Mr. Paxson covers precisely the same limits as Haworth in the *Home university library*, using more words by a half. His narrative is not so full as Bassett's nor Beard's, but he uses proportionably more space than the four volumes of the *American nation*. The growing importance of later American history is indicated by the fact that two volumes in this series cover the field of Wilson's *Division and reunion*. The four volumes total some sixty thousand words less than Bassett's *Short history*, but exceed the *Epoch series* by about twice that number — enough for the extra volume.

Something over a tenth of the space is devoted to the wars of the United States, but less than half of this describes the actual campaigns. Barely forty pages touch upon literary and intellectual life, including, we are glad to note, casual reference to writers on history and government. Goodly portions of all but the second volume are concerned with what we may term the "life" of the American people. That volume follows the more ordinary political trend, as is only natural for the formative period of our national history. Despite the material emphasis there is no formal chapter on the physical basis. One likewise misses the companion chapter on the Indians, which we have grown accustomed to expect in recent histories.

The neat red volumes are handy duodecimos, whose pages lack para-

graph numbers, indentations, or other ear marks of the formal text. There is a regrettable absence of dates in the first volume and some confusion in the chronology of the third. The first volume does not conform to the system of chapter divisions in the others. In all of them typographical and other errors are numerous enough to justify the usual fears of a first edition. The brief bibliographies at the close of each chapter are suggestive, but often would be found serviceable only in the vicinity of large libraries. There is a noticeable silence in regard to any possible competitors of the series. The indexes are disappointingly meager with some errors and omissions.

In accord with the latest scholarship the authors make extensive use of maps. Sixty-six of these, and five charts, illustrate every conceivable phase of American life that is capable of graphic reproduction. Three-fourths of them occur in the second and third volumes. Some are borrowed, with due credit, from familiar works, but a goodly number bear the seminary impress. In a few cases the accompanying explanation should be slightly increased. Taken as a whole the maps form the most important single feature of the work. The frontispieces form the only other illustrations. Franklin usurps the place usually reserved for Washington, which is in keeping with Becker's treatment, while the series appears late enough to permit Wilson to grace the page that otherwise must have been Roosevelt's. Jefferson and Lincoln occupy their customary places.

The shifting of frontispieces foreshadows a new treatment of personalities in the text. Columbus occupies hardly more space than Henry the Navigator. Champlain and Spottswood are barely mentioned. Jonathan Edwards looms up above John Winthrop and Colonel Byrd bulks larger than Berkeley and Bacon together. Martin Noel is a greater figure than William Penn. Wilkinson surpasses Arnold and Burr in treacherous intrigues. Calhoun and Clay each occupy about equal space in the index, and either receives more attention than Webster, although the latter is treated with sympathy. Robert J. Walker excels Silas Wright as a politician and more than rivals Chase and Charles Francis Adams in the finance and diplomacy of the civil war. Marcus A. Hanna encroaches upon space that once might have been John Sherman's. The most conspicuous instances of change in emphasis occur in the first and third volumes, which are also the most original.

Mr. Becker precedes his study of American colonization by a comprehensive résumé of European history that is likely to prove more suggestive to the specialist than enlightening to the student. Yet even the latter must appreciate the logical arrangement of his theme and the beauty of diction with which he clothes it, and find in it an incentive to

better literary effort. Originality in interpreting early colonial experience is equalled by the "life" imparted to the "neglected period." Such a difficult climax as the declaration of independence (p. 253) is characterized by an adequate charm of phrase. With all its excellence, however, the volume is a brilliant dissertation on American history rather than a narrative. Above all it will hardly prove a successful textbook.

Mr. Johnson presents in his volume a clear and concise résumé of recent monographic work as well as of the better known volumes of Henry Adams, McMaster, and Turner. In his field originality is not the part of wisdom and he has not attempted it. The result is the best textbook of the series.

Mr. Dodd has essayed to bring new light to bear upon questions already subjected to fairly definitive interpretation. His purpose is to show the interplay of sectionalism at a time when political theories, not yet demonstrated, are being unsettled by new and unperceived economic forces. In the long run, as he points out, the Northwest united with the East to overthrow the planter aristocracy of the lower South and replace the loose confederacy of the middle century with the nationalism of the present era. His treatment of nullification and the national bank is rather disappointing. Approaching his own South with a sort of detached sympathy, using neither apology nor vituperation, he makes it clear that secession did not have its exclusive habitat in that section. His suggestive chapter of "The militant south" causes an unfortunate division in the discussion of slavery. The explanation of the abolition movement should certainly precede the Mexican war. Nor will one rest entirely satisfied with his treatment of the Wilmot proviso or the Kansas-Nebraska act. Lincoln the man, in his view, is greater than Lincoln the senatorial candidate or president, and is the direct product of that western democracy, which he portrays so well for the Jacksonian period. His volume is a most helpful and original study of an exceedingly complicated period.

Mr. Paxson's volume is thoroughly in harmony with the preceding one in minimizing the civil war and its aftermath. His opening chapter dwells on the industrial and fiscal development during that conflict rather than its political and military annals. "Restoration" replaces the more familiar "Reconstruction," but some twenty pages suffice to describe the process, including the quarrel between Johnson and the congressional leaders. Neither in this nor in the chapter on "The new South" does he exhibit the insight that comes from extensive personal observation in the section described or an intimate sympathy with its people. "Greenback" and "granger" issues, the tariff, "free silver,"

and populism profit by repression elsewhere. His treatment of these themes is well balanced, and clear. Less biased than his chief rivals in this field, he is occasionally less readable. Without adopting the scolding tone of the *Nation* — evidently an important source — he preserves even in his closing chapters its spirit of aloofness. This is especially apparent when he touches all too briefly upon labor conditions. He is more successful in the treatment of foreign relations, although the chapter on the war with Spain would profit by expansion. Yet he shows how this cuts athwart the recent development of American life just as the civil war did at an earlier period. And as in the earlier instance, after a brief interruption, he shows how the American people quickly resumed their normal rate of progress. It is this picture of orderly though complicated development that these volumes afford us with a brevity and directness that bespeak for them a wide circle of readers.

ISAAC JOSLIN COX

Der Kampf um deutsche Kultur in Amerika. Aufsätze und Vorträge zur deutsch-amerikanischen Bewegung. Von Dr. Julius Goebel, Professor der deutschen Sprache und Literatur an der Staatsuniversität von Illinois. (Leipzig: Verlag der Dürr'schen Buchhandlung, 1914. 147 p. 3 marks)

Mr. Goebel's little volume, comprising chiefly addresses on the Germans in America and the preservation of their ideals and *Kultur*, delivered between the years 1894 and 1914, gains a peculiar, and in a sense a pathetic, interest by the world-stirring events which have taken place since this volume appeared early in the fateful year, 1914. For, whether one sympathizes with the pro-German point of view or not, it must be admitted that the antagonisms aroused by the war of nations and by the friction in our own relations with Germany will check for a long time to come the movement for the development of interest in matters Germanistic which has been making much headway of late years.

Of this Mr. Goebel has been one of the foremost champions as he has been one of the few scholars who realize that the surface of the history of the Germans in this country has yet barely been scratched. The volume before us includes his essays on the use of the names "Dutchman" and "Dutch" as terms of opprobrium for Germans; on the part that America has played in German poetry; on the poetry of German-Americans; on Germans in the writing of American history; on the German-Americans in Lincoln's time and an address delivered at the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of New Bern. To the fascinating story of this German colony in North Carolina, Mr. Goebel has already made important contributions through publications of the German-American Historical Society of Illinois.

Naturally in these addresses, most of them relating to special occasions, Mr. Goebel makes no attempt to exhaust any subject; that relating to the position of the Germans in Lincoln's time is necessarily merely a hasty survey of what ought some day to comprise one of the most interesting chapters in our history, particularly if it touches even briefly upon the service of the German troops in the civil war. Though this volume is intended chiefly for circulation in Germany it is certain to do good in this country as well in directing attention anew not only to the need of sound historical writing in regard to the contributions of German-born Americans to the development of the country and notably the Middle West, but to the necessity of a clearer interpretation of the German-American ideals of today, in relation to our joint country and citizenship.

This has become so important by reason of the developments of the last ten months that that portion of Mr. Goebel's volume which presents his views on this subject far overshadows in importance the rest of it. Thus it was his opinion before the war (p. 3) that, "we German-Americans cannot and do not wish to play party politics as a separate part of the whole people of this Commonwealth, be it either in the field of religion or politics." He feels strongly the weaknesses of our American life; as a nation, he finds (p. 8), we have a leaning towards hypocrisy, we are wanting in the sense of honor, particularly in pecuniary matters, and we are also characterized by a "hasty superficiality," a "cowardly bowing down before public opinion and a measureless national vanity." "Whosoever who sees clearly," he asks, "can underestimate the dangers that are especially menacing in a free country in which such traits of character are permitted to batten and to continue to devour?"

For this and the chaotic conditions which constituted our political life (in January, 1914) and compelled thoughtful people to ask if this nation could continue to govern itself much longer (!), Mr. Goebel offers us a remedy — German *Kultur*. Not of course the *Kultur* of Belgium and the *Lusitania*, but that of 1913, the German humanity which "has its roots deep in the matrix of our [*the German*] people's nature"; the "moral foundation of the German entity, its sense of duty, its true inwardness, and its deep trustworthiness" — this is the leaven which is to save the native Americans from themselves. "Not until then when the American *Kultur* of the future educates anew real men [*ganze Männer*] will it be safe for us to listen again to the oracle of the popular will."

Next, Mr. Goebel quotes from Schiller thus: "The German is elected by the genius of the world [*Weltgeist*] to labor at the eternal upbuilding of humanity . . . to him who shapes the spirit must in the end

belong the domination." The German-Americans are to shape our American spirit. Thus, our author resents Zangwill's symbolism of the melting pot, because he says that while the German becomes an American politically when he takes the oath of allegiance, it is only politically; he declines to allow his German personality, character, or language to be obliterated "according to the formula of a factory-made national type." Any effort to compel the German to abandon his language, his customs, his national individuality will in the course of time result, he thinks, in terrible punishment for those who attempt it.

All of this is gravely serious reading in midsummer, 1915, particularly as in these addresses of Mr. Goebel there is not one line, nor even a word, to show that there is any American political or social institution, or custom, or mode of life that appeals to him as worth while. If he sets any store by any American ideals, he carefully conceals his feeling; first and last, his book is a plea for the propagation of German idealism and standards in our American life. His hope and ambition are that the "American people of the future will be filled with German ideals." This was certainly not the attitude of Carl Schurz and the men of '48, of whose record and history Mr. Goebel is so proud. And what would Mr. Goebel say if each group of foreign-born citizens should interpret its history as a mandate to fill the American people of the future with its ideals? Fortunately, the native Americans are likely to have something to say about this plan to force the superior German virtues down their throats. At any rate, it is perhaps well that the war has come to make Americans restudy the relationship of our foreign-born groups to our ideals and to our body politic.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

The American year book. A record of events and progress, 1914. Edited by Francis G. Wickware, B.A., B.Sc., with coöperation of a supervisory board representing national learned societies. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1915. 862 p. \$3.00)

This fifth issue of the year book is better arranged and more inclusive in its scope than any previous issue. The purpose of the work is well stated in the preface: it "appeals first of all to students in all fields, who wish a record of progress, not only in their own, but in other departments of human endeavor. It is intended, also, as a handbook for busy men, editors, contributors, professional men, teachers, scientific workers, engineers, practical and business men, who wish to verify or confirm points that arise in their minds."

The material is arranged in thirty-three heads or chapters accompanied in many cases by bibliographies and tables of statistics necessary

to bring out the principal facts in the subjects discussed. Of the eight hundred closely packed pages of fact and figure, one-fourth of the total is devoted to national and international political life. About one-half of the work is devoted to progress of the nation in the industrial field and to the advances in all of the departments of the theoretical and applied natural sciences. Something less than one hundred pages is made to cover the large fields of religion and education. An excellent index, carefully prepared with a view to actual use for the busy man, is not the least of the attractive features of the work.

Established in 1910 by conferences among members of the various national learned societies, the *American year book* has grown from year to year to be what it has come to be, the indispensable handbook of the scientist and of the business and professional man. One feature especially commends itself to the readers; there is as little as possible of the stereotyped in its makeup. Each contributor and the general management welcome criticism and are open to suggestion for improvement. This is a manual in the process of arriving at its normal growth and every vital phase of national life may have its appropriate place in its pages.

ORIN G. LIBBY

The state. Its history and development viewed sociologically. By Franz Oppenheimer, M.D., Ph.D., privat docent of political sciences, University of Berlin. Authorized translation by John M. Gitterman, Ph.D., LL.B. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1914. 302 p. \$1.25 net)

Following largely the theories and data presented by Gumplowicz and Ratzel, the author of this volume maintains that the right to hold more land than one can properly work through his own efforts and the efforts of his family, can exist only through that form of political control which is known as the state. He dismisses at the outset all known and accepted doctrines of public law, claiming that none of these furnish an explanation of the genesis and purpose of the state. All previous theories are condemned as class theories and it is confidently asserted that sociology alone can furnish the cause and explanation of the state.

A point of view which runs throughout the volume and which in fact is its chief message is that society is divided into two clearly defined groups, a ruling and property owning class, and a proletariat without property; or, in other words, the latter who can earn their living by their own labor and the former who live on the efforts and production of this class, forcing others by political means to render services and fees.

By a mathematical calculation which the author regards as conclusive, it is maintained that the class state can rise only where all fertile acreage

has been completely occupied and that it can have originated in no other way than through conquest and subjugation. The justification and *raison d'être* of the state are the economic exploitation of those subjugated. The form of political control resulting from the exploits of the robber-warriors and the property-owning class who subjugate and despoil the weak and poor is described in these subdivisions: "The genesis of the state," "Primitive feudal state," "Maritime state," "Developed feudal state," and "Constitutional state."

The outlook is not so pessimistic as might at first seem, for the author sees in the future a form of organization based upon a freeman's citizenship in which the class division of society based upon political domination and subjugation will cease. It is claimed that, the eternally inseparable terms, government and class-exploitation will be disassociated in the future when the state will ultimately disappear and society will be guided by the benign principles and practices of self-government.

This study furnishes an interesting and suggestive account of one phase, the socio-economic, in the development of that complex organization known as the state. It is frankly a one-sided treatment, which contains much in state development that may unfortunately be said to the discredit of humankind. To those who delight in neglecting or ignoring legal forms and practices and cultural interests and who are prone to emphasize the socio-economic viewpoint, this study will undoubtedly commend itself. It is to say the least a stimulating treatment of a somewhat neglected phase of human evolution.

CHARLES GROVE HAINES

The life of Thomas Brackett Reed. By Samuel W. McCall. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914. 303 p. \$3.00 net)

The most valuable episode in the life of Thomas B. Reed, and the best known, gives further proof to the generalization that social progress comes often through the needs of selfishness. For generations congress acted upon the assumption that a quorum to do business consists of those members present who are willing to vote; and that members by sitting silently in their seats may destroy a quorum, however numerous may be the physical presence of congressmen. Even Reed was a supporter of this old rule until necessity, in the fifty-first congress, drove him as speaker to count as present members who were in their seats, whether voting or not. The storm that broke over him as "Czar" upon this occasion, left him unpopular, but right; and in a few years more he saw the reasonable new rule given the sanction of his political opponents.

Mr. McCall makes much of this episode of Reed's speakership — let-

ting it stand as the center of the most important part of his career. The author has sat in many congresses himself and appreciates those qualities in his subject that made of him a cool and courageous parliamentarian. He has given what is in effect the conclusions of his own life, in the form of biography of his old friend. His familiarity with congressional politics through participation in them adds to both the strength and the weakness of his work. He has relied less upon sources than would have been desirable; he has given interpretations that few historians could hope to match. He refers occasionally to letters and diaries of Reed — even to a diary kept in French — but he seems to have used these sources rarely. He has made the book a history of Reed's times, with Reed as central figure, rather than a painstaking study of either his personality or his real share in public events.

Reed was first elected to congress in 1876, and remained in his seat until his resignation after his reelection in 1898. He was minority leader after 1885, speaker, 1889-1891 and 1895-1899. He belonged to that element of the republican party that drew its inspiration from the slavery-restriction issues, and defended on principle the "American system" and "sound money." He was never on the inside of the group that gave to the party its amalgamation with business and finance. In 1896 he was a rival of McKinley for the nomination, having the support of the idealistic wing of the party, including Roosevelt and Lodge. "Oh, Lord!" wrote the former of these to him, on July 31, 1896, "what would I not give if only you were our standard-bearer." But in a few more months even these passed out of sympathy with Reed when they took up the war with Spain and the creation of a colonial empire. His resignation, after the election of 1898 had confirmed the McKinley administration in its course, is one of the dates that mark the complete renaissance of the republican party.

Mr. McCall has done well the things that he has undertaken to do, and his book will be a useful addition to our materials on the eighties and nineties.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

Reconstruction in North Carolina. By J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Ph. D., alumni professor of history, University of North Carolina. [Studies in history, economics and public law edited by the faculty of political science of Columbia University, vol. LVIII, whole no. 141.] (New York: Columbia University, 1914. 683 p. \$4.00)

Mr. Hamilton's *Reconstruction in North Carolina* covers the period 1860 to 1876. It is a comprehensive study. Of the seventeen chapters

the first six (the first chapter of 80 pages is given to the secession movement and civil war) were privately printed in 1906 in fulfillment of degree requirements, but as they now appear have been subjected to material revision. This earlier work carries the narrative through 1868. The larger part of the book, 374 of the 667 pages, appears for the first time, except that two chapters are reprinted from periodicals. The scope of this part of the volume is indicated by the chapter titles: "The freedmen's bureau," "The Union League," "The republican regime," "Railroad legislation and the frauds," "The Ku Klux movement," "The reign of terror," "The reform legislature of 1870-1872," "The closing years of reconstruction," "Education in reconstruction," "The overthrow of reconstruction."

In his twelve years of study, Mr. Hamilton appears to have exhausted practically all sources of information. He has made copious use not only of all published documents and of the newspapers of the state, but has had access to several important unpublished collections of private correspondence. All this material has been thoroughly digested. Indeed, the work has been so thoroughly done as to justify the belief that it will remain the standard authority in the field. The narrative is easy and lucid and will appeal to the general reader. It is a matter of regret that no bibliography is given; and the index is inadequate.

In a work of such uniform excellence it is difficult to point to any particular portion as requiring special praise, and the shortcomings are few. The viewpoint is largely political, and the perplexing details of the factional struggles have been set forth skillfully and in a thoroughly satisfactory manner. The author shows a remarkable intimacy with the personalities of whom he writes. Of the chapters on the social disorders, those on the Ku Klux movement and the railroad frauds stand out. Apparently material was not found for a detailed study of the effect of reconstruction policies on education, except in connection with the state university, and very little light is thrown on the revolution in the realm of agriculture. Mr. Hamilton writes in a spirit distinctly sympathetic with the southern view of the character of carpetbag and Negro rule. In denouncing in good set terms the iniquities of the alien government, he is, however, in the excellent company of Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Dunning. It would tax the ingenuity of the most confirmed partisan to find anything worthy of commendation in the conduct of the interlopers and their native associates.

As was the case in other states, the Johnson reconstruction was carried through with little friction. The old whig element, who had opposed secession, took the lead in this abortive restoration. Mr. Hamilton found much to commend in the conduct of Generals Ruger and Sickles,

who worked in harmony with the civil government. The black code was far less drastic than in those states where the Negro was a larger percentage of the population.

The radicals made a clean sweep of the offices with the overthrow of the Johnson government, and ushered in a saturnalia of legislative and social crime which lasted for two years. A detailed study of the work of the constitutional convention of 1868 is given. The convention was wholly dominated by the radicals, there being only thirteen conservative members; and, yet, the excesses of the convention were not so pronounced as in some other states. Numerous changes were made in the new constitution, the general tendency being to give more direct control to the people.

The government installed in 1868 was typical of all the others of the period. The leading figure was Governor Holden, whose career was picturesque. One of the earliest and most violent of the seceders, Holden suddenly drew back in the presence of the crisis, but swung back in line and lent his influence as editor of an important paper to the radicals of 1861; he created all the trouble he could for the confederacy; ingratiated himself with President Johnson and was appointed provisional governor; then abandoned the president and aligned himself with the extremest of the congressional radicals; was made governor in 1868, and finally closed his career as defendant in successful impeachment proceedings in 1870. Holden's administration was characterised by general venality of appointments, nepotism, illegal setting aside of town officials and judges, the inciting of Negroes to crime, and by a great railway scandal. More than a hundred thousand dollars were used in inducing the legislature to pledge the credit of the state in the aid of railroads (pp. 430-431). The amount of bonds authorized was \$27,000,000, though only \$17,000,000 were actually issued. These were later repudiated by North Carolina (p. 662).

An interesting episode in the administration of Holden was the reconstruction of the University of North Carolina (pp. 619-630). Under a provision of the new constitution the existing board of trustees of the institution was replaced by one chosen by the board of education (composed of state house officials). Practically all the new board were radical republicans. A Reverend Solomon Pool, unknown even in North Carolina, was made president, and partly because of the influence of his brother, a prominent radical politician, and partly because of a public statement made shortly before his selection to the effect that the university "should be thoroughly loyalized. Better close it than have it a nursery of treason to foster and perpetuate the feelings of disloyalty. Let the present Board of Trustees be superseded by a loyal Board and

the University will be a blessing instead of a curse," the old faculty gave way to one of "loyal" men. But the element to which the institution had always looked for patronage refused to send their sons. Thirty-five students were in attendance the first year, twenty-five of them being in a preparatory department. Mr. Hamilton says that "the University as constituted was a fraud and a farce and deserved to die," as it did in 1870, for lack of students. On the return of home rule, the institution was revived.

In summing up the political results of reconstruction policies, Mr. Hamilton is convinced that North Carolina today would be a solidly republican state but for the unfortunate intervention of congress in 1867 (p. 663). This opinion is based on the fact that the whigs were numerous and active in 1865, formed the conservative party without much co-operation from the democrats, with whom the whigs had no idea of uniting politically, and carried through the presidential plan of reconstruction. Had the civil war period closed then it would have left a well-organized whig party, who would have naturally amalgamated with the national republican party. The democrats were under a cloud and it was eight years after the close of the war before there was an avowed democratic party in the state. The overthrow of the Johnson government and the enfranchisement of the Negroes, however, gave the democrats their chance and forced the whigs to act with them. "It was this element that the Republican party rejected for the solid negro vote. The latter was soon lost, for the negroes in the mass, proving to be lacking in political capacity and knowledge, were driven, intimidated, bought, and sold, the playthings of politicians, until finally their very so-called right to vote became the sore spot of the body politic. Their participation in politics gave the Democratic party the preponderance of the talent and character of the population and, for many years, a safe majority of the white votes. Coming into power as a result of the disgust of the people for the infamy of the Republican administration of the government, the party remained in control of affairs because it proved itself fit to rule, and because there was no hope of decent government outside of it."

R. P. BROOKS

The French in the heart of America. By John Finley, commissioner of education and president of the University of the State of New York. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915. 431 p. \$2.50 net)

When Mr. Finley was appointed by Harvard University exchange professor at the Sorbonne this book was born. From his boyhood home on the banks of the Illinois in the county still bearing the name of its great

explorer Robert Cavellier de la Salle, the author had looked with awe and reverence up to the big rock upon whose summit had stood the early Fort St. Louis, had accompanied in imagination the great French discoverers up and down the valley of the Mississippi. Now as a man when standing before a great French audience at the center of their intellectual life, his thoughts reverted to the mighty valley they had given the world, its extent, its possibilities, its resources, and he wove together the French past and the American present into an apotheosis of the "Heart of America." The book has, therefore, the defects and virtues of its origin. It is not a continuous, connected history of French exploration in the Mississippi valley, still less is it a history of the valley as a whole. It is rather a series of suggestive sketches, vital chapters from the history of the region, linking the past with the present, welding the whole into a compact and organic unity by the brilliancy and vividness of the author's imagination, and his essential grasp of his subject. Thus, for instance, the first-known sailing vessel on the upper lakes, La Salle's far-famed and unfortunate *Griffin* suggests to the author the tremendous modern commerce of these lakes, the ore, lumber, grain transported thereupon, and the "wake of the Griffin" brings to the reader a few pages of statistics and many vital facts on present internal navigation. The trails of the *coureurs de bois* lead to the railroads, those "iron coureurs de bois still leading Europe into America, and America into a newer America." La Salle suggests Lincoln, the finest product of the valley he explored; and this leads us on to the "New Democracy," "the Producers" and "the Men of Always" for whom the conservation of resources must be made. The fact that several of the chapters of this book appeared as magazine articles, illustrated with skilful choice, shows its adaptability and character as a series of suggestive and selected studies rather than a continuous narrative. In spite of this origin, perhaps we should say because of it, the book is a success. It shows on every page that it is written for the love of the subject. The author has poured into it all the riches of his enthusiasms, the strength of his personality, the vigor of his thinking, and the vitality of his imagination. It is a big book on a big subject by a big man.

The author distinctly disclaims the attitude of a scholar; indeed, he has a little fling of sarcasm for those "whom in America we call researchers — those who hunt through manuscripts in libraries." It follows, therefore, that scholarly apparatus is wanting in the book, the footnotes are absolutely inadequate for any book claiming an historical origin; they seem to have been jotted down at random by a wide reader, they are almost useless for any purpose and convey nothing to the student.

With such an origin and such methods one would expect to find many

slips, but they are relatively few. The author is careless in his attributions of place names. Brulé river of Wisconsin is not named for Etienne Brulé the earlier *coureur de bois*, but for the burnt timber along its banks: the *bois brûlé* of Canadian woodsmen. Nicollet avenue in Minneapolis is not named for Jean Nicolet, discoverer of Wisconsin, but for J. N. Nicollet who in the early nineteenth century surveyed the Mississippi. Celoron's name was Sieur de Blainville, not Bienville; he did not (contrary to customary belief) bury a leaden plate on the site of Pittsburgh. Governor Alexander Spottswood was by no means leader of the first English expedition to western waters as Alvord's and Bidgood's recent book thoroughly testifies. It was Washington's brother, not his father, who had membership in western land companies. La Salle was murdered in March, not July, 1687, so that the century to July, 1787, was not precise.

But these are minor errors in a great body of well prepared and delightfully presented material. The reader enters into the gusto and enthusiasm of the author. Nothing here smacks of the midnight oil, the toil of the worker; all is fresh with the vigor of the fields, the laugh of the rivers, the lure of the wilderness. One realizes that the author has traversed his subject not only in imagination, but that in reality he has tramped the length and breadth of the valley, searching out its portages, locating its woodland forts, following literally in the footsteps of the adventurers whose exploits he delights to describe. It is a book in the open, worthy of the heroic French wanderers who loved the forests they threaded, the wilds they explored.

The thought is not only vital and truthful, but its clothing is unusual. It is rather the spoken than the written speech, warm and strong from the lips of the narrator, full of appeal to the listener, rather than the reader. At times the author's metaphors run away with him when, for example, he likens society in the Mississippi valley to a great field of fleur-de-lis created "by the planting or sowing of Old World seeds on new and free land, where the mountains kept off the pollen of alien spirit, where the puritanical winds of the New England coast were somewhat tempered by the warmer winds from the South." Or again describing the furnaces of the Pittsburgh ironmakers he says: "There the red earth is freed of its 'devils' as the great ironmaster has named the sulphur and phosphorus — freed of its devils as the red child was freed of his sins by the touch of holy waters from the fingers of Allouez."

Mr. Finley has a peculiar imaginative feeling for waves of sound, as when the emigration of the western pioneers "develops into a mighty 'processional,' its rumbling of wagons and shoutings of drivers on land and blowing of conches on the rivers increasing, accompanied by the

sound of rushing waters, the cry of frightened birds, and the thunders of crashing trees"; or when he speaks of "the stealthy step of the hunter, yet back of that for a century was the scarcely audible plash of the paddle and the answering swirl of the water."

Added to the conscious adornment of his style is its unconscious saturation in the two great sources of ancient culture, Hebrew and Greek. One hardly knows which comes the more readily to his thought, the classical allusion or the scriptural reference. The *Griffin* is to him the modern *Argo*, La Salle a Jason, his crew the argonauts. When he thinks of the French pioneers oppressed by the paternalism of Louis XIV going out in search of new homes, Virgil's *Aeneid* comes to his mind: "like Aeneas, therefore, these filial emigrants, seeking new homes, not only carried their *lares et penates* in their arms but bore upon their shoulders their father Anchises."

His scriptural allusions may prove too frequent and too recondite for the young person of the modern generation, who may miss the point of the comparison of the early land offices to the "Ark of the Covenant in the History of Israel."

Nevertheless despite his allusions, Finley is a modern of the moderns, and the book is forward looking, as well as a chronicle of the past. Indeed it sometimes assumes a rôle akin to prophecy when depicting the future of the valley and its usefulness to the "men of always."

A final chapter gives acknowledgment to Francis Parkman, the ultimate master of all who write the history of the French in America. Among other acknowledgments are those to a living master of the history of the West, his fellow-student at Johns Hopkins, like himself a son of the valley, Frederick Jackson Turner. There is something truly kindred in their thought, if not their method — a like suggestiveness in linking things old and new, a similar appreciation of the significance of the ordinary, or to quote Finley's phrase "the reconciliation of the edges of things."

France and America — the juxtaposition has been often described and the relationship set forth, but seldom more delightfully than in the pages of this truly fascinating book, which is a pean for the Mississippi valley, by a prophet of its own making.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

Reminiscences of Chicago during the civil war. With an introduction by Mabel McIlvaine. (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, 1914. 194 p. gratis)

A commendable custom was instituted by the Lakeside Press of Chicago when it began the issue, a few years since, of an annual volume devoted to local history and produced by the school for apprentices of the

Lakeside Press. The element of commercial gain is absent, the attractive little volumes which constitute the series thus far being distributed gratuitously as a Christmas greeting to friends and patrons of the publishers.

The volume before us contains ten subjects, or chapters. All but one of these have been previously printed in book, pamphlet, or newspaper form, so that the book is in reality a compilation of material drawn from various sources. Two chapters have been taken from Frederick Cook's *Bygone days in Chicago*; one from Mary A. Livermore's *Story of my life*; three are reprints from newspapers; and three are papers read before the Chicago Historical Society or elsewhere. The one new contribution, the most considerable chapter in the book, is an extract from an unpublished memoir by General A. C. McClurg, entitled "American volunteer soldier."

It would be ungracious, in view of the character of the book and the auspices under which it appears, to subject it to any severe standard of criticism. That it will not add to the existing store of information concerning the civil war is obvious; it is equally obvious that a considerable distribution of it will help to disseminate and popularize such information. The reviewer, at least, hails the appearance of the book, and of the series to which it belongs, as a welcome indication of the growth of popular interest in the subject of mid-western local history.

Confederate wizards of the saddle. Being reminiscences and observations of one who rode with Morgan. By Bennett H. Young, commander in chief, United Confederate Veterans Association. (Boston: Chapple Publishing Company, 1914, 633 p. \$2.50)

Its title conveys an approximate idea of the nature of this late contribution to the literature on the American civil war. The appellation *Wizards of the saddle*, however, would put the critical reader instinctively on guard as to the impartiality of the writer, and even a casual reading would show that the book is an intensely partisan eulogy of the personal bravery and spectacular exploits of certain confederate cavalry leaders and their commands. The phrase, "Reminiscences . . . of one who rode with Morgan" is, moreover, rather misleading, for, of the twenty-four chapters, only four are devoted to Morgan. The remainder appear to contain "Observations," based on numerous historical writings, good, bad, and indifferent, of which the author appends a two-page acknowledgment.

Each chapter deals with an independent operation. The author gives the reader the general military situation, and then proceeds to describe in detail and with much coloring the movements and actions of the par-

ticular leader in question. The great majority of these operations are raids, and only the successful ones are mentioned. The disastrous attempts and even the failures in those described are omitted.

The author is not a critical writer of history; while he makes due acknowledgment of the sources used, he does not weigh impartially the conflicting evidence, but apparently culls from each witness the statements which add to the glory of his subject, without testing their accuracy. The student of history will discover little that is new and reliable in this book. While the author has probably included valuable matter of his own knowledge and secured some original and first-hand material from the numerous participants whose aid he acknowledges, such evidence is difficult to distinguish from the mass of second-hand information, hearsay, tradition, eulogy, and "local color" which comprise the major portion of the volume.

As lessons in strategy, the author's conclusions are not always sound. The author's comments would justify the inference that nearly every raid or isolated cavalry fight described had a paralysing effect upon the union commander's plans. However, most military students are now agreed that, with a few brilliant and more or less fortunate exceptions, the cavalry raids on both sides were not worth the expenditure in men and horse-flesh which the long rides and hard fights entailed; that they were usually without material effect upon the ultimate outcome of a campaign, and that the commanding generals would have done better to have restrained the desire of their cavalry commanders for dashing exploits and to have retained them near the main body as the "eyes of the army."

Confederate wizards of the saddle, however, contains a positive contribution to history. The reviewer is of southern parentage and raising and believes that he understands and appreciates the spirit which animated the southern men and women in the trying days of 1861 to 1865. And in no work has he seen that spirit so well described as the author unconsciously displays it in his eulogy of these confederate cavalry heroes. Their unflinching courage, their intense devotion to the stars and bars, their uncomplaining endurance of privation and want; likewise the belittling of their enemies — they are all shown; even the bitterness over the hopelessness of their cause, which fifty years of peace and reunion have not entirely eradicated from the author.

R. P. HOWELL, JR.

The American Indian in the United States, 1850-1914. The present condition of the American Indian; his political history and other topics. A plea for justice. By Warren K. Moorehead, curator of the department of American archaeology, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.; member of the United States board of Indian commissioners; fellow, American Association for the Advancement of Science. (Andover: The Andover Press, 1914. 440 p. \$3.75)

This work is one of a series designed to place before the world the real Indian of America. The present volume has primarily for its purpose an impartial view of our present Indian problem. The author has many suggestions to make in the direction of reform but the chief place is given to the exact evidence bearing on the real situation today.

Among the many subjects treated certain of them have special emphasis laid upon them. The conflict between full bloods and mixed bloods is given a clear statement, perhaps the first in the present-day literature on the Indian. The land question is of course dominant and the loss of their lands and the struggle of the Indians to retain possession of their one source of support is given especial attention. The fraud and graft that seems to be inherent in the federal administration of Indian land finds a typical illustration in the White Earth Chippewa land cases.

The causes for the degradation of the Indians today are very well portrayed. The author insists that on account of the destructive tendencies of modern civilization the Indian of the future can be saved only by our efforts and that what little he can do is but negligible. He rests his case upon the following trend of events: the ideals of the tribe, the authority of chief and medicine man, the power of the head of the family have all been practically swept away because they were condemned as *heathen*. With their destruction went religious and moral foundations, reverence for authority and for parents, the training and education of the youth to be self-supporting and to be later heads of families. We have so far been unable to replace the ruined religious and social fabric which we were so prompt to destroy without a hearing. The mature men and women among the Indians have been alienated, the young have been cut off from the restraining influences of home and family, for which the life at boarding school and college has been, to say the least, a very inadequate substitute. The day schools are now offering once more the opportunity for home influence and training, lost for so many years past. But even this remedy is not allowed free play for on one reservation at the present time (the Crow reservation in Montana) the day schools are threatened with extinction, in spite of all the efforts and pro-

tests of the Indians themselves and of those who have built up the system through laborious years.

Next to these cultural and social causes for the Indian decline may be given the loss of industrial opportunities and the spread of disease. The latter cause could be more readily dealt with were it possible to separate it as a problem by itself. But the breakdown of the Indian industrially and the graft and corruption that have pervaded all government plans for betterment place a heavy handicap on the vitality of the tribes located on reservations. A half-starved Indian, a child lacking nourishment, an aged man or woman without regular food, are all of them more susceptible to disease than where they are well supplied with nourishing food. Without the cultural breakdown of their civilization, the Indian has been subjected to loss of vitality sufficient to account for all their losses. When to this sum total is added the spiritual increment of degradation, their decline is easily accounted for. Yet the author is far from pessimistic in presenting the outlook for the future. He leaves us no doubt, however, as to the reality of the crisis that now faces the federal authorities in their dealings with the Indians. Having allowed these people to be exploited, cheated, and exterminated through all the years, without appeal and in the face of all protests from disinterested workers and observers, there is but one thing for us to do and but a short space of time in which to undo the mischief. The work is a notable contribution to the literature of reform in the present generation and a fearless arraignment of graft and incompetence in our relations with our Indian wards. All lovers of humanity and all those who stand for fair play and even handed justice will welcome this presentation of the present situation among the American Indians.

ORIN G. LIBBY

John Ross and the Cherokee Indians. By Rachel Carolina Eaton, A.M. (Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company, 1914. 212 p. \$1.50)

Indian history of Winneshiek county. Compiled by Charles Philip Hexom. (Decorah, Iowa: A. K. Bailey and Son, 1913. No page numbers)

Eaton's story of the Cherokee nation and of the special part taken in it by John Ross is a remarkable piece of work. There is little of novelty in the story of the wrongs done the Cherokee by the state of Georgia and by the federal government. Other tribes have been as shamelessly robbed and other treaties have been broken. The discovery of gold in their territories merely hastened the expulsion of the Cherokee from their lands, to the ownership of which the national faith had been pledged. What gives a unique interest to the long and hopeless contest

waged by this highly cultured tribe for their homes and firesides lies in the fact that they used the methods and expedients of the whites to protect themselves from injustice. Foreseeing the danger of divided councils they early developed a regular form of government, with executive, legislative, and judicial departments. Not satisfied with the usual device of delegations to the president, they hired able counsel and even carried their case to the federal supreme court. In all these steps toward better organization and national unity, the character of John Ross stands out in bold relief amid the divided councils of jealous rivals and vacillating friends. He seems to have been uniformly successful in anticipating unfriendly legislation and hostile policy and in meeting every form of attack with its appropriate defense. As is clearly brought out in the presentation, no Indian tribe so far in our history so nearly kept abreast of the industrial and social advance of their immediate environment and so successfully evoked our political machinery in defense of their rights. The Cherokee have the distinction of winning such champions to their side as Webster and Clay, and of being able to check both Alabama and Georgia in all efforts to seize their lands, even though President Jackson openly championed the cause of their white aggressors. Quite as remarkable as the astuteness, the skill, and the firmness of John Ross is the uniform loyalty of the great mass of the Cherokee to their leader and to their national cause. And after defeat, their capacity to recover lost ground and begin again their advance to unity and prosperity is brought out in a very striking manner in the account of their removal west of the Mississippi. The work is a distinct contribution to the literature of the modern Indian and it is also a well-written chapter in our own national history which no student can afford to overlook.

An admirable bibliography accompanies the study and adds much in point and definiteness to the conclusions reached.

The *Indian history of Winneshiek county* is a brief monograph evidently designed to call renewed attention to the necessity of beginning our local history with the story of the native inhabitants who preceded white settlement. This point is driven home with considerable skill by the author who is able to show the part played by two important Indian families in the early history of that part of the Northwest. In the second place we have presented to us an initial sketch of the entire Winnebago tribe. This story of their migrations and intertribal wars, their treaty relations with the French, the English, and the Americans, and their removal west of the Mississippi, make up a narrative of real importance to western historians. It is to be hoped that more complete studies will follow the lead of this unpretentious monograph and give us the entire history of the Winnebago.

Lincoln, labor and slavery. A chapter from the social history of America. By Herman Schlüter. (New York: Socialist Literature Company, 1913. 237 p. \$1.00)

This is an attempt by a Marxian socialist to interpret the civil war from the viewpoint of the class struggle and economic determinism. The conflict between the states, the author believes, was not so much over the question whether the black man should be free as over the question whether one economic class, represented by slaveholders, or another, represented by northern manufacturers, should dominate the nation. To the northern workingmen slavery was a matter of secondary importance, and the abolitionists in turn were not conspicuous for their friendliness toward the cause of labor. The attitude of Lincoln toward the working class is described as not wholly sympathetic, as he failed to comprehend the labor movement as the struggle of a distinct and separate class. The great emancipator is to be classed as a friend of labor mainly because he championed the cause of free labor as opposed to slavery, but his ideas were those of the bourgeoisie rather than of the proletariat, and the attempts of some socialists to read Marxian views into certain of his sayings are to be condemned. The war is depicted as a period of great prosperity for the capitalist class in the north, who subjected the workingmen to "the most outrageous provocation," but the latter never wavered in exalting the cause of the union over their own. They thus helped to destroy the slavery of the blacks, but their own slavery to capitalism still persists. Will the bloody catastrophe of 1861-1865 have to be repeated in order to free white labor from its present bondage? The answer will depend mainly upon the attitude of the capitalists, but of labor's final emancipation the author has no doubt. A work of this character has little interest for the historian, but to those disciples of Marx who care to interpret American history in such a way as to bolster up their doctrines the book will have value.

WILLIAM O. SCROGGS

Maps relating to Virginia in the Virginia State Library and other departments of the commonwealth with the 17th and 18th century atlas-maps in the Library of Congress. Compiled by Earl G. Swem, assistant librarian. [Virginia State Library bulletin, vol. 7, nos. 2 and 3.] (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1914. 263 p.)

This is one of the excellent series of bulletins recently emanating from the Virginia State Library. It "contains the titles of the manuscripts and published maps relating to Virginia in the Virginia State Library" and in other important collections in Richmond, and appendices on the maps, in the more important collections not controlled by the state of Virginia.

Both general and local maps of Virginia are included, and an especial feature is a citation of "as many of the maps appearing in the geographical atlases of the 17th and 18th centuries as possible."

The maps are listed by title in chronological order from 1590 to 1914 and are numbered serially. The title of each map is followed by its present location, and in the case of the more important maps, some of its principal reproductions. For the earlier entries there is often given a brief statement of the history and content of the map. An index of names and subjects is appended, citing the maps by date and serial number. There is also a brief list of the cartographical works that "have been of special service."

The whole work is well planned and carefully executed, and appears to be comprehensive and accurate. Mr. Swem and the Virginia State Library deserve the thanks of all who have occasion to investigate Virginia cartography or any phase thereof.

LEE BIDGOOD

Ten thousand miles with a dog sled. A narrative of winter travel in interior Alaska. By Hudson Stuck, D.D., F.R.G.S., archdeacon of the Yukon. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914. 420 p. \$3.50 net)

Those who had read Dr. Stuck's account of the ascent of Denali (Mt. McKinley) were confident that this new book would be a good story, rich in adventure and well told. And that it is in truth. Covering in successive winters the great interior valley of the Yukon from Forty Mile, just east of the Canadian line, to Nome on the shore of Bering sea, following not only the immediate valley of the great river itself, but branching out along the Porcupine, the Tanana, and the Koyukuk, its greatest tributaries, traversing both the forest and the treeless wastes, climbing the heights of the Alaska range on the southern boundary of this area and gazing off over the Arctic slope from the height of land that hems it in to the northward, the author has earned the right to speak with authority of this region, its people, and its problems. He says rightly that "no man living knows the whole of Alaska"; "Alaska is not one country, but many"; "and what is true of one part of it is often grotesquely untrue of other parts." His own record is confined to the interior of Alaska, and to the winter. Probably this is the region of which we have the least information in comparison with its variety and possibilities; certainly his story treats of the season at which to the average mind the whole country has gone into its winter sleep and men as well as wild nature are dormant.

The reader who is looking for adventure will find it in every chapter, described in vivid language. It is incomprehensible that a human be-

ing could endure such hardships as follow each other almost without any intermission. And yet the author has time in the midst of danger to study the natural phenomena, to record temperatures and wind conditions, to plan the ascent of our greatest mountain peak, to analyze the relation of climate to limited areas and to human habits, and even to discuss how one may most successfully achieve good photographs under arctic conditions. He gives the reader fine word pictures of the snow, the forest, the wind swept ridges, and the quiet valleys, the ice-bound lakes and rivers, the closing down of streams in the early fall and the sudden breaking up of the ice in the spring.

But this book is more than a thrilling record of hardship and a vivid description of an unknown country in the grasp of an arctic winter. It is a sociologic study of a land where a native population is facing new and untried problems due to the coming of a strange people. The front of a wave carries more than its share of foam and debris, and the vanguard of a gold seeker's rush brings with the resolute also conspicuously those who have thrown off the restraints of civilization. The effect on the native is unfortunate.

Doctor Stuck speaks in high terms of the natives, both Indians and Eskimos, and is equally clear in his estimate of the average white man and his influence on the native. A few paragraphs will indicate the character of his observations on the problems which racial contact creates.

"The Indian is the only settled inhabitant of interior Alaska today; for the prospectors and miners who constitute the bulk of the white population are not often very long in one place."

"The tide of white men that has flowed into an Indian neighborhood gradually ebbs away and leaves the Indian behind with new habits, with new desires, with new diseases, with new vices, and with a varied assortment of illegitimate half-breed children to support. The Indian remains usually in diminished numbers, with impaired character, with lowered physique, with the tag ends of the white man's black-guardism as his chief acquirement in English — but he remains."

"The best natives in the country are those who have had the least intimacy with the white man."

No one who has studied conditions in any part of Alaska can question the opinion of the author that the natives are threatened with extinction; the white man's diseases and whisky constitute the potent factors in this process. One can only regret that in his appeal for relief the author had not suggested a little more specifically the remedy. No one will doubt the exasperating slowness of action when public affairs are managed at long distance, with an inadequate force of officials, under

the inflexibility of the government system and its lack of adaption to Alaskan conditions, and in the proverbial tangle of government red tape of which several amusing instances are given. The situation is wrong; but how can it be righted? Laws are probably better enforced in Alaska than in the mining towns of similar transient character down here even though similar situations are more efficiently handled across the line in the Canadian Yukon territory. The author's language almost hints at some sort of a benevolent despotism, but he is too keen a student of men and nations, and too good an American, to fall into such an error. He is right in demanding character in public officials, great and small, but so do we all down here, and yet sometimes we fail to get it.

In the half-breed, rapidly increasing in numbers, superior to the full-blooded native and a natural leader, Doctor Stuck sees if properly trained the hope of the future; for he thinks that the Yukon valley will not appeal to settlers of a permanent type and hence the population will remain Indian indefinitely if it persists at all. For the future development of this country he considers the dog, and then the horse as roads come, more important than the reindeer which has its natural place on the coastal plains and the Arctic slope. He also sees in the development of a system of roadways more help for the population than in a railroad when "twenty or thirty ordinary freight trains a year would bring in all the goods that Alaska consumes. Before that amount can be very greatly increased there must be a large development of the means by which it is to be distributed thruout the country."

It is not possible to go further into the many important problems the discussion of which the author has woven into his narrative. The whole work is alive with his personality; it breathes the spirit of a worker on whose physical energy no task makes too great demands, of a mentality whose power strips off the superficial and lays bare the fundamental, of a sympathy keenly alive to the beauties even of a winter world and a simple people.

The book is well written. Some of the author's descriptions of sunrise, night, the winter color, the northern lights are splendid sketches in words. The scorn in his delineation of the "low-down white" and the tenderness of his tribute to the Alaska dog, man's constant companion and faithful friend in all the trials of the winter trail, show a keenness of insight into nature and a many sided mastery of English.

The story is not told in the ordinary way. He stops constantly in his record of the trail to jot down many unusual items. Now it is the origin of names, as Chandalar, a corruption of "gens de large"; a few pages further a vivid description of a perfect paraselene, which in delicious humor is dubbed "moon-cats" in contrast to the sailor's "sun-dogs."

The literature of the Arctics contains no more powerful picture of the effects of the "strong cold" on the wanderer than Dr. Stuck has given in this volume.

On the whole the publisher's work is well done. The illustrations are abundant, well chosen, and well printed; and the addition of a few colored plates which are unusually successful give the reader a realistic conception of the brilliancy and desolation of the arctic winter that could be imparted in no other way.

Certainly the book is crowded from cover to cover with interest for every sort of reader and when the end of the story is reached one lays the volume aside with a devout wish that the fickle and much amused public may, despite its surfeit of war news and wonders of the "movies," devote more than passing attention to this fascinating record of an unknown corner in our own land and the interesting account of its problems. And yet even passing attention would reward itself and us if it led the author to carry out his half expressed hope to give us a picture of Alaska in its summer dress.

HENRY B. WARD

Bibliografía venezolana, contribución al conocimiento de los libros extranjeros relativos á Venezuela y sus grandes hombres publicados ó reimpresos desde el siglo xix. By M. S. Sánchez. (Caracas: Impresa El Cojo, 1914. 494 p. \$4.00)

This contribution to American bibliography is the offering of Señor Sánchez of the Biblioteca Nacional de Venezuela upon the occasion of the celebration of the first centenary of the independence of his native land. The author was materially encouraged in the preparation of this volume by the government of Venezuela. A large number of the books enumerated in this bibliography are found in the national library of Venezuela at Caracas.

As may be gathered from the title, this bibliography is limited to books concerning Venezuela written, or edited, by other persons than Venezuelans since the opening of the nineteenth century. This plan naturally restricts its scope. In the preface Señor Sánchez informs us that Lisando Alvarado has compiled a bibliography for the colonial period of Venezuelan history. The volume under consideration derives a certain unity from the fact that the author includes within its chronology the period of the Spanish-American revolution. It consequently contains many books concerning the revolutionary period of Venezuelan history—the period when the distinguished leaders of Venezuela played such an important part in northern South America. The author modestly states in his preface that his bibliography is a contribution to a catalogue of foreign books which have been published or reproduced since the open-

ing of the nineteenth century, and which refer in a manner worthy of mention to the geography, ethnography, and customs of Venezuela, as well as to her history, natural and political. The titles of the contributions of historical writers in the United States to South American history do not occupy much space in this book.

This bibliography contains the titles of over nine hundred books and articles concerning Venezuela. The titles of English and French books are published in these languages respectively; but the titles of German books are translated into the Spanish language, because the German language is less well known in Venezuela. In a great many cases these titles are followed by critical evaluations of the volumes cited — evaluations which will frequently surprise by their keenness anyone who imagines that the *Introduction aux études historiques* of Langlois and Seignobos is unknown to South American scholars. In the appendix there is a list of over five hundred books, or articles, which the industrious compiler has evidently not been able to examine personally. One of the most useful items in the bibliography is number 582, *Memorias del General O'Leary*, which is composed of twelve pages that deal with the monumental collection of documents concerning Simón de Bolívar. In these pages are some illuminating notes in regard to this collection and a useful finding list of the multitude of documents contained therein.

Although this bibliography does not profess to be complete, and does not in every particular conform to the standard set by North American bibliographers, yet it reflects much credit upon Señor Sánchez and upon the government of Venezuela, and the volume will be a most valuable aid to serious students of Venezuelan history. In particular, will it be useful to investigators who are interested in the revolutionary period of South American history, 1808-1828. It is appropriate that the frontispiece should be a half-tone of a rare miniature of Simón de Bolívar, liberator of Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON

Method in history for teachers and students. By William H. Mace, professor of history, Syracuse University. (Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally and Company, 1914. 311 p. \$1.00)

This volume is a revision of an edition published in 1897. Many improvements have been made in the original work, which has been carefully rewritten to bring it in touch with the progress in history teaching. An especially useful addition has been the introduction of a number of practical suggestions for the first five grades.

The object of the book, in the author's words, has been to seek "the determining factors in method and not the determined — the principal

and not the accidental — ones” (p. 3). Discarding any exhaustive discussion of concrete aids, the author consistently adheres to his general plan “to look into history and to discover there the processes and products that the mind must work out in organizing its facts into a system” (p. 7). The style is good, and the abundance of illustrative material illuminates the discussion, which is logical but occasionally somewhat abstruse.

The book is in two well-marked divisions. First, there is an explanation of the essential elements of history, followed by a discussion of the process of organization. The theories advanced are illustrated in an exhaustive analysis of American history. The second division includes an elaborate discussion of the principles of history teaching in the elementary school, with a brief summary of the problems of the high school.

As the central principle of history, Mr. Mace accents the importance of institutional development which he divides into a political, a religious, an educational, an industrial, and a social phase. The relative weight of each phase varies according to the tendencies of each age, yet all five contribute to one central principle of development. Historical organization is divided into interpretation and coördination. In interpretation, emphasis is placed upon the necessity of grouping an analysis of cause or effect around the one central principle that is to be traced in any historical event. The principles of historical division and coördination, and the pitfalls, which await an ill-balanced interpretation, are also noted.

Many teachers would question the summary fashion in which Mr. Mace, in his analysis of interpretation, sets aside the use of diagrams and outlines. Neither would the importance he assigns to historical interpretation, as a means of arousing ethical and patriotic impulses, be universally conceded. While he points out the necessity of a fair judgment in such interpretation, it is at least questionable whether partisanship can always be avoided in these discussions. Certainly some of the examples which have been used to illustrate the ethical and patriotic values of history would not be admitted without question.

In the illustrative analysis of American history, the author consistently adheres to the principles he has advanced. But as a practical guide, the analysis cannot be consistently followed, since it is not always abreast of present views. The position of the colonies as a part of the British empire is ignored, and in the later period, too much emphasis is given to political, at the expense of economic and social forces. Nor has the rise of the West, nor the period since the civil war, received sufficient accent.

The second division of the book is chiefly an analysis of the principles of history teaching in elementary schools. In a suggestive and practical

fashion, Mr. Mace discusses the steps by which the immature mind is led to an historical appreciation. First, he would arouse the pupil's imagination by stimulating an interest in the familiar institutions of everyday life. The pupil is then ready for the picture-making phase of history, by which he would be gradually led to an appreciation of the historical narrative. The illustrations used are especially valuable, and for the first six grades, the discussion is of much practical worth. For the seventh and eighth grades, the author gives merely an analysis of the history story, with numerous illustrations from his *School history of the United States*. The appended summary of the reports of various committees on the history course in the high school is altogether too fragmentary.

The chief value of the volume is an inspirational one. Had the author discussed the use of such aids to history teaching as maps, references, etc., the practical value of the book would have been greatly enhanced. With the exception of the discussion devoted to the first six grades, Mr. Mace has given chiefly a theoretical background for history teaching. No strikingly new theories are advanced, but the discussion is so well illustrated, and so suggestive, that no teacher can read the book without an increased appreciation of the underlying pedagogical principles in the teaching of history. As a contribution to the rapidly accumulating literature which points out the principles of an "historical mindedness," Mr. Mace's revision of his popular *Method in history* is of much value.

BEVERLEY W. BOND, JR.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

Of late the editor has been reflecting on the prevalence of a type of historical writing that, until he can illustrate his meaning, he will term applied history. The tendency in exaggerated form appears in the work of newspaper exponents of the new civics who gravely rebuke the professional historians because they have suffered to lie hidden the fact that malaria was the downfall of the Roman Empire; in another aspect it appears in articles by Celtic enthusiasts who derive the federal constitution of the United States from the federation of the ancient Irish kingdoms. It must however be confessed that the development of a popular belief that such are the proper uses and such the legitimate ends of historical study is the work — often we admit unconscious — of certain laborers in the fields of social sciences. Such scientists, in urging the alteration of existing social or political institutions, have too often referred with an air of finality to the supposed lessons of certain isolated parts of past history. More than that a few of them have openly avowed and many more in their manner of writing history have implied, that the key to human history is to be found in some single principle — in economic environment, or in psychological analysis of the heroes of the past. Only recently the historical journal of a religious denomination has announced as its mission the interpretation of history in the light of its theology. For excuse it has alleged that since the materialist interpretation of the past is already a conscious and potent force in shaping the institutions of the future, the theological interpretation also has the right to be heard for its cause. In short there seems to be a real danger that students will no longer think it worth while to strive to see a historical situation as a whole, and that history will be written more and more from half a dozen different viewpoints with the adherents of each rejecting as unimportant all evidence of the existence of other factors than that under which they have enrolled themselves.

The genuine historical student can regard the advent of such a condition only as a calamity. Of course he will be bidden to console himself with the thought that men never have written of the past without seeing it as distorted through their prejudices. He will be reminded that the faith of the Prussian school in the great destiny of the German race was as much inspired by a vision of the future as by a dispassionate study of the past, and that *la ravanche* was the motive that led Fustel de Cou-

lances to emphasize anew the permanence of the Roman contribution to European civilization. Yet the trained historian of the present in spite of such evidence is conscious that in approaching the past he endeavors to strip himself of all preconceptions and prejudices inherent or acquired. He is conscious also that he strives ever to see the past as the work of various factors and motives and personalities, ideal and material, noble and sordid alike. And while the shortness of time and the vastness of the material to be mastered sometimes compels him to separate a single factor from the rest, he tries never to forget that in studying it apart he is merely preparing for a complete reconstruction of the whole in which each factor shall bear its proper relation to the rest. In this attitude, and not in the opposition one to the other of a dozen half truths does he place his faith in some day being able to reveal the whole truth of history. Inspired by this faith he feels that the exemplification of the past may safely be entrusted to him by the adherents of any and every creed, race, and political persuasion.

The July number of the *American historical review* contains comparatively little of interest in the field of western history. The exceptions are in the notes and documents. The observations of Superintendent John Stuart and Governor James Grant of East Florida on the proposed plan of 1764 for the future management of Indian affairs are contributed with an introduction by C. E. Carter. Katherine B. Judson supplies a letter written to the Hudson's Bay company by the Mormon settlers at Salt lake in 1847; it is a request to the Hudson's Bay company to establish a trading post at Salt lake. The leading articles in the *Review* are: W. L. Westermann, "The economic basis of the decline of ancient culture"; G. B. Adams, "Magna carta and the responsible ministry"; C. M. Andrews, "Anglo-French commercial rivalry, 1700-1750: the western phase"; W. S. Robertson, "The United States and Spain, 1822"; and F. E. Golder, "The Russian fleet and the civil war." The notes and suggestions contain an interesting addition by Burr to his remarks for the establishment of the date at which men first spoke of the "Middle Ages." In passing the editor may remark that an overzealous proof reader who took it on himself to alter "discrete" to "discreet" changed completely the meaning of the note on the *Review* in our last number.

The second number of the *Catholic historical review* appeared in July, 1915. This magazine is devoted to the publication of material for the study of the Catholic church history of the United States. The articles in this number discuss the church in Connecticut and missionary work in the present state of Maine. There is also a paper on the church in Cuba. The second instalment of the introduction on bibliography appearing in

the magazine takes up the question of the use of the historical method in ecclesiastical history.

The *Magazine of history* for February, 1915, is an unusually interesting number. Among materials of especial interest to the West are a note on the Lincoln genealogy, and a letter of Lincoln of April 6, 1860, in which he estimates the relative strength in northern and southern Illinois of the various candidates for the republican presidential nomination. There is a kind of melancholy interest in a typical Adams paper on the Trent affair by the late Charles Francis Adams.

In the January number of the same magazine the most striking item is an attribution of the word "Dixie" to the French "Dix" on the back of the ten dollar note of the Citizen's Bank of Louisiana. Whatever one may think of the derivation, the color reproduction of the note is a beautiful piece of printing, and one wishes that Mr. William Beer had enlarged even more on the interesting topic of the work of the Louisiana banks under the act of 1842 in establishing a stable note currency in the Southwest. In its own field of "Desiderata curiosa" in American history, the *Magazine of history* becomes, month by month, more competent.

The *History teacher's magazine* for June, 1915, contains the following articles: "Realizable educational values in history," by C. O. Davis; "The last twelve years of British diplomacy," by M. W. Tyler; and "Making high school history teaching definite," by D. C. Knowlton. There is an interesting study by Harriet Sheap on the construction of a little historical museum of pioneer life in an Illinois town. William K. Boyd contributes a short study on the place of local history in the college curriculum, with special reference to successful work at Trinity College, North Carolina.

The Smithsonian Institute has issued a list of publications of the bureau of American ethnology with index to authors and titles.

Bulletin 46 of the bureau of American ethnology is a dictionary of the Choctaw language, compiled over a century ago by the missionary, Cyrus Byington.

The *American economic review* for June contains a list of doctoral dissertations in progress in the fields of political economy. The leading article is Willard C. Fisher's "The field of workmen's compensation in the United States."

The *Pennsylvania magazine of history and biography* for April has an article by Amandus Johnson on John Classon Rising, last director of New Sweden. The magazine also prints the journal of Captain John Fer-

dinand Daziel Smyth, loyalist, recounting his adventures and misfortunes in the middle states in 1776-1777. Among other documents is a journal kept in 1758 by the commandant of a frontier fort. One or two papers relating to William Penn and to his estate are also printed. There is also a list of marriage licenses from 1742 to 1748. The July number is devoted to the publication of material for a biography of Mrs. Elizabeth Fergusson, née Graeme. The material consists of letters to Mrs. Fergusson dated from 1757 to 1795. The other source material published is a continuation of the list of Pennsylvania marriage licenses, 1742-1748, and extracts from the diary of Thomas Franklin Pleasants, 1814. The latter is devoted chiefly to the local militia organized for the defense of Philadelphia.

The *Virginia magazine of history and biography* for July, 1915, is devoted almost exclusively to the publication of archive material, consisting of "Acts, orders and resolutions of the general assembly of Virginia," 1643-1646; "Minutes of the council and general court, 1622-1629"; "Abstracts of lists of wills and administrations from British probate courts"; and "abstracts by W. N. Sainsbury, and copies in the McDonald and De Jarnette papers in the Virginia State Library" entitled "Virginia in 1677-1678."

Richmond College presents under date of June, 1915, volume 1, number 1, of the *Richmond College historical papers*. The publication is the result of a healthy undergraduate interest in research which inspired the class of 1913 to pledge a fund for publishing documents and college essays relating to Virginia history. It is hoped that further endowments will make it possible to continue the publication as a "Richmond College historical magazine." The number of the *Papers* before us contains the letters to Edmund Pendleton, president of the Virginia convention, from William Woodford, Colonel Robert Howe, and General Charles Lee, successively commanders against Lord Dunmore in 1775 and 1776. The essays in the number are biographies of John M. Botts, Richard Henry Lee, William C. Rives, and John Moncure Daniel. They are all very respectable undergraduate work, good enough, in fact, to make the average university instructor envious. The enterprise from every point of view seems well advised. The fact that Dice R. Anderson, head of the history department in Richmond College, is editor will insure the undergraduate essays being kept in a modest sphere in which they can be of value to the more mature historian. On the other hand, the poise and scholarly self-reliance that participation in such a publication can give to students is priceless. Not a great university in the country but might profitably engage in a similar enterprise.

The *Proceedings* of the fifteenth annual session of the State Library and Historical Association of North Carolina, held at Raleigh, December 1-2, 1914, contains a series of addresses of considerable interest. Among them may be noted "The new north state," by Archibald Henderson; "Some Argentine ideas," by R. S. Naon, Argentine ambassador to the United States; and "The North Carolina historians," by Stephen B. Weeks. A conference on county history is reported by Archibald Henderson.

The most important article in the January *South Carolina historical and genealogical magazine* is Henry A. M. Smith's "Old Charles Town and its vicinity." There is also a reprint of the "Parish register of St. James', Santee" for 1769-1771 and a regimental list of the Second South Carolina continental regiment of foot, compiled by John Bennett, who provides an interesting introduction on barrack life in 1777.

The quarterly publication of the *Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* for January and April, 1914, contains a reprint of papers, abstracts of testimony, etc., prepared for the trial of Blennerhassett in Ohio. This material is edited by Lesley Henshaw of the University of Cincinnati. He believes that a part of the documents at least have never been used by students, but he points out that they contribute only to the verification of minor points. The pamphlet is illustrated with two facsimiles, one of a cipher letter from Aaron Burr and the other of the cipher itself.

The *Year book* of the Sandusky County Pioneer and Historical Association for 1914 contains a variety of material, the most prominent part of which consists of the *Proceedings* of the association's annual meeting and obituaries of deceased pioneers.

The noteworthy things in the *Indiana magazine of history* for June are three reminiscences: two by D. S. Whitenack and Henry Devillez of experiences in Andersonville prison, and one by a late river pilot, Wilson Daniels, on steamboating on the Ohio and Mississippi before the war. In the latter, especially, the local color is thick and varied, though apparently the document was not written until long after the events recounted. Walter J. Wakefield contributes an article on "County seminaries in Indiana."

Within the past week the managing editor with regret has seen the departure of the Kaskaskia manuscripts, loaned to the Illinois State Historical Library ten years ago. These papers, mainly records of the French notaries in the Illinois country for the period 1720-1800, were legally the property of Randolph county, Illinois, and at the request of

the circuit clerk of that county they have been returned to his custody. Whatever one may think of the law, now nearly a hundred years old, that transferred these papers from the custody of the secretary of state to that of the circuit clerk of Randolph county, there is no doubt that records should remain where the law prescribes. One may at least venture a private opinion that the law should be otherwise. Like many papers far less valuable, these were in process of disintegration through neglect in a county office where they were obtained by the editor as agent for the library. They have now been carefully mounted and inclosed in portfolios in a manner that insures their preservation for many years to come if only ordinary care is given them; and care to that extent at least the editor believes they will now receive in their former abiding place.

"State documents for libraries" is the title of a University of Illinois *Bulletin*, issued by Ernest J. Reece. It is a general consideration of the origin and function of the American state with special reference to a logical classification of state public documents. There are various comprehensive brief bibliographies of certain types of state documents: statutes, blue books, and document lists of one sort or another. While the classification has special reference to the needs of the librarian, the ordinary student of political science will find several of the bibliographies of great value.

The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society held its forty-first annual meeting June 2-3. Perhaps the most generally significant part of its work was a conference led by William L. Jenks on "Methods of coöperation on the part of public libraries, patriotic societies and county historical societies with the Michigan Historical Commission in gathering and publishing materials relating to the history of the state."

"Historical sketches of the Ninth Michigan infantry" by Charles W. Bennett, Henry C. Rankin, and Frank A. Lester, Jr., is a publication intended for veterans of the regiment. It contains accounts of the regimental meetings since the war and of regimental and company organizations. The main part of the book, however, is a chronicle of the command's battles and campaigns. Most of this last is apparently based on reminiscences, but extracts from contemporary letters are given and apparently are carefully quoted. There are many illustrations, some of them interesting war-time photographs of places and objects.

The *Wisconsin archaeologist* for April, 1915, contains an article by William A. Titus on "Fond du Lac county antiquities." There is also a short study by Charles E. Brown on "Wisconsin Indian medals." The

leading article of the July number is "The lac Court Oreilles region" by the same author.

The second number of the *Minnesota history bulletin* presents a paper by Herbert A. Kellar on "The Minnesota state archives, their character, condition, and historical value." Three new departments initiated in this number of the bulletin — assigned to the publication of documents, to reviews of books, and to news and comment, respectively — make for a wider appeal to the historical profession. The biennial report of the Minnesota Historical Society for the years 1913 and 1914 appears as a supplement to this number.

The July issue of *The Iowa journal of history and politics* contains three interesting papers: A rather lengthy article on "The neutral ground," by Jacob Van der Zee, tells the story of Indian relations in the land acquired in the first government purchase from the Indians in the Iowa country, a strip of territory acquired by the treaty of 1830 with the object of putting an end to intertribal warfare in that region. There is another article on "The Black Hawk war and the treaty of 1832" by the same author. A study of "The grasshopper plagues in Iowa" by John E. Briggs shows the effect of that pest on western settlement and agriculture. A selection from the autobiography of John A. Nash is printed to show his connection with the early history of Des Moines College. The remainder of the number is devoted to the usual bibliographical data.

The chief contribution in the *Tennessee historical magazine* for June, 1915, is the conclusion of an article by Donald L. McMurray on "The Indian policy of the federal government and the economic development of the Southwest." The documents included in this number are the Mexican war letters of Colonel William B. Campbell of Tennessee to Governor David Campbell of Virginia.

Mr. Dunbar Rowland, director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, is editing for publication a collection of the official letter books of William C. C. Claiborne, who, in the period from 1801 to 1816, served as governor of Mississippi territory, as commissioner of the United States to receive the province of Louisiana from the French government, as governor general of the province of Louisiana, as governor of the territory of Orleans, and as governor of the state of Louisiana. Much of the material, notably the group of letters dating from 1812 to 1816, has never before been used in historical research, and the editor considers that the new light which the collection throws on the important period with which it is concerned will modify very considerably

the views of the historians and students of westward expansion. Mr. Rowland is especially well fitted to edit the Claiborne letters in an adequate, scholarly way, a fact which of course will give the forthcoming publication enhanced value. The collection is to be printed, in six octavo volumes, by the Archives Publishing company of Jackson, Mississippi.

The leading article in the *Southwestern historical quarterly* for July, 1915, is the second part of a paper, "Texas versus White." This is really a political science discussion on the question of sovereignty, the location of sovereignty according to the opinion of the court given in this case in 1869, and wherein this differed from the opinions on the location of sovereignty previous to secession and the civil war. The other papers are on "Harris county, 1822-1845" and "Local government in the Spanish colonies." The documents published in this number consist of British letters concerning Texas and especially a memorial addressed by British subjects in Texas to Lord Aberdeen protesting against the annexation of that commonwealth by the United States.

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HISTORICAL REVIEW

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TENNESSEE, THE COMPROMISE OF 1850, AND THE NASHVILLE CONVENTION

Upon the expiration of the long drawn-out congressional day of March 3, 1849, James K. Polk, the retiring president of the United States, spent Sunday, March 4, as quietly as possible. Having attended the First Presbyterian church, he parted affectionately with those in whose midst he had worshiped during the four years of his presidency. The following day, after the ceremonies of the inauguration of President Taylor had been concluded, Polk, accompanied by a considerable party, departed from Washington to travel, by a circuitous route, to his home in Tennessee. On April 2 he reached Nashville and found there a great concourse of people assembled to greet him. Though exhausted by his journey and not yet recovered from an illness which had attacked him some days before, he was obliged to drive with Aaron V. Brown,¹ his long time associate and political friend, to the public square, to hear a speech and to make one. The next day he rode with Mrs. Polk to inspect a new house which he intended to be his future residence. Later in the same week he visited Columbia, to see his aged mother. On the sixteenth the party returned to Nashville, spending the night at the

¹ Representative from Tennessee in the twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-eighth congresses: elected governor of Tennessee in 1845, and defeated for reelection in 1847 by Neil S. Brown. He is said to have been responsible for the democratic platform of 1852. In 1857 he was appointed postmaster general by Buchanan, and died in office. He was a facile speaker and writer, and some of his productions were gathered together in a volume entitled *Speeches, congressional and political, and other writings of Ex-Governor Aaron V. Brown of Tennessee* . . . (Nashville, 1854).

house of Aaron V. Brown. After chronicling other visits and matters of minor importance, the diary, so carefully kept by Polk, closes with an entry for June 2, 1849. Two weeks later Polk had passed away, having been granted no time to enjoy the "library of books" which he had found pleasure in arranging in the new house.²

When the diarist had completed his notes for the last days of his presidential term, he did not undertake further entries of a political nature. No word of comment is found upon the course of the new administration in Washington, or upon the political campaign for which the parties in Tennessee were preparing, though both matters must have recalled to Polk the experiences which he had met in his long political career. As in his own case four years before, the presidential appointments to executive office were the subject of criticism, both from the opposition party and from the friends of the administration. The whigs confined their misgivings to private correspondence: the democratic complaints filled the newspapers.³ In this year the people were to elect a governor, members of the assembly, and representatives in congress. In April, according to the custom of Tennessee, were held the party conventions; in August followed the election; in October the assembly met; in November members of congress departed for Washington. Between May and August the candidates engaged in joint debate in every section of

² J. K. Polk, *The diary of James K. Polk, during his presidency 1845 to 1849*, edited by M. M. Quaife (Chicago, 1910), 4: 372 *et seq.*

³ "The appointments that have been made in Tennessee have not given satisfaction." William B. Campbell to David Campbell of Virginia, May 14, 1849. Manuscript belonging to Mr. Lemuel R. Campbell of Nashville. This is one of a large number of letters written by William B. Campbell, one of the most prominent of the whigs in Tennessee, to his uncle, Governor David Campbell of Virginia. For the use of this correspondence I am under obligation to Mr. L. R. Campbell.

On the democratic side, besides the newspapers of that party, *passim*, there is an interesting comparison by Cave Johnson of the appointments made by the new administration with those of his own making as postmaster general under Polk, in letters written by Johnson, on his return to his home in Clarksville, Tennessee, to James Buchanan, June 17 and August 12, 1849. These letters are taken from a large number written by Johnson to Buchanan which are among the Buchanan manuscripts in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society which has kindly consented to their use. The collection will hereafter be cited as Johnson-Buchanan letters. Cave Johnson, it should be stated, was a devoted adherent of Buchanan and sought to bring about his nomination for the presidency.

the state "from Carter to Shelby," to the peril of their health, but to the delight of the crowds who preferred to hear political topics discussed in a duel between orators rather than to read political essays in the newspapers. In this year the whigs sought to reëlect Neil S. Brown, who in 1847 had wrested the governorship from Polk's friend, Aaron V. Brown. To understand the principles at issue in the campaign it is necessary briefly to review the situation of public affairs when Polk surrendered the control of the national government to the whigs.

The sectional controversy over the boundaries and the organization of the territory acquired from Mexico by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and particularly the problem of the admission or the exclusion of slave property from this territory, overshadowed all other political issues. The failure alike of Polk's plan of extending the Missouri compromise line to the Pacific, of the so-called Clayton compromise, and of the "Walker Amendment," which met its death in the closing hours of the thirtieth congress, left the territories in the hands of the executive — except that congress did extend to California the revenue laws of the United States. But before the adjournment of congress there had developed under the leadership of Calhoun that movement which was regarded in such a sinister light by those devoted to the union, and by none more than by Polk, who inherited and cherished the traditions of Andrew Jackson. The proceedings of Calhoun and his associates were published at length in the Nashville papers and were accompanied with widely varying comments. The whig journal took up the favorite diversion of its party: that of denouncing the northern free soil element in the democratic party.⁴ The *Nashville Union*, the leading mouthpiece of the democratic organization, defended the northern democrats and denounced the course of John Bell, the whig senator from Tennessee, who, with Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, had turned his back, the *Union* charged, upon the South.⁵ It was, as one would expect, the policy of the democratic party to undertake to defend the rights of the South.

When the democratic state convention met upon April 19, the choice of the delegates, by a great majority, fell upon William

⁴ *Nashville True Whig*, May 17, 1849.

⁵ *Nashville Union*, February 14, 1849.

Trousdale of Sumner county, a man of military reputation who was soon affectionately named "the veteran of three wars."⁶ The platform voiced approval of the policies of the outgoing democratic administration of Polk, and continued with very positive statements that the federal government possessed no rightful control over the institution of slavery such as to impair the rights of the slaveholders; that all the territories were the common property of the states, and the enactment by congress of any law preventing citizens from emigrating with their property constituted a violation of state rights; that there would be no difficulty in choosing between "the only alternatives that will then remain, of abject submission to aggression and outrage on the one hand, or on the other by the adoption at all hazards and to the last extremity of such measures as will vindicate our constitutional rights"; and concluded by declaring that in the event of the passage of the Wilmot proviso, or any law abolishing slavery or the slave trade from the District of Columbia, "we are ready heart and soul with a united front" to join Virginia and the other southern states in such measures as might be proper "whether through a Southern convention or otherwise."

As the canvass proceeded Cave Johnson wrote to Buchanan that Trousdale's chances were good. Besides the old questions of the bank, tariff, etc., the main reliance of the democrats for success was on the Wilmot proviso. "General T. takes the Virginia resolutions and [is] for resisting in every manner to the last extremity and insists that this is the best if not the only mode of preserving the Union. I do not like his position, but it is possible that he may secure Calhoun Whigs enough to carry the election in the Western District."⁸ August 12, after

⁶ *Nashville Union*, April 20, 1849, *et seq.* As candidates for the governorship several of the younger political leaders were named in the newspapers, one of the most prominent being Gideon J. Pillow, a brother-in-law of Aaron V. Brown. Pillow, however, soon withdrew his name. Cave Johnson, of Clarksville, and F. P. Stanton and L. H. Coe, of the western district, were also mentioned. The last two were inclined to the extreme southern point of view.

⁷ *Nashville Union*, April 20, 1849. It was soon revealed by the whig papers that more strenuous measures had been recommended in a resolution which had been prepared by Coe of Memphis, which had been withdrawn before it was formally presented. The *Union* explained that these resolutions had not suggested secession, and that only cessation of commercial intercourse with the North had been proposed. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1849.

⁸ Johnson-Buchanan letters, June 17, 1849.

the election, Johnson again wrote to Buchanan, attributing the success of the democrats to the superior aggressiveness of Trousdale, to resentment at the whig appointments, to the disaffection of part of the whigs under the influence of E. H. Foster, who was jealous of Senator Bell, and to the agitation of the emancipation question in Kentucky, and the position of the administration on the Wilmot proviso. "Cass's doctrine," he continued, "of the non-interference by Congress with slavery is the universal doctrine here, but I have found none unwilling to subscribe to yours — the Missouri Compromise."⁹

With the close of the summer elections, there was a noticeable quiescence in the agitation of national politics in the Tennessee papers, and matters of internal improvement and other state affairs took a more prominent place. But soon the assembling of the legislature reawoke interest in politics, and the message of the retiring governor, Neil S. Brown, and that of the incoming governor, William Trousdale, again emphasized the different points of view of the two parties. About the same time appeared notices of Mississippi's call for a southern convention to be held at Nashville. The comment of the *Whig*, now called the *True Whig*, as to this, was "we trust the Southern states will be fully represented as well for embodying in definite form the real sentiment of the South as for adopting such measures as may be best calculated to bring about unity and concert of action, and in defense of her rights and interests upon this vitally interesting and exciting question."¹⁰ A yet more prominent whig organ, the *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, while it expressed the hope that the convention might prove to be unnecessary, nevertheless also promised it a welcome to Nashville.¹¹ October 14, Cave Johnson wrote at length to Buchanan, telling of a visit to Nashville where he had called upon Mrs. Polk, whose mansion was still draped in mourning, and where he had found the assembly in session. He reported that the party organization was torn by sectionalism and personal feuds, the chief of which was that between the democratic senator, Hopkins L. Turney, and A. O. P. Nicholson, the principal supporter of the interests of General Cass. The legislature was "tied," and

⁹ Johnson-Buchanan letters, August 12, 1849.

¹⁰ *Nashville True Whig*, October 16, 1849.

¹¹ *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, October 15, 1849.

“the Whig party in more confusion than we are.”¹² It happened that the democrats, while successful as to the lower house, had failed to elect a majority of the state senate. Consequently, when late in the session, joint resolutions upon the state of the union were adopted these, as might be expected of measures which had passed the whig senate and democratic house, were double-barrelled in character. They upheld the sacredness of the constitution and prayed for the perpetuity of the union. The patriotic people of the state of Tennessee, it was declared, would stand by and defend the union “at all hazards and to the last extremity;” and the only method by which the union could be preserved in its original purity so as to secure to the several states their constitutional rights was “by resisting, at all hazards and to the last extremity, any and all attempts to violate the spirit of its provisions.”¹³ But a resolution which failed to pass was one introduced in the house, by which the governor was requested to appoint delegates to a southern convention. In the senate, however, the whig committee on resolutions reported that it was no part of their duty to aid in organizing a southern convention or any other convention. If such a meeting were desired by the people, it belonged to them in their primary assemblies to call it, and not to the general assembly or to the executive. A democratic effort to pass a resolution requesting the people of the state to adopt this course was defeated by a vote of eleven to nine.¹⁴ It was doubtless this activity of the democratic house which extracted from Cave Johnson the letter to Buchanan of which the following is a part:

“I begin to fear that there is a settled determination with

¹² Johnson-Buchanan letters, October 14, 1849. “The Cass movement in this state at the last election was made to head off Pres. P. They feared, notwithstanding his positive declaration, that he might be taken up a second time in Baltimore and therefore sent a majority which was secretly dissatisfied with the dispensation of the patronage here. This was felt as unkind by him and by his leading confidential friends in this state, and Mr. N. is on that account not acceptable to them, and they will wish me to be the new Senator. I will not get into the fight, and may be enabled therefore to settle it, but I do not see how.” Nicholson had been a candidate in 1845 for election as senator. He charged that Turney had secured the election by a deal with the whigs. As to the controversy that ensued, see Polk, *Diary*, 1: 112-114.

¹³ “Joint resolution, no. 13,” in *Acts and resolutions of the Tennessee general assembly*, 1849-1850. Passed February 11, 1850.

¹⁴ *Senate journal*, 1849-1850, pp. 758-767.

the extreme men of both the great political parties to dissolve the Union and it will require much prudence and wisdom among the moderate men [to] resist successfully their nefarious projects. I have been shocked of late to hear cool calculation entered into to show the great advantages which the South and South West would obtain by the establishment of a Southern Confederacy and securing free trade with England. Cities would spring up as if by magic in the Gulf, railroads and the great Mississippi could give us the control of the interior whilst free trade would secure us the trade of all nations. The wealth of the East would be poured into our laps over the Isthmus. We should soon surpass in splendor and wealth the fabulous accounts of the East whilst the North would be ruined by the destruction of the manufactures and commerce and be left to enjoy their bleak and barren hills and to repent at leisure their injustice to the South. I loose all patience and self control when I hear such things and be not surprised if you should hear even me with my fifty or sixty negroes denounced for favoring the abolitionists because I will not yield to the mad projects of disunion that are now so freely talked of. No man feels more abhorrence at the conduct and course of the abolitionists than I do. I will resist quarrel and fight them if necessary but I shall not dissolve the Union or sit with any party that shall attempt it directly or indirectly [?]. I do not censure less the conduct of the extreme Southern men than that of the abolitionists and shall be ready to meet their nefarious projects as those of the former. The proposed convention at Nashville alarms me *and the mode* proposed of electing delegates. They are to be selected by the Governor or the present legislators passing over the people for a very obvious reason. It would not suit their purposes to have these questions publicly discussed. High places are now filled by trick contrivances with men who would have been repudiated by the people if their designs had been understood and who will be scorned and rejected so soon as they are understood. I have been disgusted by the conduct of a few Southern Democrats in the defeat of Forney evidently designed to widen the breach if practicable between Northern and Southern Democrats. The greatest act of folly committed by the Democratic party for many years was in permitting Mr. C. to come back to

it. We should have kept him at arms length and treated him as a nullifier. From the moment he learned that Gen. J was in favor of Van Buren he has been making issues at which he is a great adept between the North and the South for the purpose of destroying Van Buren in the one or the other section and I suppose will never be content until he either rules or ruins. I think that he has now more power than that at any former period. I mean with the politicians because I think he has but little with the masses. You have no doubt noticed its progress in the Senate and House as well as the means by which it has been acquired. Unluckily since the death of Jackson and Polk we have none in the South with influence and courage enough to oppose it. Our legislature it is understood will sanction the convention and support or authorize the appointment by the Gov of delegates and pass strong resolutions not less strong than of Va.”¹⁵

The story of the expansion of the movement for the defense of southern rights from the congressional meetings in Washington to the project of a convention of the southern states has been made clear in more than one scholarly treatment, and it is here necessary only to give the briefest outline of this evolution.¹⁶ The connection of Calhoun with the movement in Mississippi is well established, though Foote of Mississippi professed that in the beginning he was ignorant of the correspondence which Calhoun was carrying on with men in Mississippi.¹⁷ But the practical beginnings came from Mississippi, and in the course of the convention's session the honor of originating it was claimed by that state.¹⁸ A convention held May 7 in Jackson, thinking itself

¹⁵ Johnson-Buchanan letters, January 20, 1850.

¹⁶ Besides the more or less unsatisfactory accounts in the general histories of Von Holst, Schouler, McMaster, Rhodes, and Garrison, and such older works as, e.g., J. P. Hodgson, *The cradle of the confederacy* . . . (Mobile, 1876), the student of this period may consult the altogether excellent monograph of Cleo Hearon, "Mississippi and the compromise of 1850," Mississippi Historical Society, *Publications*, 14: ch. 6, and the Justin Winsor prize essay by A. C. Cole, *The whig party in the South* (Washington, 1913), ch. 5, 6. A remarkable deficiency in the latter work, however, is the omission of any adequate discussion of the course of John Bell in the session of 1849-1850.

¹⁷ D. T. Herndon, "The Nashville convention of 1850," in Alabama Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1904, v. 5: 204-209.

¹⁸ *Nashville Daily American*, June 13, 1850, remarks of Governor Matthews of Mississippi.

to represent but a small part of the state, advised the assembling of another convention in October. After very great activity on the part of the politicians this convention met, passed resolutions upon the territorial questions, and included therein a call for a convention of the southern states. While democrats and whigs in Mississippi united in the movement, the democrats had taken the responsibility and the leadership, and the success of the democratic party in the elections in Mississippi was held to demonstrate the approval of the people of Mississippi and was a matter of encouragement to the southern partisans in other states. The action of Mississippi was followed in some sort by most of the southern states. There was, however, great diversity in the method of choosing delegates, and there was great difference in the spirit with which the elections were carried out. In some states the wish to refer the matter to the people led to the representation of only certain districts.¹⁹

With the opening of the year 1850, as news was received of action with regard to the proposed convention on the part of one or another of the southern states, the editor of the *Union* of Nashville, as well as those of other democratic papers in the state, had begun to agitate more actively the participation of Tennessee in the movement. In one of the earliest of the editorials on this subject, which appeared January 9, the *Union*, noting the introduction into the Tennessee legislature of a resolution looking to the appointment of delegates, and adverting to the action of Georgia, had maintained that the convention was not a party movement; but, as we have seen from the course of the matter in the legislature, this nonpartisan attitude was not to be preserved.²⁰ The whig newspapers, with the exception, first, of the *Enquirer* of Memphis and later of the *Trenton Banner*, were soon unanimous in opposition to the meeting of the convention in Nashville. The *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig* from January on continued to rebuke the plotters of dis-

¹⁹ Herndon, "The Nashville convention of 1850," in Alabama Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1904, v. 5: 212-216. For the selection of Nashville as the meeting place I have found no definite explanation afforded by contemporary evidence. Sufficient reasons doubtless were (1) the influence of the great party gatherings in Nashville in 1840 and 1844; (2) the importance of Tennessee as a border-state; and (3) the convenient geographical situation of Nashville.

²⁰ *Nashville Union*, January 9, 1850.

union.²¹ The *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig* was the organ of John Bell, upon whom again the editor of the *Union* launched strenuous criticism for his antisouthern course. A selfish politician, he had gained all that he could from Tennessee, and now in his whole senatorial course he looked to the North for countenance and support.²² The *Union* did not fail to point out the more sympathetic attitude of the *Banner* in the preceding October, when that paper had welcomed the meeting of the convention. The change in view was ascribed to the appointment of the former governor, Neil S. Brown, as minister to Russia, by which step the administration had purchased the support of the Tennessee whigs.²³ The *Banner* retorted that it was now obviously the purpose of the convention to foment disunion and secession, which purpose had not then been made manifest. Nothing was then heard, said the *Banner*, of a southern republic with a capital at Asheville.²⁴ The *Union* ridiculed the idea of a southern republic,²⁵ denied any purpose of secession as attaching to the convention, and claimed that every democratic newspaper in the state was for the convention, and that so good a whig paper as the *Memphis Enquirer* candidly acknowledged the desirability of it.²⁶ Memphis was willing to have the convention if Nashville was not. In February the *Union* argued somewhat as follows: Whatever measures of compromise might be adopted would not be passed before the end of the session. The convention meeting in June would voice a southern protest against northern aggression. As to the expected aggressive laws, their unconstitutionality might possibly be made more manifest, and the hand of oppression be stayed by the demonstration. If such laws were passed, the meeting of the convention might lead to a repeal. The measures to which the *Union* referred were declared to be, first, the proposal to deprive the South of the advantage of the "federal ratio" of five Negroes counting as three white men; secondly, the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the navy yards, and other possessions of the United States; third,

²¹ *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, January 28, 1850, *et seq.*

²² *Nashville Union*, March 13, 1850.

²³ *Ibid.*, February 16, 1850.

²⁴ *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, February 19, 1850.

²⁵ *Nashville Union*, February 20-24, 1850.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, March 11, 1850.

interference with the interstate transportation of slaves; and, fourth, the Wilmot proviso.²⁷ The real fear of the whigs, said the democratic editor, concerned not a dissolution of the union, but the dissolution of the whig party by a successful settlement of the slavery question, upon the continued agitation of which the whig organization must depend for its very existence. Whig opposition to the convention was only a scheme to prevent a settlement.²⁸

On April 13, as a part of its agitation to the end that Tennessee should be represented in the convention, the *Union* issued a call for a meeting to be held the first Monday in May to elect delegates from Davidson county, in which Nashville is situated. This call appealed to voters irrespective of party, but was limited to "friends of the convention." Among the signatures attached to the notice was that of Andrew Jackson's nephew, A. J. Donelson, who had just returned from his service as minister to the German government at Frankfort, having been recalled by the new whig administration.²⁹ A couple of days later ex-Governor Aaron V. Brown published in the *Union* a letter strongly pleading for the convention.³⁰ The gathering on the first Monday in May turned out not to be without its amusing features. A. J. Donelson was chosen president, obviously with the purpose of off-setting the use of Andrew Jackson's name in hostility to the convention. The "friends of the Convention" endeavored to railroad through the meeting resolutions looking to the election of representatives for Davidson county, but the debate revealed that the whigs were present in large numbers, and, notwithstanding Donelson's oratory on behalf of the convention, a resolution of an exactly opposite tenor was adopted. This was a decided damper to the "friends of the convention," but not utterly discouraged these remained in the room when the meeting adjourned and organized again with Donelson in the chair, and finally a list of twenty-nine delegates was presented and

²⁷ *Nashville Union*, February 27, 1850.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, February 24, 26, 1850.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, April 13, 1850. A misunderstanding of this participation of A. J. Donelson in the call for the county meeting in May may account for the statement of J. Phelan, *History of Tennessee* (Boston, 1889), 434, to the effect that the southern convention was originally called at Donelson's suggestion.

³⁰ *Nashville Union*, April 15, 1850.

these were elected to represent Davidson county.³¹ These proceedings were naturally a source of great glee to the whig newspapers, which of course trumpeted abroad the rejection of the convention by the community in whose midst it was to assemble. The proper interpretation of the incident is, however, somewhat different. The whigs were resolved to make the convention a party matter. In the Nashville district they outnumbered the democrats, and they were able to limit the report of the convention to the minority party and thus to stop any claim of the democrats that there was a general popular demand for the convention.

Even before the Davidson county meeting, to which we have referred, and throughout the week that followed, the newspapers are full of accounts of similar gatherings in other counties. The accounts of these in the whig and democratic papers, respectively, are so partisan that their statements must be taken with caution. It seems fair to conclude that, with certain exceptions, the lines of party were drawn in about the same way as in Nashville, the democrats generally favoring, and the whigs generally opposing the election of delegates.

Leaving for the present the action of the local communities during the interval before the assembling of the southern convention, let us pass for a moment to the halls of congress, where the matter of the proposed convention at Nashville appears to have excited rather more interest than most of the historians of the period have indicated. It will be well first to consider the course of those who were directly responsible for the interests of Tennessee and particularly her two senators, John Bell and Hopkins L. Turney, the former a whig, the latter a democrat.

In the first session of the thirty-first congress, when the compromise resolutions of Henry Clay had been introduced, and while Foote was struggling to effect the appointment of a committee of thirteen, John Bell,³² on February 28, 1850, submitted a compromise scheme of his own. The principal feature of this plan was the focusing of attention upon Texas rather than upon

³¹ *Nashville Union*, May 7, 1850; *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, May 7, 1850.

³² There is no adequate biography of John Bell. A thoughtful sketch is J. W. Caldwell, "John Bell of Tennessee," in *American historical review*, 4: 652-664. Caldwell, however, says nothing of Bell's activity in 1849-1850, except that he was a member of the committee of thirteen.

California. Recalling the terms of the provisions of the joint resolution for the annexation of Texas, which looked to the formation of new states out of Texas, he proposed that that part of Texas lying south of the thirty-fourth degree of north latitude and west of the Trinity river should be separated and admitted now to the union as a slave state. Next Texas, in return for five or six million dollars, should cede to the United States the territory claimed by the state west of the Colorado river, extending northward to forty-two degrees, together with all unappropriated domain north of thirty-four degrees. This territory should then be divided and the part west of the Colorado and south of the thirty-fourth parallel should be admitted, when of sufficient population, as a slave state while the remainder, except such part as lay east of the Rio Grande and south of thirty-four degrees, should be incorporated with the territory of New Mexico, to be governed in a "manner suitable to the condition of the people of the country," but without any resolution as to slavery. This plan, he urged, would meet the objections of the extreme antislavery people to the expansion of slavery territory, because really Texas would surrender "21½ degrees" of slave territory to be thereafter free territory; and it would solve the Texas-New Mexico boundary controversy. There should be no objection to leaving New Mexico without restriction as to slavery; as slavery would never find a lodgment there. The region west of New Mexico and east of the proposed state of California should likewise continue in a territorial condition without restrictions as to slavery; and the president's plan for the admission of California with the constitution adopted by the people of that region should be accepted. He included no suggestions as to the fugitive slave bill, the abolition of slavery, and the slave trade in the District of Columbia. These questions he believed would be adjusted if once the problem of the new acquisitions was solved.³³

³³ *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, 436-439. These resolutions Alexander H. Stephens described as "setting forth in substance what was then considered a modified form of the executive policy for a proper adjustment." (*A constitutional view of the late war between the states* [Philadelphia, 1870], 2: 205.) Bell's speech and resolutions were reprinted March 12 in the *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, which cited the Washington correspondent of the *Charleston* [S. C.] *Courier*, as saying: "I learn that Mr. Bell's propositions for a compromise are preferred

To Bell's resolutions of February 28 Calhoun, in his speech of March 4, appears to have made no reference. But Webster, in the famous seventh of March speech, included a considerable discussion of Bell's proposal as to Texas. He believed that this further recognition of the stipulation with Texas weakened the original compact, and he did not agree that, when a state was to be divided, the rule for admission from a territorial position — the rule establishing a minimum population of sixty thousand — must necessarily be followed. But in his earnest declaration, which so grieved the abolitionists, that the resolution for annexation was a binding contract, and that the country was pledged to the admission of new slave states if Texas so decided, he gave a strong moral support to this idea of Bell's.³⁴ This fact explains a statement made March 22 by Toombs in a letter written from Washington and addressed to Linton Stephens. "The settlement will probably be in the main on the basis of Bell's proposition as backed by Webster. We will take that with a clause putting the rights of property of American citizens under American laws and I think we have some chance to get it."³⁵

Foote moved that Bell's resolutions be referred to his proposed committee.³⁶ On March 27 Bell's resolutions were made the special order,³⁷ and for several days following the *Globe* uses the caption, "Mr. Bell's resolutions."³⁸ Webster, objecting to the reference to a committee and urging that the senate proceed at once to the question of California, coupled Bell's proposals with those of Douglas, Benton, and Clay.³⁹ Shields urged

to those of Mr. Clay by the Southern members. From the best sources, I am informed that Mr. Bell's project was a subject of consultation and that it is as favorable to the South as any measure that is likely to pass. The South would prefer the Missouri compromise line to any other project that has been named, but it cannot pass. The whole question, it is said, will be settled in a fortnight, or not for three months. The Texians will give their hearty assent to Mr. Bell's plan." Compare with this Cave Johnson to Buchanan, *post*, note 63.

³⁴ *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, 479, 480.

³⁵ U. B. Phillips, *The correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb* (American Historical Association, *Annual report*, 1911, v. 2 — Washington, 1913), 188.

³⁶ *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, 496, 508.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 611.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 617, 633, 640, 646, 656, 704, 721.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 640.

that if Texas were to be divided, the initiative must come from the people of that state. Benton was unwilling to confuse the Texas question with that of California.⁴⁰ On April 19 Bell was elected one of the committee of thirteen.⁴¹ When the committee made its report on May 8 the majority declared against Bell's proposals, maintaining, as Shields had argued, the propriety of leaving the division of Texas to the initiative of its inhabitants.⁴²

In direct opposition to the course of Bell was that of Turney. Of the feud between Turney and Nicholson we have already spoken. Turney had definitely identified himself with the southern movement in congress and, together with Stanton, a representative from the western district, had signed the southern address. Continuing to associate himself with the radicals, he appeared in May as chairman of a meeting called to consider the establishment in Washington of another newspaper which should be especially devoted to the interests of the South.⁴³ He professed devotion to the union, but to the extent of his capacity, which was not the greatest, he worked with the extremists. The occasion was afforded him to tell where he stood when one of the Washington newspapers cited the *Nashville Union* as opposing the proposed convention. He seized this opportunity to assert, on the contrary, the confidence of the democrats therein.⁴⁴ On the other hand John Bell was, as to this matter, very characteristically noncommittal. Emphasizing the excited state of opinion in the South, he stated: "At the same time, I must say, that in the State of which I am a public servant here, I have given no countenance — no encouragement at least — to some of the extreme measures proposed in the South. I have not countenanced the assembling of the Southern Convention among my friends in Tennessee. I have, on the other hand, rather encouraged the reposing of a liberal confidence in the North for the settling, not only of this, but of all other great questions of national and domestic policy, upon an equitable and liberal basis, as the best mode of repressing any hostile sentiments on the part of the North against the institutions of the South, or of the

⁴⁰ *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, 657.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 780.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 944 *et seq.*

⁴³ *Nashville Union*, May 21, 1850.

⁴⁴ *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, 417.

South against the North, on any ground whatever. If, therefore, any good should result from the proposed Southern Convention — and I trust that good may result from it; if it is held — I shall not be entitled to any credit for it; and if, on the other hand, evil should spring from it, though I may be a sufferer with every other citizen of the Union, I shall not be responsible for it.”⁴⁵

More serious than this evasion by the leader of the whig party was the statement made by Andrew Ewing, the democratic representative in congress from the Nashville district, which was usually a whig stronghold.⁴⁶ Ewing said, in reply to the remarks of Webster, Stanly of North Carolina, and others who had prophesied that the convention would fare ill at the hands of the people of Nashville: “It is due to the truth that I should say, that in my opinion a majority of the people of Nashville deem the convention unwise and inopportune; but it is equally true that they deeply sympathize in the feeling of hazard and alarm that has driven their southern brethren to the adoption of this ulterior remedy; and under no circumstances would they treat with rudeness and indecorum a reputable body of their fellow-citizens, who had assembled at our city for the discussion of such grave and solemn interests.”⁴⁷ The whig papers of course seized hold upon this, and the meeting of May, described above, seemed to bear out Ewing’s admission that the people of Nashville were opposed to the convention.

The report of Clay’s committee of thirteen was submitted to the senate on May 8, and about a week later began to be discussed in the Tennessee newspapers.⁴⁸ The *Union* at once took up with enthusiasm the plan of the report in opposition to the presidential plan, which, it will be remembered, Bell was supposed to support. “It is time,” said the *Union*, “to take sides. We take the side of the Compromise bill.”⁴⁹ The *Union* complained that the whig newspapers were silent while waiting for instructions from Washington. Very shortly afterwards,

⁴⁵ *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, 438.

⁴⁶ The explanation of Ewing’s success in a district usually whig is found in the large whig connection of his family, part of which he carried with him.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, ap., 452.

⁴⁸ *Nashville True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register*, May 14, 1850.

⁴⁹ *Nashville Union*, May 24, 1850.

the whig papers came out for the compromise also. But it is very interesting to analyze the different motives which actuated the whig and democratic journals. The whig editors made it their business to continue to attack the convention and to uphold the compromise plan as against the alleged disunion movement. The *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, changing somewhat its line of argument, now alleged that the "conventionists" were basing their scheme on the idea that if the compromise measures were adopted, the democrats might claim the credit of having compelled their passage, through the convening of this body. The *True Whig* devoted able editorials to demonstrating that there was not any essential difference between the president's ideas and those of Clay's committee⁵⁰ — a point of view hardly borne out by the remarks either of Bell or of Clay in the senate. Thus each party declared for the compromise plan, and each interpreted it in its partisan sense.

On May 22 the removal of the remains of President Polk to a vault at his home place in Nashville was the occasion for patriotic ceremonies and an oration by Bishop Otey.⁵¹ There now began a series of meetings throughout the counties in Tennessee in favor of the compromise report, and one of these was scheduled to meet at Nashville June 1, just two days before the time

⁵⁰ "The Desperate Fix of the Conventionists." *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, May 25, 1850. "The Administration and the Compromise." *Nashville True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register*, May 31, 1850 (v. 2, no. 9), pp. 131-132, 135. In the same number under the heading, "Signs of the times," the *True Whig* presented some very interesting suggestions. It asserted, first that the southern "ultra-ists" were fast abandoning the old position of nonintervention and were now demanding of congress a positive guarantee of the constitutional right to introduce slavery into the territories, a procedure which nullified their former arguments, for if it were constitutional to legislate slavery into the territories, it would also be constitutional to legislate it out: secondly, that the demand of the ultrasouthern senators for the extension of the line of 36° 30' to which it was known that the North would not accede was prompted by a desire for the dissolution of the union as an "alternative": thirdly, that there was a noticeable identity in personnel between the southern advocates of the Nashville convention and the promoters of the expedition of General Lopez for the conquest of Cuba. This, said the *True Whig*, was "like casting a fire-brand into the magazine," and "we have a right to infer that the refusal to admit Cuba as an independent Southern state into the Union . . . is another 'alternative,' vaguely hinted at by Mr. Calhoun in his letter to Colonel Tarpley to which 'disunion' would be preferred by the extreme Southern factionists." The Lopez expedition, it will be remembered, had just taken place — in the last of May, 1850.

⁵¹ *Nashville Daily Gazette*, May 23, 1850.

of assembling of the southern convention.⁵² This meeting was held as appointed, and was addressed by E. H. Foster, the peer of Bell in the estimation of the whigs. Nicholson and Brown were called for, but neither appeared,⁵³ nor was the editor of the *Union* present.⁵⁴

These gentlemen were doubtless busy with the preparation for the southern convention. Already for some days the delegates had been arriving.⁵⁵ A subcommittee of the Tennessee delegates, it was announced, would be constantly in attendance at the *Union* office on Cherry street near the postoffice. Delegates were invited to register here or to send their names.⁵⁶

From the several newspapers one may pick up not a few bits of detail regarding the meeting of the convention. As early as February the *Gazette* had jocosely remarked that the meeting of the convention would be a good thing for the hotel keepers. "Our landlords will feed and lodge the delegates well, notwithstanding they may deem them on a fool's errand, and destined to become as odious as the notorious Hartford Convention men."⁵⁷ The descent upon the little city of Nashville of nearly one hundred and seventy-five delegates, together with many others attracted by curiosity, must indeed have enlivened the town. In the evenings the delegates might be afforded amusement by the performance of the Swiss bell-ringers, while a Mrs. Fogg, on account of the thinness of her audience, postponed to a more favorable evening her "Ballad Entertainment."⁵⁸ It was noticed that the proceedings of the southern convention were telegraphed in full to many of the western and northern papers.⁵⁹ T. A. Foster, the traveling agent of the *Democratic Review*, was in the city.⁶⁰ The *Union*, before the convention was a day old, had added to its list two hundred new subscribers. At the first

⁵² *Nashville Daily Gazette*, May 29, 1850.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, June 2, 1850.

⁵⁴ *Nashville Union*, June 2, 1850.

⁵⁵ *Nashville Daily Gazette*, May 30, 1850. Among the earliest were some from South Carolina, who thus had an opportunity to ascertain the sentiments of Tennessee.

⁵⁶ *Nashville Union*, May 30, 31, 1850.

⁵⁷ *Nashville Daily Gazette*, February 13, 1850.

⁵⁸ *Nashville Centre-State American*, June 8, 1850.

⁵⁹ *Nashville Daily Gazette*, June 13, 1850.

⁶⁰ *Nashville Union*, June 2, 1850.

session which met in the Odd Fellows' hall it was discovered that that place was too small for the number of delegates. The trustees of McKendree church then kindly offered the use of that building,⁶¹ and there the subsequent days' sessions were held. At the adjournment of the convention the delegates from South Carolina thoughtfully presented to the church a new carpet to take the place of the one which had been injured by the coming and going of the delegates.⁶²

A particularly bright reporter of the scenes of the convention was a young woman who, assuming the name Kate Conynham, described herself as "a Yankee girl." Residing with a "colonel" who lived at "Overton Park," a three hours' ride from Nashville, she experienced a "start of innate horror" at the suggestion of her host that they should visit Nashville and the convention, for she supposed that like its predecessor at Hartford it would meet behind closed doors. She describes the impression made upon her by the churches at Nashville, and the half-finished capitol, and proceeds to give her impression of the convention as she beheld it assembled in McKendree church. On the floor only ladies were admitted, except of course the members: the galleries were packed with "lookers-on and lookers-down." On the floor in the front part of the church the delegation of each state was seated by itself. The front pews on either side of the broad aisle, in front of the president, were assigned to South Carolina and Mississippi, respectively. On the right of Mississippi was Virginia, occupying two pews. On the left of Carolina was Florida, and in the rear Alabama, while the Georgians sat behind the Mississippians. The Tennessee delegates, among whom was General Pillow in a white military vest, and Major W. H. Polk, the late president's brother, occupied the side pews on the left of the pulpit. In front of the pulpit was a carpeted platform within the chancel railing, on which were placed a dozen little green tables for the editors and reporters.

In the chair was Judge Sharkey, "a dignified, Andrew Jackson looking man." Speaking when her party entered, was Hammond of South Carolina of a "conservative, pale, intellectual

⁶¹ *Nashville Union*, June 4, 1850.

⁶² *Centre-State American*, June 15, 1850.

aspect, with a high forehead, white and polished as marble." The South Carolina delegation was the most talented with the exception, possibly, of that of Mississippi. After a brief description of Rhett and Barnwell, she speaks of Cheves as "a hale, white-headed old gentleman, with a fine port-wine tint to his florid cheek." The most eloquent was Pickens who had a "face like one of the old Roman emperors which I have seen on a coin, Neva [*sic*], I think," and whose oratory was "worthy of the Forum." This young lady of the North was impressed with the conservatism of the South Carolina delegation. The most ultra were the Virginians. Among them was Beverly Tucker, the half-brother of John Randolph, entering upon his dotage, and sometimes forgetful that ladies were present. The most able and patriotic was Gordon. Among the others who impressed this visitor were McRea of Mississippi, a young man who was a "man of work by display of talents for debate." The oratory of Colquitt of Georgia was of the athletic kind. Among the Tennesseans William H. Polk was "bearded like an Ottoman chief." But chief in fascination for Miss Conynham was General Pillow who lived "in elegant and opulent retirement, not far south of Nashville," and would probably be the next governor. She deprecated the foolish stories about him in the newspapers.

Despite her prejudices, this young lady was deeply impressed with the dignity and solemnity of the gathering. At first the citizens were opposed to the convention, she reports, but day by day as its sessions advanced it grew in favor. The galleries, the people sovereign, thundered applause and the ladies smiled approbation. This applause was impartial, for with fickleness the galleries applauded both suggestions of nonintercourse with the North and sentiments of devotion to the defense of the union. The convention had contributed much to the social life of Nashville, and brilliant dinner parties were the order of the day. A "Whig jurist" opposed to the convention politically, nevertheless was entertaining the delegates.

The suggestions of a second session were regarded by moderate men as an imprudent challenge and one perilous to be taken up. What the result and influence of the action of the convention might be "is not," said Miss Conynham, "for a female pen to say, but I believe firmly that it will have a tendency to con-

solidate the Union." In conclusion she urged that the convention should command the respect of the North.⁶³

⁶³ "More needles from my needle book," by Miss Kate Conynham, written for the *Model American Courier*, "Needle Number 17," reprinted in the *Nashville Union*, July 24, 1850, at the request of "a lady."

Another interested visitor to the convention was Cave Johnson, who, in a long letter to Buchanan, has recorded his impressions of the gathering. This additional independent account is highly valuable in corroboration of the other sources for the history of the convention. The main body of the letter follows:

"I have seen the elephant and suppose that you will be somewhat interested in the little I learned. I declined being a member of the convention as you were informed in my last. I apprehend great danger to the Democracy of Tennessee, and to give a counter direction to public opinion here from what I supposed would be the action of the convention procured a public meeting in our town over which I presided and made a speech in favor of the Compromise bill reported from the Comm of 13. Many others followed, Whigs and Democrats. It resulted in a unanimous vote in favor of them. Meetings have been since held in many other counties with like unanimity and it seems probable that the State will follow with great unanimity. This was ten days before the convention met. I was prevailed upon by some of our friends to go to the convention to meet the Tennessee delegates to consult for ourselves what was best to be done. I spent two days. The convention you will see is composed of men from the other states who had been old nullifiers and of young men who had been most devoted to the chief of that sect. I found there Gen. Gordon and Goode, and W. Newton from Virginia, and Beverly Tucker, the author of the *Partisan Leader*, Pickens and Rhett, Hammond and Cheves from So C., the latter very old and said to be intemperate and of course useless except his name, Colquitt and McDonald from Ga., Fitzpatrick, Chapman and Campbell from Ala., Sharkey, and Clayton and Gov Matthews from Miss., Pearson of Fla., Roane of Arkansas, and Gen. Henderson from Texas. These seemed the most prominent. From a good deal of conversation with some of them I concluded they were less restive and factious than I supposed. They expect to make 36° 30' their ultimatum. Our Tennessee men were apprehensive that the real design of some of them was to defeat the bill now pending by opposing to it the Missouri Compromise which they believed in its turn would be defeated and the question left for agitation. This seemed likely to be the point of difference between Tenn and the other states when I left there. A. V. Brown and Nicholson were appointed on the part of Tennessee on the Comm to prepare resolutions. Brown will struggle for retaining the Compromise bill with a change of the boundaries to 36° 30' and produce union. Nicholson whose opinion I had not had an opportunity to ascertain precisely I think will go for the Compromise lest any new measure should take a feather out of the cap of Cass and defeat its settlement. The Tennesseans would all have preferred 36° 30', but for the reason assigned. Rumors were afloat that you had agreed with 15 Southern Senators to bring force enough from the North to carry 36° 30' and that you had published a letter wh was most anxiously expected [by] every mail. I could not trace the origin of the report but expressed the opinion that you wd not publish any letter or say and do anything that could be construed into an effort to defeat the aforesaid bill but your opinion had been long known in favor of 36-30, had made a speech, etc. From the little I could learn the class of politicians there from the South would under no circumstances take Gen C— and it was difficult to learn whose claim they

The formal proceedings of the convention, which was in session from June 3 to June 12, inclusive, are to be found in the official publication issued by authority of the convention itself, and in the very full accounts which appeared in some of the Nashville newspapers.⁶⁴ At the first session, held on Monday

wd most favor. Gov McDonald spoke freely in your behalf Many others favorably without expressing a preference. It is understood here that Bell would probably favor if not defend the course of Gen T—. Strong apprehensions are expressed that he would go for 36-30 as a means of defeating the bill, hence a great anxiety was felt to give him no excuse for voting agt Clay's bill. I think the Tennesseans will withdraw or enter a protest agt the policy proposed by the Southern States and stake themselves on the Compromise, which is exceedingly popular with both parties here. [I] cd not remain longer. Most of the ultra Southern men here are unconquerably prejudiced agt Cass. I think are disposed to favor Woodbury. I thought if they had favored you they wd have talked more freely with me. There were many speculations as to the effect of the compromise if passed. Some said that the next presidential [?] wd be between Cass and Clay. If not passed the North would take up Taylor and that Clay wd be run by the Compromisers. If 36-30 shd be insisted that you wd probably be the nominee agt Taylor. Taylor has no friends here *now*. I suppose we shall have the resolutions in a day or two when the debate will commence but I think there is no *fighting ground* between the Compromise Bill and 36-30. I could not adhere to my resolutions of having nothing to do with politics when such questions were before the people. Tho my sign board is up as a lawyer I am more generally regarded as a politician. My movements now are I find attributed by the Whigs to a desire to supercede Turney and they promise help if the Democrats succeed in the next election while the friends of Gen Harris are alarmed lest I should seek his place. Both alike mistakes but one thing is certain, I receive more political visits than professional calls as yet." Johnson-Buchanan letters, June 6. "Have you seen the elephant?" was a popular slang phrase of the day.

⁶⁴ The southern convention in Nashville has been made the subject of two special articles, as follows: (1) Herndon, "The Nashville convention of 1850," in *Transactions* of the Alabama Historical Society for 1904, pp. 203-237. Herndon's account of the first session, however, is based almost exclusively on the reports in the *Republican Banner* and *Nashville Whig* of Nashville, and that of the second session upon the material in the *Nashville American*. (2) F. Newberry, "The Nashville convention and southern sentiment of 1850," in the *South Atlantic quarterly*, 11: no. 3 (July, 1912). The latter author appears to be unaware of the former's work. The article has merit, but is less satisfactory than that of Herndon.

The principal original source for the convention is the official journal published for each session. The titles are as follows: For the first session, *Resolutions and address, adopted by the southern convention, held at Nashville, Tennessee, June 3d to 12th, inclusive, in the year 1850; published by order of the convention* (Nashville, Tenn.: Harvey M. Watterson, Printer, 1850). As cited in a bibliographical note by Miss A. R. Hasse ("The southern convention of 1850," in *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, 14: no. 4 [April, 1910], p. 239), the title varies slightly, including after "address" the words "and journal of proceedings of the southern convention," in lieu of those given above and omitting "and" after the first word. A copy in the Harvard University library, cited in H. V. Ames, *State documents on federal relations* (Philadelphia, 1906), appears to agree in title with that cited by Miss Hasse. The copy

afternoon, June 3, the convention was called to order by Aaron V. Brown of Tennessee. Judge W. L. Sharkey of Mississippi was chosen permanent president, and Governor McDonald of

used by the writer, belonging to Mr. L. R. Campbell, lacks pages 49-64, inclusive. For the second session, *Journal of proceedings of the southern convention, at its adjourned session, held at Nashville, Tenn., Nov. 11, 1850, and subsequent days* (Nashville, Tenn.: Eastman & Boyers, Printers, American Office, 1850).

Miss Hasse gives a valuable note as to the printing of the proceedings and speeches in various eastern newspapers. To this may be added the following note upon the newspapers of Nashville:

The democratic newspapers were (1) the *Daily Union*, E. G. Eastman, editor. For some time prior to September, 1849, the publisher was J. G. Shepherd, but in that month he disposed of his interests to Harvey M. Watterson, a former representative in congress. Eastman continued as editor until July, 1850, when he was dismissed by Watterson who then assumed the editorship himself. This action, as is made clear in the text of this paper, was due to a divergence in the political opinions of Watterson and Eastman. The *Union* considered itself the organ of the democratic party in Tennessee. It will be noted that Eastman was one of the secretaries of the Nashville convention. As one would expect then, the accounts of the convention in the *Union* are very full. This is especially important for the speeches.

(2) The *Daily Centre-State American* prior to October, 1849, was owned in partnership by Thompson and Hutton. At that time Thompson disposed of his interests to Hutton, and Thomas Boyers, of the *Gallatin Tenth Legion*, became editor. In August, 1850, Hutton retired, and Eastman, who had left the employ of the *Union*, bought an interest in the *American*. Henceforth their names appear as E. G. Eastman, Thomas Boyers, editors and publishers. The accounts of the first session in the *American* are thinner than those in the *Union*. But as to the second session the reverse is true. In this one sees the influence of Eastman. Shortly after the commencement of Eastman's connection with the *American*, the words "Centre-State" were dropped and "Nashville" substituted.

The whig papers were (1) the *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*. W. F. Bang and company, proprietors; William Wales, editor. In the early part of 1849 the *Nashville Whig* was edited by A. A. Hall and published by B. R. McKennie. Hall accepted appointment from President Taylor and transferred the subscription and good will of the *Whig* to the *Republican Banner*, which then assumed the title given above. This newspaper was devoted to the interests of John Bell, and undertook to represent the whig party as the *Union* did the democratic. The accounts of the proceedings and the debates of the convention were full, at least for the first session, though the editor was bitterly in opposition.

(2) On the action of Hall, to which reference is made above, McKennie associated with himself A. M. Rosborough, formerly editor of the *Columbia Observer*, and E. P. McGinty, who had conducted the *Clarksville Chronicle*. Under their editorship, with McKennie as publisher, was instituted the *Nashville True Whig*. Besides the regular daily form a weekly edition was published under the title *Nashville True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register*. This paper also gives a full account of the proceedings and debates of the convention, and like the *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig* was hostile to the convention.

(3) The *Daily Gazette*, city of Nashville, Wm. Hy. Smith, editor, A. Nelson and company, publishers, a smaller and cheaper paper, in July, 1850, was transferred, the

Georgia, vice-president. E. G. Eastman, editor of the *Nashville Union*, and W. F. Cooper were appointed secretaries. After some very warm speeches, among which that of Pickens of South Carolina attracted special notice, the convention decided to vote by delegations, and that each state should have one vote. On the second day, upon motion of Governor Brown, it was resolved to raise a committee of two members from each state to which should be referred all propositions submitted for the consideration of the convention. Of this committee each delegation was to choose two members — except in the case of Texas which had only one delegate. For Tennessee the two members chosen were Brown and Nicholson. The convention then proceeded to hear the several resolutions introduced by its members, which turned out to be a lengthy proceeding, extending over several sessions. These resolutions were referred without debate to the committee. The first to be presented were those of Judge Campbell of Alabama; others were presented by Erwin of Alabama, Dawson of Georgia, McRea of Mississippi, Benning of Georgia, Tucker of Virginia, Pearson of Florida, McClelland of Florida, Polk of Tennessee, Coleman and Buford of Alabama, Wilkinson of Mississippi, Henderson of Texas, Goode of Virginia, and Fouche of Georgia. Some of the resolutions were in long series, some were limited to a single proposal. Some were conservative, but the larger part were aggressive in tone.

By Saturday, the eighth, the committee of resolutions, of which Gordon of Virginia had been made chairman, was ready to report, and submitted to the convention a long series of resolutions and an address. The resolutions are seen, upon comparison, to be based upon the first resolutions submitted, those of

business department to J. L. Haynes and company, and the editorship to John L. Marling. This newspaper did not attempt to give full reports of the meetings of the convention, but contented itself with summaries. These, however, are often helpful as contemporary interpretations of the actions of the convention.

In Ames, *State documents on federal relations* (pp. 263-269), will be found reprinted all the June resolutions with the exception of those relating to Texas. M. W. Cluskey, *The political text-book or encyclopedia* (Washington, 1857) gives the first thirteen of the June resolutions, but not the address (pp. 532-533); the November resolutions (pp. 533-535); and the Tennessee resolutions (pp. 535-536). Herndon's article (see above) is particularly well documented, including lists of the delegates (taken, however, from the newspapers and not from the official journals), the resolutions of the first session, in part, and extensive excerpts from the address, and the resolutions of the second session.

Judge Campbell. The address was later declared to be the work of Robert Barnwell Rhett, who, however, had been conspicuously silent during the convention. Both resolutions and address were read by Campbell, and then, together with the minority report signed by Nicholson and Brown of the Tennessee delegation, William M. Murphy of Alabama, Arthur J. Forman of Florida, and Sam. C. Roane of Arkansas, were ordered to be printed. To the committee were referred other resolutions recently introduced.

Monday, June 10, Pillow presented some amendments to the address, but by a parliamentary *tour de force*, the resolutions were first forced to a vote. They were adopted. Later, on the vote by states, the address — amended meanwhile as proposed by Pillow — was unanimously adopted: but upon a call of the roll of individual delegates several of the Alabama group, with Gholson of Virginia, recorded their names as against the adoption of the address. Sharkey did likewise, but later, upon the solicitation of friends, withdrew his vote, though he did not change it to the affirmative.

After resolutions in regard to the interests of Texas had been adopted, Mr. Dawson, a young delegate from Georgia, pressing resolutions as to the establishment of a southern party and of a southern press at Washington city, insinuated that the convention might be charged with political purposes. "It had been suspected and whispered that a little infant president was quickening in some portions of the Address that had been adopted. He called on the convention to disavow it." The resolutions were, however, laid upon the table. After passing various resolutions of thanks, and after brief valedictories from the president and the vice-president, the convention adjourned sine die.⁶⁵

While sentiment in Tennessee was well-nigh universal in favor of the compromise, the assembling of the convention made a deep impression. Of course the most outspoken approval of the convention was that of the *Union*. The work of the convention, as that paper summed it up, had prepared the way for the

⁶⁵ In the course of the vigorous debate which marked the last two days of the convention there were made several speeches interesting and important for the historical student. Among these were Colquitt and Tucker on the extreme side, those of Hunter and Wilkinson, of conciliatory tone, and, especially, the running debate between Sharkey and Hammond.

removal of difficulties and for the development of a sentiment of unity. The effect on the community, said the editor, has been noticeable. Now there was heard none of the fierce denunciation that had marked the early period before the convention met.⁶⁶ The *Centre-State American*, with enthusiasm, said that the phantom of treason had not once intruded on its deliberations.⁶⁷

With even greater interest one turns to the opinion of the whig newspapers. The *Gazette* admired "the propriety, dignity, forbearance and moderation" which characterized the deliberations of the convention. "It were well for the northern representatives in Congress to take warning."⁶⁸ "It is but just to remark," said the *True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register*, "that the Convention embodied a large amount of talent and intelligence; its deliberations were orderly and decorous; its discussions were conducted with ability and courtesy, and the delegates separated with as much harmony and good feeling as usually characterizes bodies of similar organization."⁶⁹ But while thus paying respect to the sobriety of the convention and refusing to underrate it, both this journal and the equally influential *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig* denounced the doctrines which the convention had adopted as its own in the address. The charge of "Nullification" for some time filled the columns of the *True Whig*.⁷⁰

The whigs criticised with especial bitterness the course of the Tennessee delegation. The members from Tennessee had indeed softened the address, but why had they not voted against it as the open dissentients had done?⁷¹ To the writer the explanation seems clear. In insisting upon the line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes and denouncing the plan of the senate committee, the convention was but following the leadership of the ultrasouthern group in Washington from which it had taken its real beginning. The Tennessee leaders, while thoroughly conscious that public opinion in their state was very different

⁶⁶ *Nashville Union*, June 14, 1850.

⁶⁷ *Centre-State American*, June 15, 1850.

⁶⁸ *Nashville Daily Gazette*, June 14, 1850.

⁶⁹ *Nashville True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register*, June 14, 1850.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, June 21, 28, July 5, 1850.

⁷¹ *Nashville Daily Gazette*, June 14, 1850.

from that in South Carolina and the lower South, nevertheless were very much affected by the southern influence in the convention. In a speech delivered in the house of representatives August 9, 1850,⁷² C. H. Williams, one of the whig members from Tennessee, gave the following interesting explanation of what had happened:

“This celebrated Nashville convention in the fullness of time met. The representatives of Tennessee, as I am credibly informed, having seen a letter from a member of the convention, were in favor unanimously of the Compromise bill of the Senate. Yet, before they adjourned, they were unanimously for the Missouri Compromise line. How was this radical change and sudden revolution effected? Let plain facts attest. Some of the representatives from Tennessee were telegraphed by members in this Hall, and were informed that if the convention would agree upon the Senate compromise bill then before the Senate, that there was every prospect that it would be passed by the Senate of the United States. The same representatives in the convention were informed that if the convention agreed upon the Missouri compromise line, it could not and would not pass the Congress of the United States. With a full knowledge that its passage was hopeless, the Nashville convention, with great unanimity, agreed upon that line of adjustment, regardless of the fact that the democratic party, no longer ago than last Congress, repudiated and denounced that line of adjustment as unconstitutional and unjust. Why this political sunset [*sic*]? The Hon. Robert B. Rhett tells you in his Charleston speech. He says that in five days the Tennessee delegation wheeled into line. What line? The disunion line. How? By rejecting the Senate compromise bill and agreeing to the Missouri compromise line that they knew to be impracticable.”

Rhett's speech, to which Williams made reference, had been delivered in Charleston very shortly after his return from Nashville, and had been as much more radical than the address as that was more radical than the resolutions. Of the convention Rhett had said: “Its effect was in nothing more remarkable

⁷² *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, ap., 1052. This passage is cited by Hermann E. von Holst, *Constitutional and political history of the United States* (Chicago, 1879-1892), 3: 353, n. 2.

than in the change of opinion and feeling it apparently produced on the people of Nashville and the Tennessee delegation. . . . The toast of Governor Brown, at a dinner given by General Pillow and himself to the delegates of the Convention, declaring that in five days the Tennessee delegation were brought into line, shows how previous mistrust had been changed into confidence."⁷³ So much was made of this unguarded statement of Rhett's that Brown thought it worth while to make a formal explanation. His alleged statement was very speciously converted into a mere dinner jest which had had reference only to the arrangement of the tables at which the guests were seated.⁷⁴ Brown communicated to the newspapers a letter in defense of the convention and the Tennessee delegation, which like most of his productions, was rather rhetorical.⁷⁵ A more impressive document was the letter of Nicholson which appeared in the *Union*. From his experience in the convention Nicholson declared that there had been a general agreement on conservatism and that the convention had steadily looked toward harmonizing the South. It was a pioneer in a grand movement for the preservation of southern rights. It had given a quietus, he believed, to the idea of secession. He had yielded a reluctant assent to the proposal of the line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes which to him involved congressional intervention on one side of the line and not on the other. He thought it a mistake for southern men violently to attack the compromise as reported, which was as much southern as northern in origin.⁷⁶

Meanwhile early in July, after the adjournment of the Nashville convention, and just before the illness of President Taylor, Bell made in the senate a very long speech, which occupied in the delivery parts of three days.⁷⁷ At this time he strangely repudiated his own plan of February, which, he said, was made up of propositions submitted by others; yet he spent some time replying to the criticisms made of it. He now undertook to de-

⁷³ *Nashville Union*, July 3, 1850; *Nashville True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register*, July 5, 1850; *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, July 27, 1850.

⁷⁴ *Nashville Union*, July 11, 1850.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, July 1, 1850; *Nashville True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register*, July 5, 1850.

⁷⁶ *Nashville Union*, June 23, 1850. Nicholson's argument was ably criticised in the *Nashville True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register*, June 28, 1850.

⁷⁷ *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, ap., 1088-1106.

fend the plan of President Taylor and involved himself in a running debate with Clay, who, he intimated, in his insistence upon the plan of the committee, was exercising a "moral despotism." The basis of this attack was Clay's speech of May 21 in which he defended, as he claimed, the bill of the committee against the administration. The issue between the president and Clay, Bell said, presented the old question whether Mahomet would go to the mountain, or the mountain should come to Mahomet. He did not undertake to say which was Mahomet or which the mountain. Clay retorted that he only wanted the mountain to let him alone.

As the debate progressed, Foote accused Bell of inconsistency in abandoning his own suggestions. "But in regard to those resolutions of his," Foote said, "upon which the great plan of adjustment is principally based, I must confess that whilst I recognized him as decidedly a public benefactor in proposing them, for which I have always considered him entitled to peculiar gratitude, yet it seems he has been merely contriving to lead myself and others into a mistake, and has induced us to accord a respect and favor to his own resolutions, which he is himself willing to show was misplaced." Bell replied that the committee of thirteen, with Foote and his friends, deserted him and cut off the only one of his resolutions that he had particularly at heart. Foote urged that Bell's course, if he really intended to support the compromise would weaken the support to it in the South. Bell disclaimed any such purpose, and modestly depreciated the extent of his own influence outside of his own state. After a long running comment on each of the measures contained in the compromise, he asserted that he would support any plan "which holds out the remotest prospect of restoring peace and harmony to the country." "And whatever doubts," he continued, "I may entertain of the efficacy of the one now presented for the decision of the Senate, I expect to give it my vote, unless I shall see that some other more acceptable measure is more likely to find favor with Congress."

The point which we have indicated was reached by Bell towards the conclusion of his remarks upon the second day. For the remainder of this day and upon the next Bell's speech became an eloquent, thoughtful, and conservative discourse upon

the history of the past of the United States and upon the larger aspect of the questions which were then agitating the public mind. Nowhere is found a better expression of his attitude towards the political issues of the United States. But of the first part of his speech the *New York Herald* said that it was "a sweeping round and round the Omnibus, very seldom coming within hailing distance of the driver," and called it "dreadfully metaphysical, abstruse, and dull."⁷⁸ Late in September, after the adoption of the compromise measures and the adjournment of congress, Bell had republished in the *Nashville True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register* his remarks of July 5 and 6, prefacing them with a letter rather pessimistic in tone. The crisis, he said, was not passed. He complained bitterly of the use of money under the disguise of the federal patronage "to operate as a standing premium to successful factions." He urged the sons of Tennessee to cultivate a spirit of harmony as the state would inevitably play a large part in the decisions of the future.⁷⁹ This, of course, was after the death of Taylor, an event which must have been a severe blow to Bell. The part which Bell might have played had the president lived affords ground for interesting speculation.

In contrast with Bell's somewhat uncertain course, Turney consistently threw in his lot with Davis of Mississippi and his coworkers. These carried out the ideas of the southern convention, endeavoring, first, so to amend the Texas and the California measures as to render them satisfactory to the South, and, failing in this, to defeat the compromise. According to a document said to have been found by federal soldiers in 1863, in Winchester, Tennessee, the home of Senator Turney, an agreement was signed on August 2, 1850, by ten southern senators to "avail ourselves of any and every means which a majority of those signing this paper may determine to prevent the admission of California as a state unless the southern boundary be reduced to 36° 30'" The first name upon the list is that of H. L. Turney. Upon the reverse of the document is a record of a vote taken by these ten senators on the question of resisting "by all Parliamentary means" the passage of the bill, which was lost

⁷⁸ Cited in *Nashville Union*, July 16, 1850.

⁷⁹ *Nashville True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register*, September 27, 1850.

upon a tie. Turney voted aye, with Davis, Soulé, Morton, and Yulee.⁸⁰ Despite all their opposition the bill was passed by the senate August 13. Hunter of Virginia then presented a protest on behalf of this same group, on which, also, Turney's name appears.⁸¹ The news of the passage of the compromise measures was received in Nashville with the booming of cannon, and an enthusiastic meeting was held which passed resolutions of thanks to those of the senators and representatives of Tennessee who had supported those measures. The exclusion of Turney by such words was deliberate.⁸²

Very shortly after the adjournment of the June session of the convention, E. G. Eastman, the editor of the *Union*, had been dismissed by the owner Watterson, and later had become editor of the *American*.⁸³ The latter newspaper at once took on a stronger southern tone. It was the only Nashville paper to defend Turney and the only one to dissent from the chorus of approval of the compromise. Yet even the *American*, so late as October, declared that a second session of the southern convention "could not now do any good."⁸⁴ When, therefore, the southern intransigents determined that the action of congress did justify a second session, the convention, shorn of numbers

⁸⁰ "Fifth annual report of the historical manuscripts commission," ap. 1, in American Historical Association, *Annual report*, 1900 (Washington, 1901), 1:602-603. Cited in R. G. Thwaites, *Descriptive list of manuscript collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (Madison, 1906), 146; and (not quite accurately) by Miss Cleo Hearon in "Mississippi and the compromise of 1850," in Mississippi Historical Society, *Publications*, 14: 139, n., 140, n.

⁸¹ *Congressional globe*, 31 congress, 1 session, 1578.

⁸² *Nashville True Whig and Weekly Commercial Register*, September 27, 1850. Turney voted for the fugitive slave law and the Utah bill, and against the Texas boundary bill, the California bill, and the bill for the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. Bell, on the other hand, voted for the Texas, the California, and the fugitive slave bill, and against the Utah bill. On the New Mexico and the District of Columbia bill he cast no vote. Of the Tennessee delegates in the house of representatives the whig members supported the compromise measures, except the District of Columbia bill, for which only M. P. Gentry gave a favorable vote. On this and on the Texas and New Mexico bills, the Utah bill, and the fugitive slave bill, the democrats joined with the whigs, unless an individual refrained from voting at all. The only real division of sentiment appeared in the case of the California bill. Here the votes were seven to four. All the negative votes were democratic; on the affirmative side were all the whig names, and those of these democrats: G. W. Jones, Ewing, and Andrew Johnson. Cluskey, *Political text-book*, 107-109.

⁸³ *Nashville Union*, July 22, 1850.

⁸⁴ *Centre-State American*, October 15, 1850.

and strength, reassembled on November 11, in an atmosphere distinctly hostile.

The meetings, which lasted through seven days, were held in the Christian church; and the procedure was much the same as before. The most vivid incident was, perhaps, the fiery speech of the aged Cheves, who urged immediate secession.⁸⁵ While the South Carolinians were in control, the general leadership was placed in the hands of C. C. Clay of Alabama. Less than sixty delegates attended, and only the South Carolina and the Tennessee delegations were to any extent composed of the same men as in the June session.⁸⁶ The explanation is found, of course, in the withdrawal of the conservatives from other states, such, for example, as Judge Sharkey. Instead of a hundred, Tennessee now had but fourteen representatives and most of these were the politicians around Nashville. Among them were Brown, Pillow, Nicholson, and Donelson. These now attempted to stem the tide of radicalism in the convention by the preparation and introduction of the "Tennessee Resolutions,"⁸⁷ which were much more moderate than those adopted by the convention.

⁸⁵ *Nashville Daily American*, November 16, 1850. Miss Hasse (see *ante*, note 64) was unable to find this speech in the eastern papers.

⁸⁶ For the official journal and the accounts in the Nashville papers see *ante*, note 64.

⁸⁷ On November 11 the Tennessee delegates held a meeting and Brown and Nicholson were appointed to draw up resolutions. Brown undertook the task and next morning some verbal amendments were made by Nicholson. At another meeting of the Tennessee delegation the resolutions were reported by Nicholson but read by Governor Brown as they were in his handwriting. After some further amendments, all in the direction of compromise, the resolutions were adopted and ordered to be reported by General Pillow, chairman of the Tennessee delegation. These resolutions stated that the compromise measures fell short of justice to the South, yet to give proof of loyalty to the union Tennessee would accept them. This determination, however, was predicated on the express condition that the North should do her part. Also it was to be distinctly understood that the compromise measures embraced all the actions in regard to slavery to be taken by the North, and that no attempt would be made to alter southern representation, to abolish slavery, to prevent the transportation of slaves from one slave-holding state to another by their lawful owners nor on antislavery grounds, to prevent the admission of any new states.

The resolutions further stated that if the North failed to observe its promises and continued to harass the South, the South should boycott the North commercially, not as a matter of revenge but as a means of self-defense until means of redress should be obtained. This idea of commercial reprisal was a favorite one with Governor Brown. The last resolution recommended that, if congress should violate any of the conditions laid down, the legislature of each southern state should call a convention which should send delegates to meet "at such time and place as may be agreed on,

On the last day, as their efforts had received unfavorable consideration in the committee on resolutions, they tried to get a hearing in the convention, but were stopped by the application of the previous question. Brown and Nicholson both wished to speak, but were willing to forego this as the delegates wished to adjourn. Donelson, however, moved a reconsideration of the vote and, despite adverse ruling from the chair, tried to hold the floor, with some disorder and applause from the galleries.⁸⁸ The refusal to hear Donelson was resented by many, while only the *American* considered his action and the noise of the crowd discourteous to the convention.⁸⁹ From the whig newspapers, of course, the cries of condemnation for the resolutions of the convention were unanimous: but the *Union* was no less denunciatory. The convention was "admitted to have been a complete failure,"⁹⁰ and the readers of the paper were edified by the re-

with full power and authority to do anything and everything which the peace, safety and honor of the South may demand."

These propositions of Tennessee were much in contrast with those adopted by the convention, which stated that all the evils anticipated by the South and which occasioned this convention to assemble had been realized by the failure to extend the Missouri compromise to the Pacific ocean, and by the provisions of the compromise. The convention recommended that all parties in the slave-holding states should refuse to go into any national convention for the purpose of nominating candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency of the United States, until the South's constitutional rights had been secured. It was recommended further that there should be held a convention of slave-holding states with full power and authority to act either for restoring the constitutional rights of the South or provide for future safety and independence.

The Tennessee resolutions appear in the official *Journal of proceedings*, 17-18; the resolutions adopted by the convention *ibid.*, 31-34. Both are to be found in Cluskey, *Political text-book* (see *ante*, note 64). The account of the action of the Tennessee delegation is taken from a note appended to an edition of the speech of Aaron V. Brown. See *post*, note 92.

Cole (*The whig party in the South*, 181) says "the Union victory in Georgia must have had a dampening influence on the second session of the Nashville Convention." The election in Georgia was held November 3. It would be improbable, in view of the poor telegraphic communication in the South outside of the largest towns, that news of the results of this election should reach Nashville in little over a week. As a matter of fact, the whig newspapers, which would have rejoiced to flaunt the outcome in Georgia in the face of the convention, have nothing to say of it until long after the adjournment of the convention. The principles of the "Georgia Platform," on the other hand, may be profitably compared with those of the Tennessee resolutions.

⁸⁸ *Nashville Union*, November 19, 1850.

⁸⁹ *Nashville Daily American*, November 19, 1850.

⁹⁰ *Nashville Union*, November 20, 1850.

printing of the strongest paragraphs in General Jackson's proclamation of 1832.⁹¹

When the undelivered speeches of Brown and of Nicholson were published,⁹² it was evident that there was a serious difference between the two men.⁹³ This was kept alive in the two democratic newspapers — the *Union* following Nicholson and the *American* representing Brown. The results were serious; in fact it is to this breach, in large part, that the loss of the democratic party in Tennessee, in the elections of 1851 and 1852, is to be ascribed.⁹⁴ When Tennessee was redeemed for the democracy, it was not the work of Brown, but of a man of very different type, the east Tennessee leader, Andrew Johnson.⁹⁵

A study of the relation of Tennessee to the events of 1849-1850 shows, then, that the "Southern movement" became, in Tennessee, a party matter, and that the great body of whigs were

⁹¹ November 23, a very large union meeting was held in the hall of the house of representatives. The chief speaker was A. J. Donelson, who in the course of his remarks told an interesting story of the grief with which General Jackson broke with his former friends Hayne and Hammond, in 1832. *Nashville Union*, November 25, 26, 1850.

⁹² That of Nicholson in the *Union*, November 30, 1850; that of Brown in the *American*, in his *Speeches* (see ante, note 1), and in pamphlet form, *Speech of Ex-Gov. Aaron V. Brown, in the second session of the southern convention, on the resolutions reported Saturday, 15th Nov., 1850; published in pursuance of a declaration made to the convention, after the previous question had been called, that Gov. B. would do so* (Nashville, Tenn.: Eastman and Boyers, Printers, American Office, 1850), pp. 1-12. Paged continuously with this are the Tennessee resolutions and a "Note" as to their origin (pp. 13-16).

⁹³ Brown continued to defend the South Carolinians. The *American* said (November 20, 1850): "Would it not be well for some of those who now find time for nothing else than abuse for South Carolina and Georgia to remember who it was, when Tennessee found it impossible to raise money to build the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, stepped forward and took a third of the stock?" This suggests a topic which limits of space do not allow us to consider in this paper. A little later the *Union* referred to Brown as standing with one leg in Tennessee and one leg in South Carolina, and humorously urged the ex-governor to "haul in that South Carolina leg before it is too late." *Nashville Union*, November 27, 1850.

⁹⁴ The widening breach between Brown and Nicholson was regretfully reported to Buchanan by Cave Johnson. (Johnson-Buchanan letters, November 10, December 13, 1850.) In November, 1853, Johnson wrote: "We have lost the state the last two elections by the rivalry between A. V. B. and A. O. P. N., and for want of union and harmony in their movements." (*Ibid.*, November 20, 1853.) In 1851 Turney lost his seat in the senate.

⁹⁵ See a paper by the present writer: "Tennessee and national political parties, 1850-1860," in American Historical Association, *Annual report*, 1914.

consistently opposed to it. John Bell, the party leader, jealous of Clay, tried to support President Taylor against the plans of the Kentucky compromiser: but Taylor's death left him without a position, and he fell in with the senate's measures. Among the democrats, there was at one and the same time a devotion to the union, inherited from the days of Jackson, and a distinct prosouthern spirit. In the first session of the Nashville convention, the democratic leaders were in part swept off their feet by the southern current; and they, too, were left in a peculiar position, when, having resolved to insist on the line of the Missouri compromise, they were forced to accept a compromise which entirely disregarded that line. In the case of the second session of the convention, the chief result was the development of a factional fight between Brown and Nicholson, disastrous for the democratic party. Beyond these conclusions it is not wise, perhaps, to go: for this paper deals primarily with the history of Tennessee. But it is hardly possible, if one examines the materials which have been the basis for this paper, to avoid the impression that the Nashville convention was really more important than it has been thought to be, and that the death of General Taylor was an event of greater significance than has sometimes been realized. Certainly the history of the compromise of 1850 is still worthy of investigation.

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SPANISH REACTION AGAINST THE FRENCH ADVANCE TOWARD NEW MEXICO, 1717-1727

The permanent occupation of the province of Texas by Spain in 1716 placed a definite limit to the westward advance of the French from the lower Mississippi. Further north and west, however, there was no obstacle to the extension of French enterprise. Although Spain claimed the entire region west of the Mississippi river, the frontier settlements of New Mexico marked the northern limit of Spanish occupation. The valleys of the Missouri, the Arkansas, and the Platte afforded, therefore, an inviting field for the activities of the French. There soon developed a well-defined rivalry in this region between France and Spain. This rivalry, although perhaps not as keen as that which was experienced on the Louisiana-Texas frontier, nevertheless had much influence in shaping the policy of Spain in regard to her whole northern frontier.¹

The estrangement that arose between the French and Spanish governments after the death of Louis XIV and the assumption of the regency by the Duke of Orleans was reflected in America by the changed attitude of the colonial officials of New Spain toward the French in Louisiana. The tension was further increased by the activities of the Company of the West, which became the new proprietor of Louisiana in August, 1717. It mattered not that the aims of the company were chiefly, if not exclusively, commercial. To the suspicious Spaniards any extension of French influence in the Mississippi valley constituted a distinct threat to the security of the northern provinces of New Spain. Rumors to the effect that the French were planning to reoccupy the site of La Salle's ill-fated colony near Matagorda bay led to the strengthening of Spanish establishments in Texas in 1718.² In the same year reports from Texas and Florida

¹ This paper is a portion of a larger study which is being made by the writer on Spanish and French relations in America. It is based almost entirely upon manuscript sources in the archives of Spain and Mexico.

² Reales cédulas, tomo 39, no. 68, f. 1718, archivo general de México; Robert C. Clark, *The beginnings of Texas* (Austin, 1907), 69-88.

reached the viceroy concerning the departure of a number of Frenchmen for the "mines of Santa Fé" which aroused immediately the fears of the viceregal government in regard to the safety of the province of New Mexico, and caused steps to be taken toward reasserting in vigorous fashion the claims of Spain to the region between the Mississippi river and the Rocky mountains.³

The report of French designs upon New Mexico was by no means a new one. The mines of that province, reputed to be inferior only to those of Chihuahua and Parral, had long excited the envy of French colonists in America. La Salle's schemes, it will be remembered, had included a project for the conquest of the rich mining regions of northern Mexico. The desire to reach these mines had been a strong factor in French exploration west of the Mississippi river. As early as 1700 rumors had begun to reach Santa Fé concerning the activities of the French on the plains northeast of New Mexico. They were said to be forming alliances with various Indian tribes, supplying them with firearms, and gradually preparing the way for a future advance upon the Spanish settlements.⁴ Such rumors, disregarded as long as the intimate relations between the French and Spanish crowns had continued, now began to assume a new significance, and the warning messages from Texas and Florida in 1718 served to call attention not only to the specific danger to New Mexico by way of Louisiana, but also to the long-threatened menace from the north.

Early in 1719 Don Antonio de Valverde, governor of New Mexico, was instructed by the viceroy to send out an expedition to investigate the alleged activities of the French, so that proper measures might be taken for the defense of the northern frontier. The order was delayed, however, and reached Valverde too late in the year for him to undertake such an extensive expedition as was proposed. He promised to execute the viceroy's command in the following spring by sending out an exploring party led either by himself or by his lieutenant general.⁵ In the meantime

³ Autos echos pr. el Brigadier Dn. Pedro de Rivera en razon de la pesquisa contra dn Antto de Valverde, in *Provincias internas*, tomo 37, expediente no. 1, f. 13, archivo general de México; Reales cédulas, tomo 39, no. 68.

⁴ Adolph F. A. Bandelier, *Contributions to the history of the southwestern portion of the United States* (Cambridge, 1890), 181.

⁵ Testimony of Valverde, *Provincias internas*, tomo 37, expediente no. 1, f. 13.

the rapidly widening breach between France and Spain had culminated in an outbreak of hostilities between the two countries. Although the official announcement of the declaration of war bore the date of January 30, 1719, it did not reach the viceroy of New Spain until July of that year.⁶ In obedience to the king's instructions, circular letters were immediately sent to all provincial officials, ordering them to place their respective jurisdictions in a proper state of defense, and in view of the report that French troops had been sent against the frontier of New Spain, the governors of the northern provinces were especially warned to be on their guard against possible invasion.⁷

Just at this time, it seems, the province of New Mexico was troubled more by Indian depredations than by fears of the threatened French invasion. The Comanche and the Yute became so formidable in the summer of 1719 that it was deemed necessary to make a formal campaign in order to punish them for their crimes. In September Governor Valverde set out from Santa Fé at the head of one hundred Spaniards and two hundred Indian auxiliaries in search of the offending savages. Marching toward the north, the expedition arrived first at the pueblo of Taos, the most northerly outpost of Spain in America. One hundred and ten miles from Santa Fé, the Apache settlement known as La Jicarilla was reached. Here the force was joined by one hundred Apache warriors. A diligent search was now made for the Comanche and Yute at all their customary haunts, according to Valverde's official report, but no trace of them was found. By the end of October the little army found itself north of the Napeste, or Arkansas, river, within a few days' journey of the last stronghold of the Apache nation known as El Cuartelejo.⁸ As winter was approaching and further search seemed useless, it was decided to return to Santa Fé. There is strong suspicion that fear of encountering a hostile French force may have had as much to do with Valverde's reluctance to continue the march as did the lateness of the season.

⁶ It is probable that news of the fighting at Pensacola reached the viceregal authorities a short while before the arrival of the royal dispatch.

⁷ Durán to the viceroy, January 30, 1719, *Historia*, tomo 394, no. 4, *archivo general de México*; the viceroy to the governor of Parral, July 13, 1719, *ibid.*

⁸ Ruins believed to be those of El Cuartelejo have been discovered in Scott county, Kansas.

At any rate, the homeward journey was begun. When the Arkansas was again reached, a band of Carlana Apache was encountered, from whom the governor obtained information which doubtless made him feel glad that he had "yielded" to the entreaties of his officers to return home. The Indians reported that they had recently fought a day's battle with a number of the Kansas tribe, and that their enemies had been aided by white men, who carried long muskets, traveled on foot, and wore red hunting caps. These white men, the Indians continued, had built several villages on a large river called the Jesús María (the Spanish name for the Platte), and had entered into alliances with the Pawnee and the Jumano. Many other details were given by the obliging Apache, which left no doubt in the minds of the Spaniards that the French were really settled in the region to the north and were slowly advancing toward the Spanish possessions.⁹ With this disquieting information, Valverde hastened back to Santa Fé, where he drew up a formal report to the viceroy, giving full details of his expedition and of the alarming news concerning the French. Although he believed that there was no doubt as to the truth of the reports, he stated that he would send out the expedition as he had promised in the following spring, unless new instructions were sent him in the meantime. He called attention to the weak condition of his province, and suggested that reënforcements of men and arms should be sent without delay if serious consequences were to be avoided. These important tidings were intrusted to a special courier, who was sent posthaste to Mexico.¹⁰

As the messenger of impending disaster sped southward, he did not fail to arouse the inhabitants of the country through which he passed. The story lost nothing in the telling, and the most exaggerated accounts of the French menace were afloat. The governor of Parral was especially alarmed. In a letter to the viceroy, of December 11, 1719, he reported that according to dispatches received from various places within his jurisdiction an army of six thousand Frenchmen was encamped at a point

⁹ Valverde to the viceroy, November 30, 1719, *Historia*, tomo 394, nos. 5-9; testimony of Valverde, *Provincias internas*, tomo 37, expediente no. 1, ff. 13-14. Bandler did not see the official report of this expedition and erroneously states that Valverde went some distance beyond El Cuartelejo. *Contributions*, 182.

¹⁰ *Historia*, tomo 394, nos. 8-9.

only seventy leagues from Santa Fé, and was driving before them the whole Apache nation, forcing them to take refuge in the frontier settlements of New Mexico. With only three hundred and eighty-three men to oppose these trained veterans, the situation seemed a desperate one indeed. He therefore asked the viceroy to send immediately one thousand muskets, one thousand bayonets, one thousand pistols, a large quantity of ammunition, and permission to raise a force of volunteers with which to strengthen the regular garrisons. This frantic message was also dispatched by special courier to increase the apprehensions of the viceregal authorities.¹¹

The two messengers reached the city of Mexico almost at the same time, and their dispatches were turned over to the authorities. With unwonted celerity the machinery of the colonial government was put into operation to devise measures for the protection of the northern frontier. The royal fiscal, in accordance with the usual routine, was first called upon to consider the two letters. Upon comparing them, it was at once seen that the fears of the governor of Parral were somewhat exaggerated. Valverde's report gave no occasion for immediate alarm; but it confirmed the fears of the authorities in regard to French activities in the West. Feeling the gravity of the situation, the fiscal recommended that a council of war should be called to discuss plans for the defense of the northern provinces.¹² On December 28 the *expediente* was turned over to the auditor of war. The auditor seconded the suggestion of the fiscal, and outlined a policy for the consideration of the proposed council. His recommendations may be analyzed under three heads: First, that a Spanish colony should be founded at El Cuartelejo, three hundred and fifty miles northeast of Santa Fé. A *presidio* of twenty or twenty-five men should be established there, and several military experts should be sent to train them in the discipline and art of warfare. A civil settlement should be formed by encouraging the emigration of a number of citizens from Santa Fé. Two or three priests should be sent to begin missionary work among the Apache. Second, that every effort should be made to gain the friendship of the whole Apache nation. By forming al-

¹¹ San Juan to the viceroy, December 11, 1719, *Historia*, tomo 394, no. 11.

¹² *Ibid.*, no. 12.

liances with these Indians, whose territory extended almost to the Mississippi river, the auditor said, a formidable barrier would be erected against the advance of the French clear across the northern frontier. This work, he thought, was half accomplished, as in New Mexico the Apache were already friendly toward the Spaniards. In Texas, it was true, they had caused some trouble. But if a determined effort were made to win their friendship, they would doubtless become allies in that province also. Instructions should therefore be sent to the Marquis of Aguayo, who was then preparing to lead an expedition into Texas, to spare no efforts to conciliate the Apache in that region. Third, that the governor of New Mexico should be instructed to send out the proposed reconnoitering expedition in order to obtain full and authentic particulars concerning the settlements of the French.¹³

In other words, what the auditor recommended was the erection of an Indian buffer state and the extension of the northern frontier of New Spain as far as the present state of Kansas. A post was to be established as near as practicable to the reported French settlements on the Platte river, and a definite limit placed to the advance of the French from the north.¹⁴

The council of war was held on January 2, 1720, and the recommendations of the auditor were adopted practically without change. On January 10 the viceroy approved of the deliberations, and issued formal instructions to Governor Valverde to send out the expedition to reconnoiter the French settlements and to establish the post at El Cuarteletejo. The whole matter had been concluded with unusual expedition.¹⁵

The order to establish a settlement at the isolated post of El Cuarteletejo proved to be a very unwelcome one to Governor Valverde. In his opinion the place was too remote for communication to be maintained without great difficulty and danger, and its occupation would result only in failure. He thought that a much better location could be found at La Jicarilla, which was only one hundred and ten miles from Santa Fé. In order to

¹³ Auditor's *parecer*, December 29, 1719, *Historia*, tomo, 394, nos. 12-13.

¹⁴ The similarity of this policy to that which was adopted in 1721 by the establishment of the *presidio* of Los Adaes in eastern Texas is very striking.

¹⁵ *Historia*, tomo 394, no. 19.

secure all possible light upon the question, however, he resolved to call a council of citizens who were familiar with both regions. This farcical meeting was held on June 2, and as was to be expected the witnesses were unanimous in protesting against the establishment of the colony at El Cuartelejo and in advising the selection of La Jicarilla, which, according to the testimony, was a veritable paradise. Finding his own opinion thus marvellously upheld, Valverde wrote to the viceroy on June 15, explaining the reasons for his opposition to El Cuartelejo and inclosing the proceedings of the council in justification of his position. Until he should receive further instructions, he said, he would postpone the establishment of the *presidio*. At the same time he announced that his lieutenant general was ready to set out with forty soldiers and sixty Indian auxiliaries for the purpose of penetrating to the settlements of the French. The expedition to which Valverde referred was that ill-fated enterprise known in history as the Villasur expedition.¹⁶

Although the main facts of the Villasur¹⁷ expedition are fairly well known to students of Spanish-American history, no correct account of it has hitherto been given.¹⁸ The expedition to be sent out by Governor Valverde was not intended as a punitive expedition against the French, as has usually been held, but merely as a *reconnaissance*. A glance at the international sit-

¹⁶ Valverde to the viceroy, June 15, 1720, *Historia*, tomo 394, no. 27.

¹⁷ Although the name has usually been spelled "Villazur," I have found it written invariably as "Villasur" in the documents that I have used, and I see no reason for perpetuating what was probably originally a copyist's error.

¹⁸ The late Mr. Bandelier is the only writer who has attempted to treat the expedition in the light of Spanish sources. ("The expedition of Pedro de Villazur, from Santa Fé, New Mexico, to the banks of the Platte river, in search of the French and the Pawnees, in the year 1720," in *Southwestern historical contributions*, 179-206.) Since his material was confined to a few fragmentary documents found at Santa Fé, he was compelled to indulge in much speculation in order to make a complete narrative. He seems to have regarded the expedition as an isolated episode of frontier history, and did not point out its real significance and purpose. Other writers have either followed Bandelier or have adopted the fantastic accounts given by early French writers. A few years ago the missing Spanish reports were found by Herbert E. Bolton in the course of his investigations in the Mexican archives, and were copied under the supervision of the writer, so that it is now possible to write the history of the expedition in final form. In this paper, however, I can do no more than give the main facts of the expedition, many of them stated correctly for the first time, and content myself with showing the connection of the enterprise with the general topic of French and Spanish relations on the northern frontier of New Spain.

uation at the time it was made will enable this fact to be more clearly understood. In January, 1720, Philip V had announced his willingness to adhere to the principles of the quadruple alliance, and a formal truce was made between France and Spain.¹⁹ This turn of affairs did not of course entirely relieve the situation in America. There were still many reasons for the continuation of the plan to extend the northern boundaries of New Mexico. The activities of Du Tisné, La Harpe, and Bourgmont in the Arkansas and Missouri valleys were probably not unknown to the Spanish colonial officials. Fears were even expressed in Mexico that the truce was a trick to gain an unfair advantage over Spain. But in spite of such misgivings, all hostile operations had been countermanded by the viceroy.²⁰ There was certainly ample time for the news of the truce to have reached Santa Fé before the departure of Villasur and his men. In any case, it is clear that no aggressive movement was planned against the French.

While the expedition was not an invasion directed against the French, the journey into a hostile Indian country could not fail to be attended with considerable danger. Governor Valverde seems never to have shown any evidence of great personal courage, and upon this occasion he found a convenient excuse for not leading the force in person. Pleading more pressing business at home, he intrusted the command to his chief officer, Don Pedro Villasur. The total force consisted of about one hundred and ten men — forty soldiers from the garrison of Santa Fé, sixty pueblo Indians, a few servants, and two or three private citizens who volunteered to make the journey, probably in order to reap some profit from trade with the Indians. The most prominent of the citizens was Jean de l'Archévêque, one of the assassins of La Salle, who at this time had been a resident of New Mexico for many years. His acquaintance with the northern country, gained through trading ventures in that direction, and his knowledge of French made him an invaluable addition to the expedition.

The start was made from Santa Fé on June 16, 1720, not on the fourteenth, as has always been stated. The usual northern

¹⁹ Edward Armstrong, in the *Cambridge modern history*, 6: 126.

²⁰ *Historia*, tomo 394, no. 36.

route was taken, first to Taos, then to La Jicarilla, across the Arkansas river, until El Cuartelejo was reached. Thus far the journey was comparatively easy and free from danger. For the remainder of the way, however, the route lay through a hostile Indian country, and much caution was necessary. After traveling for almost two months, on August 10 the expedition came into sight of a Pawnee village on the Upper Platte, or Rio de Jesús María, as it was known to the Spaniards. They were almost in the center of the present state of Nebraska, probably not far from the junction of the forks of the Platte, and about five hundred and forty miles from Santa Fé.

Camp was pitched on the south side of the river, at a respectable distance from the Indian village, and efforts were immediately made to get into communication with the French who were supposed to be in the vicinity. A Pawnee Indian, who had been reared among the Spaniards, was intrusted with a letter written in French by Archévêque, and sent to the village to inquire for the "other white men." The messenger did not return, but another Indian appeared, with a message written on old paper, which could not be deciphered by the interpreter. Thinking that the lack of writing material had prevented the sending of an intelligible reply, some paper, inks, and quills were sent back, together with another letter, this time written in Spanish. After waiting two days, no further answer was received, and the silence gave rise to the conviction that the Indians were planning some mischief. A council of war was held, and it was decided that it would be unwise to continue the search for the French. The expedition therefore retired across the Rio San Lorenzo, or South Fork of the Platte, and preparations were made to pass the night there. Feeling themselves out of the reach of danger, the Spaniards seem to have taken no especial precautions to guard against surprise. Once during the night a disturbance was reported at the river, but upon investigation nothing alarming was discovered.

Early the next morning, which was Saint Hippolytus' day, August 13, the Spaniards were astir. Orders were given to bring up the horses, which had been placed under the guard of a special detachment some distance from the main camp, and preparations were made to continue the homeward journey. In the

midst of the confusion incident to breaking camp, the little force was suddenly decimated by a volley of bullets and arrows fired from the tall grass near the camp. Taken totally by surprise, the Spaniards were unable to offer any effective resistance, and in a few moments all except two or three, who succeeded in joining the squad that was in charge of the horses, were slain in the murderous assault. The victims numbered forty-five, including Captain Villasur, the chaplain, Fray Juan Minguez, Archévêque, and eleven of the Indian allies. Thirteen men succeeded in making their escape. Most of the Indians, as usual, had evidently scented the danger in time to get away. The first of the survivors reached Santa Fé twenty-four days later.²¹

The news of this unexpected calamity threw the little community into an instant state of panic. It was not doubted that the French were responsible for the massacre. It was commonly reported that two hundred disciplined riflemen had participated in the attack, and the accuracy of the volleys was pointed to as reason for this belief. There was even talk of abandoning the whole province. Governor Valverde was absent on a tour of inspection when the news reached Santa Fé, and his hurried return does not seem to have allayed the alarm of the panic-stricken inhabitants. That he himself shared the general opinion in regard to French complicity is shown by the following extract from his report to the viceroy, written on October 8: "With grief which rends my heart, I have to report this sad tragedy. On those fields was shed the blood of the best soldiers in all this land, who sacrificed their lives in the service of God and of the king my master, at the hands of the impious barbarity of enemies of our holy Catholic faith. I am persuaded that the aggressors must have been heretical Huguenots, as their insolent daring did not spare even the innocence of the priest who went as chaplain." It was to be presumed, Valverde said, that the French would follow up their advantage and make a formal invasion of the province. He pointed out to the viceroy the helpless condition of the country, weakened as it was by the loss of half the veteran garrison of Santa Fé, and concluded

²¹ This account is based upon Valverde's official report and upon the testimony of survivors taken a few years later. There are some conflicting details, but the main facts as given above are well authenticated. Valverde to the viceroy, October 8, 1720, *Historia*, tomo 394, nos. 29-34; *Provincias internas*, tomo 37, expediente no. 1.

by asking for immediate reënforcements with which to withstand the threatened invasion.²²

In spite of the firm belief of the inhabitants of New Mexico that Villasur's party met its death at the hands of the French, there seems to be no positive evidence that the French were concerned in the massacre. Indeed, the whole affair has all the earmarks of a typical Indian ambush. It is possible, of course, that a few French traders may have instigated or even have been present at the attack, but in the absence of more definite proof, it seems better to give the French the benefit of the doubt and absolve them from any direct responsibility for the tragedy.

Governor Valverde's message of disaster was intrusted to one of the survivors, who reached the city of Mexico on November 3, after a record-breaking journey of twenty-five days. The news of the tragic outcome of the expedition created great consternation among the colonial officials. The courier and two citizens of New Mexico who were then sojourning temporarily in the capital were immediately summoned to the residence of the auditor of war in order that all possible information might be obtained concerning this grave occurrence. In view of their testimony the auditor reported to the viceroy that it appeared that the French and Pawnee had attacked Spanish troops on the Río de Jesús María at a distance of two hundred leagues from Santa Fé, causing the loss of forty-five of the veteran soldiers of New Mexico. Such action, he said, constituted a notorious violation of the existing truce, and the king should be notified at once in order that proper steps might be taken in view of the resumption of hostilities in America. Prompt measures should be taken to prevent the threatened invasion of the northern provinces. Orders should be sent to the Marquis of Aguayo to resume aggressive warfare in Texas, in spite of previous orders to the contrary; the governor of New Mexico should be given reënforcements; the garrison of Santa Fé restored to its full strength; and the proposed *presidio* should be established at La Jicarilla in accordance with Valverde's recent recommendations.²³

That the energetic measures proposed by the auditor were based upon a too hasty assumption of French duplicity is read-

²² Valverde to the viceroy, October 8, 1720, *Historia*, tomo 394, no. 31.

²³ Auditor's *parecer*, December 9, 1720, *ibid.*, nos. 41-43.

ily apparent from the fact that a few weeks later ²⁴ a definitive treaty of peace was signed by France and Spain, which proved without question that the French government had not sanctioned any renewal of hostilities. No further danger was now to be apprehended from a formal French invasion. The necessity for immediate action had passed, and the normal attitude of procrastination was resumed. Although plans for extending Spanish dominion toward the north were not yet to be abandoned, henceforth the initiative was to come from the provincial officials of New Mexico.

A change in the office of governor in New Mexico doubtless had something to do with the delay that ensued in the establishment of the new *presidio* at La Jicarilla. In 1722 Valverde was removed and charges of negligence in connection with the Vilasur expedition were made against him.²⁵

Final action seems now to have been delayed on account of the approaching *visita* of Don Pedro de Rivera, who had been commissioned by the king to make a formal inspection of the presidial establishments of the frontier provinces. On October 21, 1724, the whole matter was turned over to Rivera for his consideration. It was almost two years before he made his report. In the meantime he visited New Mexico and informed himself in person of conditions in that province. In view of Rivera's well-known policy of economy and retrenchment, it is not surprising that he reported adversely on the establishment of the *presidio* at La Jicarilla. His letter to the viceroy, written from El Paso on September 26, 1726, is well worthy of being quoted in full, but only the briefest reference to a few of his very sane observations can here be made. After careful investigation, he said, he had come to the conclusion that the establishment of the *presidio* was unwarranted. The sole motive of the Apache was to secure protection from their enemies. They had no desire to embrace the Christian faith. Both the spiritual and the temporal needs of the Indians could be provided for by allowing

²⁴ March 27, 1721.

²⁵ His trial was not held until 1726. The principal charges brought against him were the failure to lead the expedition in person, as had first been ordered, and his selection of an inexperienced man to command it. (Autos echos pr el Brigadier Dn Pedro de Rivera en razon de la pesquisa contra dn Antto de Valverde, in Provincias internas, tomo 37, expediente no. 1.) A nominal fine of two hundred *pesos* was assessed against him. Bandelier, *Contributions*, 204.

them to settle at the pueblo of Taos, where they had upon former occasion taken refuge from the attacks of the Comanche. If the founding of the *presidio* was desired in order to extend the royal dominions, sites far more suitable could be found than at La Jicarilla. The region of El Cuartelejo, for instance, would be an ideal location if expansion were the only end in view. He believed, however, that it behooved Spain to develop the territory she had already acquired instead of spreading out uselessly over new and distant regions. With many other intelligent arguments, he made out a strong case against the erection of the proposed *presidio*. The recommendations of such an influential official could not but have due weight. In view of Rivera's report, the auditor advised that the plans of the former *juntas* should be suspended and the establishment of the *presidio* indefinitely postponed.²⁶

In the meantime the question of the establishment of the *presidio* had been revived toward the end of 1723 by Valverde's successor, Juan Domingo de Bustamante. In November of that year Governor Bustamante received an urgent request for missions and military protection from the Apache of La Jicarilla of which he took advantage in order to renew the agitation for the post. On January 10, 1724, he advised the viceroy of the favorable attitude of the Apache, reminding him of the need for a new fortress which would serve to hold back the French.²⁷

The favor with which Bustamante's communication was received in Mexico is evidence of the fact that in spite of the close relations between France and Spain, as indicated by the formation of the first family compact, the viceregal government was still keenly alive to the danger from further activities of the French. Both the fiscal and the auditor agreed that the conversion of the Jicarilla Apache should be encouraged by all possible means and that a *presidio* of fifty men should be established among that tribe for the "protection of the neophytes and the preservation of the royal dominions from the invasions of the French and their allies."²⁸

²⁶ Rivera to the viceroy, September 26, 1726; auditor's *parecer*, March 31, 1727, *Historia*, tomo 394, nos. 79-85.

²⁷ Bustamante to the viceroy, January 10, 1724, *ibid.*, nos. 71-72.

²⁸ *Resquesta fiscal*, April 2, 1724; auditor's *parecer*, July 12, 1724, *ibid.*, nos. 73-76.

A few months later Governor Bustamante made a final effort to arouse the authorities to the need for the new *presidio*. He sent in a detailed report of French activities in the north, showing that the French had begun to frequent the country of the Cuartelejo Apache and were endeavoring to bring about an alliance between the Comanche and the Apache. He asked permission to make an expedition to investigate the truth of these reports.²⁹

Such a warning was no longer sufficient, however, to bring about action. A great change in the attitude of the colonial officials is indicated by the reply made by the auditor to Bustamante's communication. Although it was true, he said, that there had formerly been danger of French invasion from the north, the close relations now existing between the two countries precluded any further fear of such a contingency. If the French were in the vicinity of El Cuartelejo their aims were probably entirely peaceful. Therefore he saw no necessity for the expensive expedition proposed by Bustamante.³⁰ On November 24, 1727, the viceroy gave his approval to the judgment expressed by the auditor, and with this action the project of northward expansion from the province of New Mexico seems to have been finally relinquished by Spain. Thenceforth, in accordance with Rivera's policy, Spain made no real effort to colonize the plains of the Middle West.

The feeling of security in regard to the French, however, did not endure for a great while. The arrival of the Mallet expedition at Santa Fé in 1740 signified the first bridging-over of the gap between the respective spheres of influence of the two nations in the West. Repeated intrusions of this nature increased the alarm of the Spaniards until it was believed that these so-called traders were really spies sent to observe the state of defense of the Spanish provinces. The capture of a number of Frenchmen near the mouth of the Trinity river in Texas in 1754, following closely upon this series of intrusions in New Mexico, convinced the Spaniards that their suspicions were well founded. In 1756 the council of the Indies recommended a change of policy to meet what it characterized as the "artful and

²⁹ Bustamante to the viceroy, April 30, 1727, *Provincias internas*, tomo 37, expediente no. 1, ff. 74-76.

³⁰ Auditor's *parecer*, November 21, 1727, *ibid.*, f. 74.

perfidious'' designs of the French.³¹ Needless to say, the events of the next few years put an end to these new plans. With the expulsion of the French from America in 1763, the Mississippi river became the danger line of the Spanish possessions, and Spain was under the necessity of guarding against a far more formidable rival than she had previously encountered in her old neighbors, the French.

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³¹ It is interesting to note, in connection with this paper, that among the measures proposed to guard against the loss of additional territory was the sending out of missionaries to the Comanche and the Pawnee, in an effort to cut off the French advance from the region of the Platte. Manuscript in the archivo general de Indias, Seville, Spain: Audiencia de Guadalajara, estante 103, cajon 6, legajo 23.

THE STATESMANSHIP OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON: A STUDY OF THE PRESIDENTIAL RECONSTRUCTION POLICY

There has been an all but unanimous consensus of opinion among students of history that the country suffered an irreparable calamity with the death of President Lincoln just at the time when the tremendous problem of the reconstruction of the southern states had to be faced by our national government. His own superior qualifications to deal with this situation as well as the utter lack of fitness of his successor have been major premises which through long acceptance have really become axiomatic. The basis for this conviction undoubtedly lies largely in the fact that Lincoln succeeded in accomplishing what he set out to do; Johnson met with failure and repudiation. Moreover, the former died at the psychological moment best suited to bring with it a vast increase in fame; the longer the latter lived, the more complete became his political isolation.

However, it is only fair to ask, what might have been Lincoln's loss of reputation among the people of the North if he had lived to continue his policy of reconstruction and his fight against congress and the radical northern propagandists? Did not he, just as Pitt, die most opportunely? For, if Pitt's health had not forced his retirement from the British cabinet is it likely that he would have emerged from the entanglements of the American colonial problem without serious loss of prestige? In the light of available facts can it be doubted that Abraham Lincoln, the great war president — instead of Andrew Johnson, certainly a great war governor — might have become the reconstruction scapegoat just as Jefferson, the greatest of all American democrats, was obliged to bear the humiliation of the embargo fiasco? Surely Lincoln while in office never had a personal popularity equal to that of Jefferson, nor a domination over congress that was at all comparable. Yet, Jefferson failed miserably in his endeavor to persuade the country to stand behind his plan of retaliation against England, and his congress, earlier so blindly

devoted to him, repudiated this cherished policy of an American embargo even before he departed from office. Could Lincoln with his liberal views have had any guarantees that he would succeed better with a radical congress on his hands in providing a proper solution of the great southern problem? Would any really statesmanlike solution of that problem have been acceptable to the North during the decade following the war? Was not any president inevitably doomed to disappointment, failure, and loss of popularity should he endeavor to carry it out?

On the other hand, might not one say with equal reason that it was a calamity that a man of the type of Johnson was not elected president in 1860? Was Lincoln not a *great* war president rather than a great *war* president? Is it not likely that such a man as Hamilton would have crushed the insurrection much more quickly, even decisively before the forces of secession could have had time thoroughly to organize? Was not Lincoln, while in office, peculiarly lacking when it came to exhibiting great driving force, such as characterized Johnson in stamping out rebellion in Tennessee? Might not Johnson, indeed, have become a great *war* president if the opportunity had offered itself? Is there not as much truth in the statement of Charles Francis Adams, referring to Lincoln's election that no other "experiment so rash had ever been made as that of elevating to the head of affairs a man with so little previous preparation for his work,"¹ as there is in Rhodes's indictment of the man confronted by the reconstruction crisis, that it is "difficult to conceive of one so ill-fitted for this delicate work"?² In other words, is there any reasonable basis for the maintenance longer of the attitude by historians that Lincoln would have succeeded where Johnson failed?

Mr. Johnson could not be called a prepossessing successor to President Lincoln. His stocky form, swarthy complexion, deep-set, piercing eyes, impulsive movements, voluble, brusque, tense manner of speech unfavorably contrasted with the quiet, quaint banter, the slow movements of the towering, angular yet dignified figure of the beloved martyr.

¹ See the introduction to the *Diary of Gideon Welles, secretary of the navy under Lincoln and Johnson*, with an introduction by John T. Morse, Jr. (Boston, 1911).

² James F. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the compromise of 1850* (New York, 1906-1907), 5: 518.

However, there was much that was common in the early years of these men. Each had seen the light of day in the hut of a poor mountain white; each had been raised in the midst of squalor and ignorance; each had struggled for an education with almost pathetic eagerness; each personified in himself the rugged independence and democracy of the West and consistently with this, each expressed a strong dislike for the institution of slavery; one was familiarly known as "honest Abe," the other as "incorruptible Andy." Like Patrick Henry, Lincoln was a failure in life until he entered the legal profession; Johnson, like Garfield, had a career of uninterrupted success from the days of a self-supporting boyhood up to the attainment of the presidential office. Both Lincoln and Johnson left the state of their birth when young and in the state of their adoption early in life began playing at politics — each in his own field and in his own peculiar manner becoming a master of the art; although Lincoln was more often checkmated than Johnson. In the struggle for a seat in the United States senate Johnson was successful over Neil Brown, while Lincoln was defeated by Douglas. In 1860 the democratic delegates from Tennessee to the Charleston convention were as ardent in their support of Johnson for president as the Illinois republicans were for Lincoln. But when Lincoln attained the presidency he was a mere novice in the field of public service in comparison to Johnson, who for a score of years had been rewarded by the people of Tennessee with one great public trust after another. When these two men were placed at the head of the union party in 1864, one of the newspaper correspondents sarcastically wrote: "They have a railsplitter and a buffoon for the head of the ticket and upon the tail they have a boorish tailor."

Although both of these men were western in training, in character and spirit, they were totally different in temperament and methods of approaching a problem. Lincoln put great dependence upon an attitude of what lately has been characterized as "watchful waiting"; he was willing to temporize; he had great faith in his often irresistible method of showing to an opponent "the sweet unreasonableness of the latter's position." He was the Fabian in American politics just as Johnson attempted to play the rôle of a Gideon. For Johnson was one who — again

appealing to a present-day phrase — “carried a big stick.” When convinced that he was right and his opponents were wrong there was no counting of forces for or against, but there was a fight — and always to the finish. He breathed the same spirit that battled in the veins of Andrew Jackson and the Bentons of the earlier rough-and-tumble Tennessee days. There was a decisiveness about him that rang like an anvil at times.

When Tennessee was on the eve of seceding Johnson hurried from Washington to fight the movement. Warned that he would surely be shot if he addressed a certain audience, it is related that he went to the meeting, placed a revolver on the speaker’s desk, and with his eyes literally snapping fire, denounced in the most terrific language the actions of this very people who had delighted to honor him for twenty years! His state seceding, unlike Lee, he felt there was a greater than state loyalty. Alone of all the southern senators, he remained in his seat at Washington, defying his former constituents in their attempt to wreck the union.

While never carried away by such bursts of passion as characterized Andrew Jackson, he lacked none of the latter’s ability to employ on occasion language that was abusive and insulting in the extreme and hard for any other than a westerner to overlook in a man. Indeed, Johnson found it more difficult than Lincoln to adapt himself to the demands of eastern society ways. When, as a retort to a veiled thrust by Jefferson Davis at his humble origin, he turned upon his southern opponents in the house of representatives and denounced the “illegitimate, swaggering, bastard, scrub aristocracy”³ — he simply retorted in that plain, unvarnished, hyperbolic language generally employed by men of the frontier as a preliminary to the more dramatic appeal to force.

His motto like Strafford’s was “thorough.” Arriving in Tennessee in 1862 as war governor, he put down the activities of the guerrilla bands with an iron hand, warning the secessionists in a proclamation that wherever in the state a union man was mistreated he would immediately clap into irons the five

³ Varina H. Davis, *Jefferson Davis, ex-president of the confederate states of America; a memoir by his wife* (New York, 1890), 1: 243; *Congressional globe*, May 29, 1846, p. 885.

most prominent confederate sympathizers of that section. By the time that Johnson was elected vice president his work as war governor had been so thoroughly done that Tennessee then was desirous of nothing so much as to be restored to her full rights in the union.

A long public career, characterized by unusual achievements most often brought about in the teeth of intense opposition, had given the vice president unusual self-confidence and a frankness in voicing it that was almost Napoleonic — traits, indeed, that typify the blunt, unaffected civilization of western communities, and that constantly laid Johnson open to charges of offensive egotism. It must be insisted that it is hopeless to attempt to understand sympathetically such a personality as his without first having an intimate appreciation of the life of the West. One who would especially dislike to rub shoulders with an Andrew Johnson would surely feel uncomfortable in any thoroughly "western" community.

Decisive and bold, with a bulldog's combativeness and tenacity when aroused, plain spoken, and even at times brutally rough in language, the confidence of an aggressively successful career behind him — such was the man called upon to deal with the most difficult constructive problem in American history. But just as Lincoln with all his tact, his ability to disarm opposition, his conciliatory spirit, after his election to the presidency, failed to check the country from drifting off into desperate civil strife, so Johnson, in spite of a tremendous display of energy, was helpless to give the nation a rational solution of her problem in the South in the face of the tidal wave of radicalism which swept the North at the close of the war.

Dunning has pointed out that Andrew Johnson was not conscious of the consternation which his accession to the presidency produced. It was no time, men thought, in the quaint language of the late leader, "to swap horses" — to exchange a tried and true executive for an unknown quantity. Moreover there had already grown up a substantial opposition against the vice president. Some disliked his personality, others his western ways, still others of high social standing could not tolerate him on account of his "low extraction" and the clinging odor of his earlier plebeian profession of village tailor; many of orthodox com-

plexion were convinced that he was irreligious and a skeptic, and the feeling had begun to spread that he was a hard drinker. Some who had followed closely his career and knew of his dominating personality were alarmed for our republican institutions in view of the fast increase in power that had come to the presidential office during the past four years; others looking forward to an early adjustment of affairs with the South trembled lest he should attempt to carry into effect his often-repeated threats against the instigators of the rebellion; and everywhere there were ardent republicans who were chagrined and made uneasy that a life-long democrat should have slipped into office.

But while the press gives ample evidence of the existence of these different sources of incipient opposition, it would appear that the majority of Americans were not so much prejudiced against Johnson as they were curious and expectant and holding judgment in abeyance until they could see how he would carry himself — all the while hoping for the best. Numbers undoubtedly went further, reëchoing the sentiments of a contemporary biographer of the president who during the summer of 1865 wrote: "An individual better fitted for the place could have hardly been selected."⁴ This is especially true of the radical elements of the North who had become indignant with Lincoln's yielding attitude toward the South and who in the words of the staunch, free-soil warrior, George W. Julian, felt "that the accession of Johnson to the presidency would prove a godsend to the country."⁵

Upon entering office, Mr. Johnson wisely followed the example set by previous vice presidents who had ascended to the presidency in inviting the already constituted cabinet to remain intact. To have done otherwise under the peculiar circumstances would have raised a storm of opposition, especially in view of the fact that this cabinet as a whole was made up of men who had won the confidence of the country. There then appeared no reason why Johnson would not be able to work successfully with any of these men. At his first cabinet meeting he announced that his policy "in all essentials would be the same as that of the late president."⁶ Gideon Welles, secretary of the navy, writing

⁴ See George W. Bacon, *Life and speeches of Andrew Johnson* (London, 1866).

⁵ George W. Julian, *Political recollections, 1840-1872* (Chicago, 1884), 257.

⁶ Welles, *Diary* (Morse ed.), 2: 289.

in his diary four months afterwards was able to record: "It is understood that the Cabinet unanimously supports the policy of the President. No opposition has manifested itself that I am aware of."⁷

The North at his accession was in the midst of grief and uncontrolled excitement over the assassination. Although the chief conspirators had been brought to justice, the judge-advocate general was so sure that there was evidence to prove Davis and other leaders connected with the plot that Johnson with probably a good deal of grim satisfaction issued a proclamation charging them with complicity. For Johnson realized that he had been the peculiar object of execration in the South ever since as a southerner he had denounced the rebellion. This hatred for him had only been intensified, if possible, when it became known that he advocated the trial of the leaders for treason and the confiscation of their plantations for the benefit of the union war sufferers.

The repudiation of Sherman's terms to General Johnston, whereby the South would at once become fully restored to all its former political rights, as far as the executive arm of the government could guarantee it, cannot fairly, according to Welles, be charged against the president; for, apparently, Stanton, most characteristically, without consulting his superior's wishes, telegraphed this "vituperative and insulting" annulling order. However, in the light of previous utterances there is little probability that Johnson at that time would have been disposed to consider for a moment any such sweeping measure as a general amnesty for the South.

After the capture of Jefferson Davis preparations were made to bring him to trial on a charge of high treason. The president, consistently with his theory, strongly urged this. But while the preparations were being made and the weeks passed by, a great change of feeling came over the country. The almost universal cry for vengeance raised after the assassination had died away and just as generally in its place there appeared a pronounced loathing at the thought of further bloodshed — especially after the trial and execution of Mrs. Surratt. This action and reaction of an overwhelming public opinion cannot

⁷ Welles, *Diary* (Morse ed.), 2: 364.

be too strongly insisted upon. No individual will or policy could successfully oppose it. Indeed, there is reason to believe that Johnson himself was affected by this sentiment against further bloodshed, in spite of the fact that McCulloch, his secretary of treasury, records his opinion that the president was loath to give up his plans for the treason trials.⁸ Theoretically, he may have believed that the leaders of the rebellion — who were responsible, according to his view, for all the terrible harvest of woe — should be brought to the bar of justice; but that would not prevent the submission of his ideas of strict justice to the call of mercy and magnanimity now that the enemy was fallen. Whatever may have been his change of feeling personally, Johnson was made to realize that the country would not support his Spartan policy.⁹ To impute the abatement of his stern resolve, as was done, to personal ambition which centered around the building up of the democratic party into a triumphant machine, is in direct contradiction to every trait of character previously exhibited by Mr. Johnson during a long political career. That Seward was chiefly responsible for the change that came over the administration policy during the succeeding month and a half following the taking of the oath of office, is hardly an acceptable theory.¹⁰ It presupposes that Johnson was more easily led from a policy and succumbed more easily to the personal domination of another than the facts of his career justify. His isolated and consistent stand at a great sacrifice in the Tennessee legislature against the popular road improvement law, for constitutional reasons; his refusal alone among the chief Tennessee supporters of Bell to secede to the whig party upon the triumph of the Polk faction; his refusal alone among the southern senators to resign his seat; his unique rôle as a southerner in the subjugation of his own state; his determination to support Lincoln as against his party in 1864 — all this shows that Mr. John-

⁸ Hugh McCulloch, *Men and measures of half a century* (New York, 1888), 410. Davis is "the head devil among the traitors."

⁹ Such great organs of public opinion as the *Nation* reflect this. (*Nation*, 1: 390.) Chase, who was to be depended on to keep his ear close to the ground, delighting in radicalism, refused to counsel Johnson in this matter of bringing the leaders to trial. See Welles, *Diary* (Morse ed.), 2: 366.

¹⁰ John W. Burgess, *Reconstruction and the constitution, 1866-1876* (New York, 1902 — p. 32) holds to this view. This also would apply to the suggested controlling influence of the Blairs or of Preston King. See Edward L. Pierce, *Memoir and letters of Charles Sumner* (London, 1879-1893), 4: 230, 250.

son was very much the sort of man who arrived independently at important conclusions.

The theory that the president was rather guileless and as a consequence played into the hands of versatile southerners who managed to turn his head by means of their insinuating ways, is even less tenable than the supposed influence exerted by Seward. For years before the war he had been intimately associated with these men in public affairs; his political rise had largely been due to the fact that he had stood as the common man's champion in opposition to the aristocratic southern element in Tennessee. It would appear that the most satisfying explanation for the reversal of the administration policy would lie in the fact that Johnson, under the spell of the nation-wide reaction against further bloodshed and now in possession of the highest office in the nation, face to face with tremendous responsibilities, came to realize that the new southern problem could never be solved by attempting to hang the natural leaders of the people in that section — "traitors though they were" — or by confiscating their lands — "richly as they deserved it"; and, as the real situation of the South in all its desolation, threatened by anarchy, impressed itself upon him, he arrived at the determination to put aside all notions of retribution and rather exert himself to restore the wretched and thoroughly subdued region at once to a basis upon which it might hope to realize once more security of person and material prosperity — a basis, however, that would at the same time require the complete subjection of every part of the country to the new national ideals.

The inconsistency shown by many who bitterly complained that Mr. Johnson had changed his policy toward the South is illustrated by the *Nation* which early in 1865 threw its influence decidedly against the punishment of Davis and other traitors and in September attacked Johnson in an editorial entitled, "Is anybody to be punished?" because he had disappointed the public expectations by not carrying out his earlier views! "The opinions about Mr. Johnson's qualifications in those dark days were of course varied, but there was one point on which they all agreed, and that was that he was just the man to punish traitors."¹¹ But he had failed to do so; on the contrary he was exhibiting an unexpected zeal and sympathy for the South.

¹¹ The *Nation* for September 28, 1865.

Not only was the president two months after taking office charged with a reversal of his policy towards the traitors but he had to face accusations of having deceived the leaders of his party as to his real attitude toward the black race. Stanton, Wade, Chase, and Sumner were all convinced after conferring with him at his accession that he would consider favorably a proposition to grant universal suffrage to the Negroes. Secretary Welles had a different impression. "On this point I am skeptical. He would not oppose any such move were any state to make it."¹² Later on in his *Diary* the secretary wrote that the president "early listened to the counsel of Sumner and others" but found that he could not adopt their extreme views "without sacrificing his own convictions and principles. Their aims and objects are partizan and factious; his are patriotic and statesmanlike."¹³ Welles also offers the following explanation in replying to the charges that Johnson deceived Sumner and others: "In our conversations he did not dissent from my views and positions in any respect and persons not acquainted with him would have supposed that he adopted them all, but this is not his way. He listens, but unless he squarely and emphatically disapproves is disinclined to controvert. This trait has led many to misunderstand and to misinterpret him."¹⁴

It must be admitted that Johnson on becoming president was faced by a most extraordinary situation. He had every reason for desiring in no wise to antagonize those with whom he must labor in the great work of restoring the union. In his assurances to such men as Sumner that "there is no difference between us," what he probably meant to imply in the light of previous and succeeding utterances was that they both agreed there must be full justice to the colored race, that the fruits of the union triumph must not be lost, and that the leaders of rebellion must not only be denied the opportunity of aiding in the establishment of civil government in the South, but every means must be employed to bring them to justice. That President Johnson meant to imply for a moment that he would allow Sumner or any other man to dictate to him the particular processes by which the administration was to attempt to realize these ends seems

¹² Welles, *Diary* (Morse ed.), 2: 304.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 580.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3: 194.

almost preposterous. Yet, that is just exactly what a clique of influential radicals took for granted in these conversations; that is certainly what Wade implied in exclaiming at the accession of Johnson: "By the gods, there will be no trouble now in running the government."¹⁵

Johnson, in talking with these men, must have sincerely believed that a common basis for reaching mutually desired ends could surely be arrived at. He was not opposed to limited Negro suffrage; but, significantly enough, he previously had publicly declared in a widely reported speech: "In my judgment, the freedmen, if they show patience and manly virtues, will sooner obtain a participation in the elective franchise through the state than the general government, even if it had power to intervene."¹⁶ But the radicals demanded nothing less than universal Negro suffrage to be imposed by the federal government. For weeks there is every indication that the new president felt his way with great caution, hoping to be able to put through his program without experiencing the hostility that Lincoln had faced. In the cabinet meeting of May 9 the proposition of Negro suffrage through federal authority first appeared as an issue between the members present; Johnson finding the cabinet about equally divided refused to express himself "but took the matter into thoughtful consideration."¹⁷

After the lapse of a month, he at last had formulated his policy, which, from his own viewpoint, was, on the one hand, strictly constitutional — and Mr. Johnson was a much better constitutional lawyer than many who attempted to advise him¹⁸ — and on the other hand was sane, opportune, and magnanimous for the government to adopt in its relations towards the South. Under this plan between May and December, 1865, all the southern states with the exception of Texas were "reconstructed." Constitutions were adopted and state governments set up. In the reconstruction of each of these states the president issued a proclamation of amnesty to those not disqualified by its terms to take a prescribed oath of allegiance. A provisional governor

¹⁵ Julian, *Political recollections*, 257.

¹⁶ Johnson's inaugural address as war governor of Tennessee. Cf. James S. Jones, *Life of Andrew Johnson* (Greenville, Tenn., 1901), 182.

¹⁷ Rhodes, *History of the United States*, 5: 524, quoting Welles in the *Galaxy*.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 524-525, for criticisms of constitutional views of Chase and Sumner.

was appointed and delegates were chosen to a constituent convention by all those entitled to exercise that privilege under the particular state law "before the so-called ordinance of secession" — who were allowed to take the oath and had done so. This convention (or the legislature provided for by it) was empowered to determine what should be the qualifications for office-holders and those exercising the franchise, "a power the people of the several states composing the Federal Union have rightfully exercised from the origin of the government to the present time." ¹⁹

In other words, Johnson acted upon the theory that the powers of the southern states should be revived; consistently with this, that only those should be allowed to participate in this revival of state activity who could qualify for the franchise under the law of their state as it was at the outbreak of the war; that of these voters a majority should be allowed to resume their full civil rights upon taking a prescribed oath; that the others might secure a special pardon from the president which would restore their full rights; and, finally, that the qualified voters of each revived state should be allowed to determine the requirements for office holding and the franchise for the future, as they were entitled to do under the federal constitution. ²⁰

These reconstruction proclamations had the support of the entire cabinet. Even Stanton later admitted that his "judgment yielded to the adverse arguments . . . and the President's conviction that to prescribe the rule of suffrage was not within the legitimate scope of his power." ²¹ Secretary McCulloch undoubtedly expressed the early viewpoint of the cabinet as a whole when in writing to Sumner and in his Fort Wayne speech he expressed vigorously his conviction that the president's policy would be "sustained by the people and that the result will vindicate the wisdom of his course." ²²

Wise as this policy might be, the historian Rhodes contends that Johnson's great error in judgment lay in trying to carry it out without calling on congress to assist him. However, did

¹⁹ James D. Richardson, *Messages and papers of the presidents*, 6:315. For a proclamation see pp. 310-314.

²⁰ In Luther v. Borden this view was strongly upheld.

²¹ See George C. Gorham, *Life and public services of Edwin M. Stanton* (Boston, 1899), 2:305.

²² McCulloch, *Men and measures*, 381.

Johnson have any reason to expect that congress would be more amenable to him than to Lincoln? Had it not in opposition to the presidential policy already embodied its theory of reconstruction in the Wade-Davis bill? Were not the published views of the leaders who would surely dominate congress in fundamental opposition to that for which Johnson had publicly stood ever since in 1863 he had telegraphed to Montgomery Blair urging him to use his influence with Lincoln so that the latter would give no countenance to the project of treating the conquered states as territories? ²³ Had not even Sumner soon after Johnson took the oath of office come out in favor of executive reconstruction and in opposition to the summoning of congress? ²⁴ Had not the supreme court in 1848 in the *Luther v. Borden* decision give strong color to the view held by both Lincoln and Johnson, that congress, responsible for guaranteeing a republican form of government to each state, exercised that responsibility solely through its power to admit or refusal to admit its representatives — leaving by implication to the initiative of the executive the processes for erecting such a government? ²⁵ Was there not an even chance, at least, that Johnson, by proceeding quietly along much the same lines as had Lincoln in restoring the states, might be able to get the nation to accept the program when justified by its results? Did not even the *Nation* admit early in the fall of 1865 that this policy had “the miraculous property of appearing to satisfy all parts and parties of the country”? ²⁶

Indeed, considering the circumstances, Johnson seems to have been amply justified in his course of action. To have summoned congress to coöperate in this work he well knew meant an inevitable battle. The more permanent his work could become before congress had an opportunity to interfere with it, the less likelihood there was that this body would succeed in overthrowing it, especially if the southern people would do their part in satisfying the nation that they accepted the ideas embodied in the new nationalism.

²³ Welles, *Diary* (Morse ed.), 2: 630.

²⁴ Pierce, *Sumner*, 4: 239.

²⁵ See 7 Howard, 1; 17 Curtis, 1. James W. Fertig, *Secession and reconstruction of Tennessee* (Chicago, 1898) holds strongly to this view.

²⁶ The *Nation* of September 28, 1865.

It must be confessed that some of the southern states did not sufficiently appreciate the magnanimous statesmanship of the president. Their failure to give him the loyal support that he deserved so richly may be assigned perhaps as the chief cause for the downfall of this program and the subsequent shackling of the South with Negro misrule. Above everything else it was vitally important that the conquered states should give testimony to the country that, in spite of their individual misfortunes which they were trying to overcome, they were prepared to exert themselves vigorously in the interests of the great body of helpless emancipated, in establishing them in the ways of freedom. While the passing of the black codes may have appeared imperative to many southerners it was the worst misfortune that could have befallen the administration, which up to that time had been moving along cautiously but smoothly. A cloud of hostile criticism arose and the president became apprehensive, especially at the arrogant swagger of some of these "unrepentant rebels."²⁷ It gave a handle to the opponents of the government that they were not slow in seizing. For the indorsement of the president's work by a series of democratic conventions had irritated many republicans who were casting about for some good basis upon which to raise the hue and cry against this "life-long Democrat."

The *Nation*, which was a faithful barometer of the attitude of the more constructive of the radical wing of the union party, voiced this rising temper in an editorial entitled, "The danger of the hour," saying: "The whole question of the wisdom or folly of President Johnson's plan of reconstruction as he is at present carrying it out turns upon the amount of confidence which ought to be reposed in the good faith and good intentions of the Southern people. What we fear from the President's policy is not a renewal of the war, but the restoration of the state of things which led to the war." The *Nation* then demanded nothing less than the establishment in the South of "homogeneousness, social as well as political!"²⁸

²⁷ See James G. Blaine, *Twenty years of congress* (Norwich, Conn., 1884-1886), 2: 85-89. James A. Woodburn, *Life of Thaddeus Stevens* (Indianapolis, 1913), 226; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, 5: 540.

²⁸ The *Nation*, 1: 357.

When congress met in December, President Johnson sent to that body an "exceedingly strong and judicial" message. This was penned by George Bancroft but as Welles pointed out in his *Diary*, in referring to the possible share that Seward may have had in framing it, "the views, sentiments, and doctrines are the President's — not Seward's." Welles had a high opinion of the president's intellectual powers. He wrote: "But the President himself has vigorous commonsense and on more than one occasion I have seen him correct Seward's dispatches."²⁹ The message was built up around the idea that the United States was an indissoluble union of indestructible states and presented an outline of the work accomplished in the restoration of civil government in the South.

But congress paid slight attention to the communication. Although members from many of the reconstructed states were asking for recognition, not even those from Johnson's own state were allowed to take their seats upon the organization of the houses. Thus by implication the question was raised as to Johnson's legal title to the presidency, for the constitution provides that the president must be an inhabitant of a state in the union. Although Representative Brooks of New York made this clear, the Tennessee members were left off the rolls.³⁰ Now, upon the motion of Stevens came the selection of the joint committee of the two houses of congress on reconstruction. The executive restoration work was ignored, except in that it was denounced as "the greatest and most criminal error committed by any government."³¹ The impeachment of Johnson already had been publicly demanded.³² Late in December, Welles went to the president and informed him that he had become convinced that an extensive intrigue was being carried on against him. As the fury of the radicals seemed only to increase, Mr. Johnson himself came to accept Welles's view. It appeared that Stevens and his associates were plotting to get rid of him by keeping Tennessee out of the union.

Until the latter part of February the president held back, as

²⁹ Welles, *Diary* (Morse ed.), 2: 392. Too much emphasis has been placed upon Bancroft's assistance. Washington certainly made use of Hamilton.

³⁰ *Congressional globe*, 39 congress, 1 session, December 4, 1865, p. 3.

³¹ Welles, *Diary* (Morse ed.), 2: 393.

³² *Ibid.*, 398.

it were, hoping that the moderates in congress would throw off the radical domination and take control. Some of Johnson's friends were disturbed at this forbearance and even Welles favored a "square and fierce fight" against the studied congressional usurpation of the constitutional powers of the executive.³³ The first serious attempt to check congress came February 19 when the freedman's bureau bill was returned to the senate with a veto. The chief objection to this federal means of securing the welfare of the emancipated lay in the assumption that the national government was not as yet satisfied that the South could be trusted. For months, President Johnson had been trying to impress upon the South that the government was trusting her and expected her to live up to that confidence. For the first and only time, the senate upheld a Johnson veto.

Two days after this triumph, Johnson made his first serious mistake. At a mass meeting on Washington's birthday, although he had not expected to speak, the president was led into making a typical western harangue to the people. He characterized the joint committee on reconstruction as "an irresponsible central directory"; Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner, and Wendell Phillips — men "opposed to the fundamental principles of this Government and now laboring to destroy them" — were denounced as enemies of the republic. He even suggested, so intense did he feel that the hatred against him had become, that there were some in high places who would be glad to see him removed even by assassination. In other words, Johnson at last had thrown himself into that "square and fierce fight" which influential supporters had been demanding. But to their consternation he went into it in his own characteristic way.³⁴ The truth of much of his arraignment can be better appreciated today than was possible at that time. Although Thurlow Weed, a past-master in New York politics, called it "a glorious speech" which "vindicates and saves our government and our Union," it had the effect apparently of alienating a large number of administration men such as Fessen-

³³ Welles, *Diary* (Morse ed.), 2: 412-413.

³⁴ Forney's paper, the *Chronicle*, conveys the impression that Johnson was under the influence of liquor. This is denied by those in a position to know. See Crook's testimony, the *Century*, 16: 654; Welles, *Diary* (Morse ed.), 2: 439. See also Bacon, *Johnson*, 85: "He is abstemious in his personal habits."

den and Trumbull.³⁵ It is hardly an exaggeration to say that from that time on the committee on reconstruction did become "an irresponsible central directory" reducing to impotence the executive authority. However, it is fair to assume that the reaction against the veto was more decisive in producing this result than the effects of the speech.

The latter part of March, congress passed the civil rights bill. To President Johnson it was not only impracticable, but revolutionary, unconstitutional, and represented an unwarranted invasion of the rights of the states. The measure was discussed by the cabinet; Seward, McCulloch, and Welles came out in opposition to it. This must have encouraged the president, who in the words of Dunning "was in no mood to run counter to his constitutional past" and on March 27, 1866, he vetoed it. The measure, however, was promptly passed over his negative.

Desiring to secure permanently the fruits of this victory the fourteenth amendment to the constitution was carried through congress and its acceptance was made a condition for the readmission of the seceding states to the union. The president had no idea of being a party to this measure and let it be known that he could not favor its adoption by the states in question. While he had no opportunity to veto it, he did veto a third freedman's bureau bill, which was immediately repassed by the necessary two-thirds majority. Soon after that congress adjourned but not before recognizing the restoration of Tennessee which had ratified the fourteenth amendment.

During the summer there was an unusual amount of political realignment. Although the leaders of the republican party were making bitter war against Johnson, the latter continued to make his appointments from the ranks of that party. Indeed, he exhibited "an immovable fidelity to the conditions under which he had attained his high office."³⁶ To vindicate the policy of the government, there was called August 14 the national union convention, made up of delegates from the unrepresented South as well as the North. These southern delegates gave every assurance that the South as a whole accepted in good faith the de-

³⁵ In January Fessenden said: "The President has done nothing that his friends complain of and his friends in Congress have done nothing that he can complain of."

³⁶ William A. Dunning, *Reconstruction, political and economic* (The American nation, 22 — New York, 1907), 74.

cision of war with reference to the questions of slavery as well as that of disunion. As Mr. Rhodes points out in referring to this pledge of good faith: "After thirty years of observation, study and reflection, I am convinced of the absolute truth of this statement."³⁷

Mr. Johnson's second serious mistake while in office was committed when he made his speaking tour early in September. His opponents knowing his combativeness when aroused encouraged the hostile crowds which unmercifully baited him, especially at St. Louis, Indianapolis, and Cleveland. The newspapers by distorting the facts succeeded in turning thousands of people in disgust from their previous support of the president. He was accused of drunkenness;³⁸ his behavior was pronounced maudlin and his speech "positively shocking." He is said to have dragged "the presidential office to the lowest depths of degradation."³⁹ However, taking McPherson's rendition of these speeches as sufficiently accurate⁴⁰ there is no one thing that Mr. Johnson said that in itself was "disgraceful." Not even the undignified retorts to his tormenters in the crowds could prove him lacking in manhood, courage, and self-respect. He delivered the same type of speech that had carried him to fame in the antebellum days in Tennessee. To people, of course, who demand that the presidential office shall be enshrouded in solemnity and formalities and made the object of a certain reverence, the actions of this western-bred democrat represented a violation of all the canons of good taste. Mr. Seward, who was in the presidential party, approved of the speeches. He felt that they were aiding the cause and encouraged President Johnson to continue making them.⁴¹ That he did this treacherously as a confidential advisor is inconceivable; that he was a man of good taste has never been seriously questioned. Secretary Welles, another

³⁷ Rhodes, *History of the United States*, 5: 615.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 618. But see also Crook's testimony in the *Century*, v. 78. Crook took the trip and as a guard was with the president continuously for years and he utterly denies that Johnson was ever under the influence of liquor except at the vice presidential inauguration when, recovering from an attack of typhoid fever, the liquor he took to strengthen him had an unexpected effect.

³⁹ Rhodes, *History of the United States*, 5: 618.

⁴⁰ Edward McPherson, *Political history of the United States* (Washington, 1876), 134-136.

⁴¹ Welles, *Diary* (Morse ed.), 2: 588-596.

member of the party, recorded in his *Diary* his impression of the Johnson speeches: "His speeches though assailed and ridiculed were sound and patriotic. They were essentially but one speech often repeated. Though poorly reported and often misrepresented the speech would do him no discredit as a patriot and statesman."⁴² But in spite of all that can be said in extenuation, from the point of view of playing at politics, this speaking tour was a mistake. What Mr. Johnson had been able to do so successfully in his home state could not be done in the northern cities, swayed by hostility towards him. The mere fact that the speaking tour was in the nature of an innovation added to the effect of the cry raised against it. Instead of giving the president a more responsive congress, there was returned at the elections an overwhelming majority of antiadministration men.

The tenure of office act was thereupon passed which completed the shackling of the president, now stripped of any effective executive power. It represented a virtual overthrow of our constitutional system of government, for not only was the chief executive rendered helpless, but the United States supreme court was cowed into submission to a congress dominated by a group of radicals rushing off madly with the bit between the teeth.

It is not the purpose of this paper to deal with the congressional plan of reconstruction. To say the least, it was a disastrous experiment. When the nation had recovered its senses the great work of providing each state with a political system expressing the vital demands of an enlightened public opinion was allowed to be carried out — legally and otherwise.

Even the harshest critics of President Johnson agree that his actions during this period of congressional control were scrupulously constitutional. He attempted to impede in no way the execution of the reconstruction measures. It was not until the summer of 1867 that Stanton's ceaseless plotting against his superior became so intolerable that Johnson determined to bring the tenure of office act to the test. It had been passed largely to protect the secretary of war while engaged in his Machiavelian conspiracies. Johnson dismissed him. Congress now jumped at the opportunity it had long been seeking to rid itself

⁴² Welles, *Diary* (Morse ed.), 2: 347-348.

of a president who had publicly questioned the legality of much of its work and was openly accused of planning a *coup d'état* to rid himself by force of his congressional masters for the purpose of setting up a dictatorship. The impeachment came dangerously near succeeding in spite of the fact that every serious charge fell completely to the ground. This marks the climax of the efforts at congressional usurpation. From now on the reaction can be clearly traced. The president was allowed to finish the remainder of his term of office in peace.

Before going out of office, Mr. Johnson gave proof of his keen progressiveness by strongly recommending in two of his messages measures providing for the direct election of the president, making him ineligible for a second term; for the more exact determination of the presidential succession; for the direct election of senators; and for the limiting of the judicial offices to a term of years. As the election of a successor drew near, the president could not but feel that he deserved to be vindicated at the polls. For a time he thought that the democratic party would look to him to carry it to victory, now that the country was beginning to turn its back upon the congressional policies. But such was not the case and the sixty-five votes that were given to him in the convention on the first ballot were probably complimentary and designed to draw to the party all the Johnson union party supporters. Some man with fewer enemies and less pronounced policies was demanded and the nomination went to Horatio Seymour of New York. Yet Johnson was not utterly repudiated. In 1875, Tennessee, as it were for a vindication and token of loyalty, reinstated him in his old place in the United States senate. The *New York Herald* commenting upon this declared: "He is the best man Tennessee could have chosen, not merely for herself, but for the Democracy both north and south." But he was not allowed to perform any important labor in the senate, for the same year that he took his seat witnessed his death.

Nearly fifty years have passed since the memorable struggle between the president and congress. The deep rancors of that period have been obliterated, with the result that historical judgments are being reversed. This is especially true with respect to the work of President Johnson. For as time goes on it

seems to testify with increasing clearness that the statesmanship of Johnson was not at fault so much as was the statesmanship of his leading critics. There were many men who far surpassed him in brilliancy of mental qualities, in idealism and culture; but it is to be doubted if there was a man living at that time who possessed a saner insight into the more vital of the national problems. He combined a tremendous reverence for the constitution with the undoubtedly rare capacity to appreciate conditions as they actually existed. Consequently, his policies had the merit of being both in harmony with the best constitutional traditions of the nation and eminently logical and proper. Always in sympathy with the Lincoln program, he promised not to break with it and he kept his promise. His chief measures were not influenced by petty personal considerations, but showed great generosity of soul. It is to be doubted whether Mr. Lincoln with all his splendid gifts, could have won in the battle against those forces that, even before his death, had determined to give over the southern governments to Negro control. There was too much misconception and sentimentalism to overcome; party necessity clamored too loudly; the danger of a democratic victory in the near future appeared too imminent to republican officeholders. The so-called mistakes of Johnson probably weighed little in the balance when compared to the vast opposition that at last developed under a wave of radicalism against his leading measures and his attempts to hold back congress. It is noteworthy that one of his opponents in the senate in after years paid this tribute to Andrew Johnson: "After this long lapse of time, I am convinced that Mr. Johnson's scheme of reorganization was wise and judicious. It was unfortunate that it had not the sanction of Congress and that events soon brought the President and Congress into hostility."⁴³ Such, it would seem, will be the permanent judgment of posterity.

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⁴³ John Sherman, *Recollections of forty years in the house, senate and cabinet* (Chicago, 1895), 1: 361.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI NORTHWEST, 1914-1915

Owing to certain readjustments in the fields assigned to the different persons preparing surveys of historical activities in the Mississippi valley and Canada, the region covered by the present paper includes the states of Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado. As was the case in the writer's paper a year ago, references to materials bearing indirectly on the history of the entire upper Mississippi valley have oftentimes been purposely omitted, since such materials have been thoroughly covered in the paper by Mr. Buck. With a few exceptions the period covered is that from July 1, 1914, to October 1, 1915.

HISTORICAL AGENCIES AND THEIR WORK

On November 10, 1914, Mr. Solon J. Buck was elected superintendent and secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, to succeed Mr. Warren Upham, who for so many years occupied the position of secretary. Mr. Upham has taken up the work of archeologist for the society, a line of research which he particularly enjoys. As was noted in the *REVIEW* last year, the sum of five hundred thousand dollars was appropriated for the erection of a building for the society. Various difficulties arose which prevented the beginning of the work; but by an act of the legislature approved on April 16, 1915, all obstacles were removed and it is now assured that building plans and operations will go forward without further delay. Moreover, the new legislation makes provision for the care of the state archives in the new building, while the supreme court, hitherto included in the plans, is eliminated. A new line of activity on the part of the society is represented by a quarterly publication, the *Minnesota history bulletin*, the first number of which appeared in February, 1915.

No marked changes have been made in the organization, support, or work of the two state historical agencies in Iowa. Mr.

Frank E. Horack and Mr. Jacob Van der Zee, who for many years have devoted part of their time to the positions of secretary and research associate, respectively, in the State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City, will hereafter give their entire time to the State University of Iowa; although it is expected that they will still find opportunity to make occasional contributions to the publications of the society. Miss Ethyl E. Martin will assume many of the duties hitherto performed by Mr. Horack, and other changes in the official staff of the society have been made.

There have been some additions to the staff of the Historical Department of Iowa at Des Moines; and appropriations were made by the general assembly of Iowa last winter to enable the department to encourage the marking and preservation of historic sites. According to another new law the custody of the public archives is now vested in the curator of the historical department, instead of jointly in the state librarian and the curator as hitherto.

In Missouri (which state was not included in the writer's survey a year ago) there are two state historical agencies, namely, the State Historical Society of Missouri, established in 1898 and located at Columbia; and the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis, organized in the year 1866. The first of these institutions receives its chief support from the state. It maintains a library, now numbering about one hundred and fifty thousand titles, and an historical museum, both of which have been housed in Academic hall of the University of Missouri. At this writing, however, it is expected that the library and museum will soon be installed in the new fireproof library building of the university. The principal publication of the society is the quarterly periodical known as the *Missouri historical review*. Mr. Francis A. Sampson, who has been secretary and librarian of the society since its organization and editor of the *Review* since its establishment in 1906, resigned from these positions in May of this year. He has been succeeded by Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, formerly assistant librarian. Mr. Sampson will hereafter devote his time to collecting historical material and compiling bibliographies for the society.

The Missouri Historical Society, housed in the magnificent Jefferson Memorial building in St. Louis, is not maintained by

state appropriations, but is a private institution of which Mr. Charles P. Pettus is secretary. It has a valuable library which is especially rich in manuscripts of the French and Spanish periods in Missouri and the Mississippi valley. The publications issued somewhat irregularly by this society are the *Missouri Historical Society collections* and a *Bulletin* devoted to archeology.

The Kansas State Historical Society, located at Topeka, was organized in 1875. On February 16, 1914, Mr. George W. Martin, who as secretary for many years was largely responsible for the growth of the society, resigned his position on account of illness; and he died on March 27. His successor in administering the work of the society is Mr. William E. Connelley whose historical writings are well known. During the summer of 1914 the society moved into the new five hundred thousand dollar Memorial building, which was dedicated on May 27 of that year. The society has a large library and from time to time publishes volumes of *Collections*.

No changes have been made in the general scope of the work of the Nebraska State Historical Society, but the last legislature slightly increased the biennial appropriation for the support of the society, and provided in addition for the paying of the bill for printing the *Proceedings* out of the general printing fund — thus making a total increase of three thousand dollars in the biennial appropriation.

The work of the Department of History of South Dakota, as was noted last time, includes a larger range of activities than is usually undertaken by historical societies. Consequently the department is affected by a special appropriation of three thousand five hundred dollars for compiling the state census, granted by the last legislature; by a new law somewhat modifying the vital statistics act; and by the addition of one thousand dollars annually to the support of the free library commission.

In North Dakota a general state budget plan has been adopted and hereafter all appropriations for the state historical society will be included in the state budget. During the summer Mr. Herbert C. Fish resigned from the post of curator of the library and museum of the society, located at Bismarck. The name of

his successor, if one has been chosen, has not come to the knowledge of the writer.

The reports from Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado indicate that the work in these states is almost entirely restricted to the building up of libraries and historical collections because of the lack of funds with which to issue publications or carry on other lines of activity. The Wyoming Historical Society has received an increase of two hundred and fifty dollars biennially for regular support; and better quarters will be provided for the society's library when an addition to the capitol building, for which one hundred and fifty thousand dollars was appropriated by the last legislature, is completed. The State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado, of which Mr. J. C. Smiley is secretary, is located in a handsome building in Denver, but is lacking in funds with which to carry on any extensive historical work.

PUBLICATIONS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Volume xv of the *Collections* of the Minnesota Historical Society (xv, 872 p.) is the last volume of this series to appear under the editorial supervision of Mr. Warren Upham before his retirement from the position of secretary. Space forbids the mention of all the numerous articles contained in this large volume, but attention should at least be called to the following: "Railroad legislation in Minnesota, 1849 to 1875," by Rasmus S. Saby; "The five million loan," by William W. Folwell; a lengthy report on the Kensington rune stone; "The public land policy and school fund of Minnesota," by Samuel G. Iverson; "Narratives of the Sioux war," by Marion P. Satterlee; "Northern Minnesota boundary surveys in 1822 to 1826 under the treaty of Ghent," by William E. Culkin; "The sale of Fort Snelling," by William W. Folwell; "Experiences in southwestern Minnesota, 1859 to 1867," by Lorin Cray; and "Reminiscences of Minnesota politics," by Henry A. Castle.

The *Collections* in the future will be devoted chiefly to documentary material, the volumes being arranged in series dealing with various phases and periods of Minnesota history. Papers read at meetings and other historical articles which are not too long will henceforth find their places in the pages of the new

quarterly periodical, the *Minnesota history bulletin*, which was launched in February, 1915, under the editorship of Solon J. Buck. The magazine presents a neat appearance and, judging from its contents thus far, it will be a much valued addition to the list of Mississippi valley historical periodicals. In the three numbers which have been issued there appear the following papers and addresses: "The relation of the state to historical work," by Clarence W. Alvord; "The Minnesota state archives, their character, condition, and historical value," by Herbert A. Kellar; "Tribal dance of the Ojibway Indians," by William E. Culkin; and "Recent activities of the Wisconsin historical society," by Solon J. Buck. Among the source materials to be found under the heading of "Documents" may be mentioned a letter from Henry A. Swift to Governor Ramsey relative to the refugees after the Sioux massacre of 1862, and some selections from the papers of William Pitt Murray. The *Bulletin* also contains book reviews and notes on historical publications and activities in Minnesota and other states.

As a supplement to the May number of the *Bulletin* there appeared the *Eighteenth biennial report* of the Minnesota Historical Society, covering the years 1913 and 1914.

During the past year the State Historical Society of Iowa has published five large volumes, namely, the first two volumes of a comprehensive *History of education in Iowa*¹ (xiv, 436; ix, 469 p.), by Clarence R. Aurner, dealing with the common schools; a *History of poor relief legislation in Iowa*¹ (xiv, 404 p.), by John L. Gillin; a *History of social legislation in Iowa*¹ (xiv, 444 p.), by John E. Briggs; and the second volume in the *Iowa applied history series*¹ (xx, 689 p.), all of which are edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh. The last named volume contains the following papers on topics of current legislative interest: "Reorganization of state government in Iowa," by Frank E. Horack; "Home rule in Iowa," by O. K. Patton; "Direct legislation in Iowa," by Jacob Van der Zee; "Equal suffrage in Iowa," by Frank E. Horack; "Selection of public officials in Iowa," by Henry J. Peterson; "Removal of public officials in Iowa," by O. K. Patton; "The merit system: its application to state government in Iowa," by Jacob Van der Zee; "Social legislation in Iowa," by

¹ To be reviewed later.

John E. Briggs; "Child labor legislation in Iowa," by Fred E. Haynes; and "Poor relief legislation in Iowa," by John L. Gillin.

Volumes III and IV of Mr. Aurner's *History of education in Iowa*, dealing with secondary education and the state educational institutions, respectively, are now in press.

In the pages of the *Iowa journal of history and politics*, the quarterly publication of the State Historical Society of Iowa, there have been printed during the past year the following articles: "Fur trade operations in the eastern Iowa country from 1800 to 1833," by Jacob Van der Zee; "The public domain as a field for historical study," by Louis Pelzer; "Early history of lead mining in the Iowa country," by Jacob Van der Zee; "Text-book legislation in Iowa," by O. E. Klingaman; "The Half-breed Tract," by Jacob Van der Zee; "The career of Jacob Rich," by George E. Roberts; "The Neutral Ground," by Jacob Van der Zee; "The grasshopper plagues in Iowa," by John E. Briggs; and "The Black Hawk war and the treaty of 1832," by Jacob Van der Zee.

Moreover, in the same periodical there have appeared the following source materials: two selections from the autobiography of John A. Nash, an early Baptist minister in Iowa, under the titles "Some episodes in the early history of Des Moines" and "John A. Nash and the early history of Des Moines College," both with introduction and notes by Dan E. Clark; a deposition of one Edward Brooks relative to "The oldest land titles in the state of Iowa," edited by Jacob Van der Zee; and a report of a visit of two eastern Quakers to the Indians of Iowa in 1842, with a note by Dan E. Clark.

Among the articles which have been published since April, 1914, in the *Annals of Iowa*, issued quarterly at Des Moines by the Historical Department of Iowa, are: a brief appreciation of William B. Allison; "Early commercial traveling in Iowa," by Frank M. Mills; "A republic within the confederacy and other recollections of 1864," by W. A. Duckworth; "Early Iowa Indian treaties and boundaries," by the late Alonzo Abernethy; "Foundation of modern geologic science in America," by Charles Keyes; "Some additional materials on the Spirit Lake massacre"; "Jefferson county politics before the civil war," by

Charles J. Fulton; "John I. Blair and his associates in railway building in Iowa," by B. L. Wick; "The great seals of Iowa," by C. C. Stiles; a memoir of John F. Lacey, by William T. Hornaday; "Principles of classification in archives," by Ethel B. Virtue; "Reciprocity in historical materials," by Lawrence J. Burpee; "Public archives of Iowa," by C. C. Stiles; and "The story of an emigrant train," by J. W. Cheney.

In the *Annals of Iowa* may also be found the following source materials: "The writings of Judge George G. Wright"; some selections from the "Private archives of Governor Kirkwood," edited by Edgar R. Harlan; and "The engagement at Jenkin's Ferry," being an extract from the diary of William L. Nicholson.

The editorial department of this same periodical, furthermore, contains, among other things, notes relative to the discovery of coal in the Mississippi valley by the French; the size of the herds of buffalo seen on the plains in the early days; the identity of the "Jeffreon" river mentioned in the Sauk and Fox treaty of November 3, 1804; the preservation, use, and administration of archives; and motion picture films as historical material. As a separate publication the department has issued a tentative bibliography of "Iowa authors and their works," compiled by Miss Alice Marple, who is preparing a much larger and more complete work for future publication.

Aside from the biennial reports the only publication issued by the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia is the quarterly *Missouri historical review*. Beginning with the number for July, 1914, this periodical has contained the following articles, among others: "Echoes of Indian emigration," by David W. Eaton; "An old Missouri town, Napton, Saline county," by Rollins Bingham; "Mormon troubles in Carroll county," by Susan H. Whiteman; "A sketch of Missouri constitutional history during the territorial period," by Floyd C. Shoemaker; "Travel into Missouri in October, 1838," by Edward Zimmerman; a biographical sketch of Garland Carr Broadhead and a bibliography of his publications, prepared by Darling K. Greger; "Books on early travel in Missouri," by Francis A. Sampson; "Harmony mission and Methodist missions," by G. C. Broadhead; a list of Missouri river boats in 1841, with the names of their captains; "Nathaniel Patten, pioneer editor," by F. F.

Stephens; a "Bibliography of the Missouri press association," by Francis A. Sampson; "Six periods in Missouri history," by Floyd C. Shoemaker; and "'Missouri Day' programs for Missouri club women," by Floyd C. Shoemaker.

Major Alphonso Wetmore's diary of a journey to Santa Fé in 1828; a letter written by George Sibley in 1820 describing the Indians' mode of life in Missouri and in what is now Kansas; and a list of marriages copied from the Carroll county marriage record are source materials printed in the *Review*.

Volume iv, number 3 of the *Missouri Historical Society collections* issued in 1914 is the last publication of the Missouri Historical Society located at St. Louis. "The removal of the judges of the supreme court of Missouri in 1865," by Thomas K. Skinner; "Founding and location of William Jewell College," by L. M. Lawson; "Sketch of Isidor Bush," by Jacob Furth; "Madame Beaulieu, a colonial dame," by Adeline P. Wagoner; "The two forts at Sandusky bay," by Charles A. Hanna; and "Has the site of Fort Orleans been discovered?" by Ed. C. Hill, are papers to be found in this number. In addition, the volume contains the "Instructions of Jacques Toutant Beauregard to his son concerning a voyage to the Illinois, 1779," translated by Nettie H. Beauregard; and the seventh instalment of the "Recollections of an old actor," by Charles A. Krone.

The *Nineteenth biennial report* of the Kansas State Historical Society contains, besides the usual reports, proceedings, and information concerning the work of the society for the preceding two years, a roster of all the territorial and state officers of Kansas since 1854. The thirteenth volume of the *Collections* of the society is now in press.

Although the seventeenth volume of the *Collections* of the Nebraska State Historical Society appears to have been published in 1913 it did not come into the hands of the writer until after the survey for the year 1913-1914 was made. Among the many papers in the volume those which are perhaps of the most general interest are the following: "The work of the historical society," by John Lee Webster; "Nebraska, mother of states," by Albert Watkins; "Life among the Indian tribes of the plains," "The Indian woman," and "Systematic ethnologic investigation," all by James Mooney; "A tragedy of the Oregon

trail," by George W. Hansen; "The Oregon recruit expedition," by Albert Watkins; "Influence of overland travel on the early settlement of Nebraska," by H. G. Taylor; "First steamboat trial trip up the Missouri," by Albert Watkins; "Adventures on the plains," by Dennis Farrell; "How shall the Indian be treated historically?" by Harry L. Keefe; "Importance of the study of local history," by James F. Le Rossignol; "The pathfinders, the historic background of civilization," by Heman C. Smith; "A study in the ethnobotany of the Omaha Indians," by Melvin R. Gilmore; and "Some native Nebraska plants with their uses by the Dakota," by the same writer.

Another volume of *Collections* and a volume of *Proceedings* are now in press. It is to be noted that these series will be published separately in the future.

In 1914 volume VII of the *South Dakota Historical Collections* was issued by the department of history. The most important contribution contained in this volume is a study of "The Verendrye explorations and discoveries," by Charles E. De Land, which occupies about two hundred and twenty-five pages and in which special attention is given to the finding of the Verendrye plate at Fort Pierre in February, 1913. Among the shorter articles may be mentioned: "Colonial claims and South Dakota," by Charles E. De Land; and the "Verendrye calendar," by Doane Robinson. Moreover, the volume contains considerable source material, such as the Verendrye journals of 1738-1739 and 1742-1743; a translation of the journal of Jean Baptiste Trudeau describing his journey up the Missouri river in 1794 and 1795, with an introduction and notes; A. B. Donaldson's journal of the Black hills expedition of 1874; and Custer's report of the same expedition, under the heading, "Opening the Black hills."

Pamphlet publications issued by the department include an illustrated description of its own work, a statehouse guide and directory, the eighth annual report of the division of vital statistics, a review of the progress of South Dakota for 1914, and a descriptive catalog of the South Dakota state museum. The report of the third state census, compiled by the department, is in press, and volume VIII of the *Collections* is being prepared for publication.

The fourth volume of the *Collections* of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, which recently appeared, is a large volume containing much valuable material. William H. Elznic discusses the "Bohemians in Richland county"; Roy Thompson writes on "The first Dunker colony of North Dakota"; and the "History of the early Presbyterian church of North Dakota" is related by James P. Schell. Then comes a study of the "Location and survey of the northern international boundary line," by Ethel J. May, in connection with which, as an appendix, is the journal of J. E. Bangs. Lastly among the secondary material is a monograph on "The Hudson's Bay company and the Red river trade," by Hattie Listenfelt. In appendices to this monograph may also be found source materials, such as petitions, letters, licenses, and other papers dealing with phases of the fur trade. Following this contribution over one hundred pages are devoted to the Dakota territorial census of 1885. The remaining half of the volume is taken up with two important sources, namely, the "Summary of evidence in the controversy between the Hudson's Bay company and the North-West company," reprinted from the papers relative to the Red river settlement, 1815-1819, ordered by the house of commons to be printed in 1819; and "The minutes of the council of the northern department of Rupert's Land 1830-1843," with an introduction by Isaac Cowie, who was formerly a wintering partner in the Hudson's Bay company.

Volume VIII of the *Contributions* published by the Montana Historical and Miscellaneous Library has been ready for the press for some time, but there are no funds available with which to proceed with the printing.

Turning to the publications of historical societies other than those of the Trans-Mississippi Northwest, mention should first be made of material in the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW and the *Proceedings* of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. In the former during the past year there has been very little relating to the history of the region covered in this paper. A note concerning early German settlers on the lower Missouri, communicated by Orin G. Libby; a paper on "Diplomacy concerning the Santa Fé road," by William R. Manning; a discussion of "Some new-found records of the Lewis and Clark

expedition," by Milo M. Quaife; and an article on "British cartography of the Mississippi valley in the eighteenth century," by Susan M. Reed may be listed.

On the other hand, volume VII of the *Proceedings* contains several papers on phases of the history of this region, namely: "The Cheyenne Indians in North Dakota," by George F. Will; "The preservation of landmarks," by Jean M. Stevens; "Explorations and surveys of the Minnesota and Red rivers," by Warren Upham; "The soldier, the advance guard of civilization," by Henry Hale; "Montana as a field for historical research," by Frank H. Garver; "The westward movement in the upper Mississippi valley during the fifties," by Dan E. Clark; "The Verendrye plate," by Doane Robinson; and "The Hudson's Bay company's monopoly of the fur trade at the Red river settlement, 1821-1850," by Chester Martin.

The only article in the *American historical review* during the past twelve months which in any way touches this field is one by Isaac J. Cox on "General Wilkinson and his later intrigues with the Spaniards." In the *Annual report* of the American Historical Association for 1911 there is a report on the "Public archives of Colorado," by James F. Willard. The *Proceedings* of the ninth annual conference of historical societies contains a report of the committee having charge of the work of calendarizing the French archives relating to the Mississippi valley. Moreover, in the pages of the *History teacher's magazine*, among others, there have appeared the following articles: "The activities of the State Historical Society of Iowa," by Louis B. Schmidt; "The agrarian history of the United States as a subject for research," by William J. Trimble; and the report of the committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association on the certification of high school teachers of history.

In the fourteenth volume of the *Jahrbuch der deutsch-amerikanischen Gesellschaft von Illinois* there is a monograph on "The Germans in the gubernatorial campaign of Iowa in 1859," by F. I. Herriott. The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1912 (published in 1914) contains, among many others, a paper entitled "Some reminiscences of pioneer Rock Island women," in which mention is made of a

number of people prominent in the early history of Iowa. In the October, 1914, number of the *Journal* published quarterly by the same society may be found accounts of the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the battles of Campbell's island and Credit island.

The *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1914 contains much material of interest to students of trans-Mississippi history. For instance, there may be noted a paper on "The Spanish domination of upper Louisiana," by Walter B. Douglass; the "Recollections of Antoine Grignon," an early fur trader in the upper Mississippi valley; a discussion of "The influence of the whites on Winnebago culture," by Paul Radin; a brief article on "La Verendrye's farthest west," by Doane Robinson; and the journal of "T. Turnbull's travels from the United States across the plains to California," edited with introduction and notes by Frederic L. Paxson.

Out on the Pacific coast the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society for September, 1914, contains the diary of Samuel R. Thurston, who lived for a time at Burlington, Iowa, where he was a prominent editor, and who later became the first delegate to congress from Oregon; a letter of Quincy Adams Brooks telling of a journey across the plains to Oregon in 1851; and some data relative to the members of the Oregon constitutional convention of 1857, many of whom were prominent in Missouri and Iowa before going to the Pacific Northwest. In the December, 1914, number of the *Quarterly* there is reprinted some material relative to emigration from Iowa to Oregon in 1843. Finally, in the March, 1915, number may be found the "Correspondence of the Reverend Ezra Fisher," who was a pioneer Baptist missionary in Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Oregon.

OTHER HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

To say nothing of scores of county histories, or of much valuable historical and biographical material which has been printed in newspapers and local periodicals, the past year has brought forth a considerable list of publications, other than those of state historical societies, bearing on the history of the Trans-Mississippi Northwest.

The following publications touching the history of the region as a whole should be mentioned: *The winning of the far West*,² by Robert M. McElroy (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. x, 384 p.); *The political and sectional influence of the public lands, 1828-1842*,³ by Raynor G. Wellington (Cambridge: The Riverside Press. 131 p.); *Kit Carson days, 1809-1868*,⁴ by Edwin L. Sabin (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. xv, 669 p.); *The Scandinavian element in the United States*,⁵ by Kendric C. Babcock (Urbana: University of Illinois. 223 p.); *A history of the western boundary of the Louisiana purchase*,⁶ by Thomas M. Marshall (Berkeley: University of California Press. xiii, 266 p.); *Fremont and '49*,⁷ by Frederick S. Dellenbaugh (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. xxiii, 547 p.); *The French in the heart of America*,⁸ by John Finley (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. x, 431 p.); a pamphlet published by the department of the interior containing data concerning the areas of the acquisitions of territory to the United States and the areas of the various states, territories, and possessions, together with a diagram showing the historical development of the states; *A guide to the materials in London archives for the history of the United States since 1783*,⁹ by Charles O. Paullin and Frederic L. Paxson (Washington: The Carnegie Institution of Washington); a pamphlet entitled the *Story of the lost trail to Oregon*, by Ezra Meeker (Seattle: published by the author); the *Narrative of Geo. J. Kellogg from 1849 to 1915*, being a brief account of the life of a California gold-seeker (privately printed); and the third volume of Kappler's *Indian affairs, laws and treaties* (Washington: Government Printing Office). The series of articles by Frederick M. Davenport entitled "On the trail of progress and reaction in the West," which appeared in the *Outlook* this spring, also deserves mention in this connection.

A large number of doctoral dissertations reported as in prog-

² Reviewed *ante*, 1: 598.

³ To be reviewed later.

⁴ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 601.

⁵ Reviewed in this number.

⁶ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 149.

⁷ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 603.

⁸ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 286.

⁹ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 445.

ress at the principal American universities in December, 1914, seem from their titles to have some bearing on the region under discussion, while others are clearly in this field, as will be seen from the list which follows: "The history of the admission of new states into the union," by Lucia von Lueck Becker (Chicago); "The spirit of expansion in the United States prior to 1860," by A. H. Buffington (Harvard); "The confirmation of foreign land titles in the acquired territories of the United States," by T. P. Martin (Harvard); "The American state executive," by C. H. Crennan (Pennsylvania); "The history of the copper industry in the United States," by F. E. Richter (Harvard); "The history of the meat packing industry in the United States," by E. H. Hahne (Harvard); "A history of railroad capitalization in the United States," by T. F. Leilich (Cornell); "The development of prairie agriculture," by F. L. Cummings (Chicago); "History of economic legislation in Iowa," by Ivan L. Pollock (Iowa); "Social movements, 1825-1860," by Florence Robinson (Wisconsin); "The public land system in the thirties," by Marie P. Dickore (Wisconsin); "Political grouping, 1832-1840: the rise of the whig party," by E. E. Robinson (Wisconsin); "The locofoco movement," by E. A. Kincaid (Harvard); "Wheat production and the wheat and flour trade in the United States since 1860," by Wilfred Eldred (Harvard); "The liberal republican movement," by E. D. Ross (Cornell); "History of the Santa Fe railroad," by G. D. Bradley (Michigan); "The historical geography of the lead region of Illinois-Wisconsin-Iowa," by B. H. Shockel (Chicago); "The woolen industry in the Mississippi valley prior to the introduction of the factory system," by H. H. Bass (Harvard); "Organized railroad-booming in the Mississippi valley, 1837-1857," by R. S. Cotterill (Wisconsin); "The historical geography of St. Paul," by C. J. Posey (Chicago); "The historical geography of the Ozark region of Missouri," by C. O. Sauer (Chicago); "The history of Protestant missions to the Sioux and Chippewa Indians," by L. F. Jackson (Harvard); "The formation of the Colorado territory," by J. L. Kingsbury (Chicago); and "The populist movement in Colorado, 1890-1896," by L. P. Fox (Pennsylvania).

The literature concerning the Indians of this region which has

been published during the past twelve months has not been voluminous. Mention should first be made of Warren K. Moorehead's volume on *The American Indian in the United States*¹⁰ (Andover, Mass.: The Andover Press. 440 p.). C. R. Green of Olathe, Kansas, has published a pamphlet dealing with the band of Sauk and Fox Indians which remained in Kansas for sixteen years after the other members of the tribe had departed. M. R. Harrington is the author of a volume on the *Sacred bundles of the Sac and Fox Indians*,¹¹ which has been issued by the University of Pennsylvania museum. Two books by Katherine B. Judson containing myths and legends of the great plains and of the Mississippi valley have come from the press of A. C. McClurg and company, of Chicago.¹²

In the *Anthropological papers* of the American Museum of Natural History there have appeared the following monographs: "Pawnee Indian societies," by James R. Murie; "Societies of the Arikara Indians," by Robert H. Lowie; "Societies of the Iowa," "Kansa organizations," and "Ponca societies and dances," all by Alanson Skinner; "Dances and societies of the plains Shoshone," by Robert H. Lowie; and "The sun dance of the Crow Indians," by Robert H. Lowie.

Bulletin 46 issued by the bureau of American ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution contains "A dictionary of the Choctaw Indian language," prepared by Cyrus Byington, for many years a missionary among these Indians, and edited by John R. Swanton and Henry S. Halbert. Finally, in the October-December, 1914, number of the *Journal of American folk-lore* appear three articles, namely: "Religion of the North American Indians," by Paul Radin; "Mythology and folk-tales of the North American Indians," by Franz Boaz; and "The social organization of the Indians of North America," by A. A. Goldenweiser.

A number of publications dealing with the history of the various states in this region may also be listed. For Minnesota there are the following: volumes II and III of the *Studies in the social sciences* published by the University of Minnesota, namely: *Federal land grants to the states with special reference to*

¹⁰ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 292.

¹¹ To be reviewed later.

¹² The latter of the two volumes is reviewed *ante*, 2: 137.

Minnesota,¹³ by Matthias Nordberg Orfield, and *Early economic conditions and the development of agriculture in Minnesota*,¹³ by Edward V. Robinson; a volume of reminiscences of early settlers of Minnesota, published by the Minnesota society of the Daughters of the American Revolution and printed at Austin by the F. H. McCulloch Printing company; a *Social and economic survey of a community in northeastern Minnesota*, by Gustav P. Warber, and a *Social and economic survey of a community in the Red river valley*, by Louis H. D. Weld, both published by the University of Minnesota; a number of papers relating to municipal government in the *Proceedings* of the second annual conference of the League of Minnesota Municipalities; and an article by Theodore Blegen in the July, 1915, number of *Ungdommens ven*, a Norwegian periodical published in Minneapolis, in which there is a description of the plans of the Minnesota Historical Society for the collection of materials relative to the Scandinavian element in the United States.

The following publications relative to Iowa have been noted: *Reminiscences*, by William Fletcher King, who was president of Cornell College at Mt. Vernon, Iowa, for a long period of time (New York and Cincinnati: The Abingdon Press. 716 p.); *Personal recollections*, by Grenville M. Dodge (Council Bluffs: The Monarch Printing Co. 237 p.); *The blue book of Iowa women*, compiled by Winona E. Reeves; a history of *Medicine in Iowa from its earliest settlement to 1876*, by D. S. Fairchild, reprinted from the *Journal* of the Iowa State Medical Society; and a book of over one hundred and twenty pages containing tributes to the late George D. Perkins, editor of the *Sioux City Journal* and former congressman from Iowa.

In the *Proceedings* of the Iowa Academy of Science for 1914 are two articles of historical interest: a "Memorial note on Seth Eugene Meek," by Charles Keyes; and a discussion of the "Indian pottery of the Oneota or Upper Iowa river region in northeastern Iowa," by Ellison Orr. The *Journal of history*, published quarterly at Lamoni, Iowa, by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, contains materials concerning the history of that church. In the first number of the *Iowa*

¹³ To be reviewed later.

law bulletin, published in January, 1915, at the State University of Iowa, there is an article on "The Iowa codes," by the late Emlin McClain. *Midland schools*, published at Des Moines, has contained several articles during the past year on phases of the educational history of Iowa. "The financial growth of Davenport" is described in the *Northwestern banker* for June, 1915.

Missouri history is dealt with in at least four important publications, as follows: *Missouri: the center state*, by Walter B. Stevens (Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co. 2 v.); *The book and words of the pageant and masque of St. Louis*, by Thomas W. Stevens and Percy Mackaye (St. Louis: Pageant Drama Association. 104 p.); *Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865*,¹⁴ by H. A. Trexler, published in 1914 in the *Johns Hopkins University studies*; and a brief monograph on *The loan office experiment in Missouri, 1821-1836*, by Albert J. McCulloch, in the *Bulletin* of the University of Missouri, volume xv, number 24.

Dodge City, the cowboy capital, by Robert M. Wright (New York: Shakespeare Press. 344 p.); *A history of Kansas*, by Anna E. Arnold (Topeka: State Printing Plant. 250 p.); and *Kansas' great progress under prohibition*, by G. H. Hodges (Topeka: State Printing Plant), are publications relating to Kansas.

For Nebraska there may be mentioned the *Nebraska blue book and historical register, 1915*, edited by Addison E. Sheldon and published by the Nebraska legislative reference bureau; and volume ix, number 1, of the Nebraska Academy of Science *Publications*, which contains a brief study of "The Nebraska aborigines as they appeared in the nineteenth century," by Michael A. Shine; an outline of the "University of Nebraska seminar studies in Nebraska history, political science and economics," and a note on "Early maps of the Nebraska country," by C. E. Persinger. The Nebraska society of the Daughters of the American Revolution has in press a volume of pioneer reminiscences.

In this connection attention should be called to *Senate document*, number 522 of the second session of the sixty-third congress, which contains "A history of guaranty of bank deposits" in Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, Nebraska, and South Dakota from 1908 to 1914.

¹⁴ Reviewed in this number.

Historical articles which have appeared in the *Quarterly Journal* of the University of North Dakota during the past year include the following: "Making 'a pageant of the North-west,'" by Frederick H. Koch; "The medicine man and some of his modern successors," by Harvey E. French; "The work of the North Dakota tax commission," by Luther E. Birdzell; "The evolution of America," by Frank L. McVey; "Some debt histories of North Dakota cities," by James E. Boyle; and "Some facts concerning the Germans of North Dakota," by William G. Bek. Furthermore, there has been printed *The book of a pageant of the Northwest* (Grand Forks: Times-Herald Publishing Co. 80 p.).

Books relating to the history of Wyoming and Colorado are: a revised and enlarged edition of *The Yellowstone National park: historical and descriptive*, by Hiram M. Chittenden (Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd. vii, 350 p.); *Letters of a woman homesteader*,¹⁵ by Mrs. Elinore Stewart (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co.); *Ranch life and other sketches*, by M. H. Fitch (Pueblo: Franklin Press Co. 309 p.); and a revised edition of *The story of Estes Park*, by Enos A. Mills (Long's Peak: published by the author).

ACQUISITION OF SOURCE MATERIALS

The source material acquired by the historical societies of the Trans-Mississippi Northwest since July, 1914, has not been very extensive, but there have been a few notable accessions. In August, 1914, there was presented to the Minnesota Historical Society a large collection of the papers of Ignatius Donnelly, numbering about fifty thousand separate items. In November of the same year Mrs. Winifred Murray Deming presented to the society about seventy-five important documents and papers belonging to her father, the late William Pitt Murray of St. Paul. Again, there was recently discovered in the basement of the old capitol building at St. Paul a trunk containing the papers of James W. Taylor, who was prominent as a railroad promoter in Minnesota and later was appointed by the treasury department of the United States government to investigate the problem of reciprocal relations with Canada, and who from 1870 to 1893 was United States consul at Winnipeg. Other manuscript ac-

¹⁵ Reviewed in this number.

cessions of the society include a collection of reports made to the forestry commissioner of Minnesota in 1910; about two hundred maps dating from 1865 to 1910, many of which will be useful to students of upper Mississippi valley history; and some scrap-books, letters, and documents donated by Hanford L. Gordon, an early settler of Minnesota. Moreover, the society has initiated a movement to collect materials relative to the Scandinavian element in the population of the United States.

Recent additions to the collections of the Historical Department of Iowa at Des Moines include a file of the minutes of the Iowa conference of the Methodist Episcopal church from 1855 to 1890; a set of the catalogs of Iowa Wesleyan University from 1854 to 1901; and a large collection of the correspondence of the late John F. Lacey, one of the most prominent members of the bar of Iowa and a former congressman from that state. This correspondence is now being arranged and classified.

The Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis reports the acquisition of an unsigned journal of a voyage up the Missouri river covering the period from May, 1812, to March, 1813, probably written by the storekeeper of Lisa's expedition of 1812; the journal of an expedition to New Mexico conducted first by General S. W. Kearny and afterwards by Colonel A. W. Doniphan in 1846-1847, kept by M. B. J. Edwards; a letter written by Meriwether Lewis a few weeks before his death; some Chouteau manuscripts containing much valuable material on the fur trade on the Missouri river and in the Southwest; and substantial additions on the subject of western travels.

While a number of manuscripts have been received and collected by the Kansas State Historical Society, there have been none of particular note. The Department of History of South Dakota has acquired a collection of the private papers of General John Blair Smith Todd, which have not yet been arranged or calendared. Fifty historical books from the library of General Todd have also been received.

THE MARKING OF HISTORIC SITES

It is gratifying to note that interest continues to grow in the erection of monuments and the marking of historic sites in this country. In November, 1914, a statue to General James Shields

was unveiled in the Minnesota capitol building, and more recently another memorial to General Shields has been erected and dedicated on the courthouse square at Carrollton, Missouri.

Citizens of Davenport, Iowa, are interested in a project to secure funds for the erection of a monument to mark the site of the battle of Credit island, fought in September, 1814. A marker on the site of Fort Purdy near Denison, Iowa, erected by the Denison chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, was unveiled in September, 1914. The city council of Sioux City has made provision for the preservation in Stone park of one of the oldest houses in the city — a house built in 1856; while a marker has been placed on the site of the first house built in Grinnell, Iowa. The Swedish-American Society of Iowa is raising funds with which to erect a monument to John Ericsson on the capitol grounds at Des Moines. Provision was made by the thirty-sixth general assembly for the marking of the site of the first state fair grounds at Fairfield, Iowa. On August 18, 1915, occurred the dedication of the homestead and estate of the late James B. Weaver at Bloomfield, Iowa, to use as a public park. Again, a newspaper item states that an effort will be made to secure for a state park the spot on the Mississippi river south of McGregor which Lieutenant Pike recommended as a site for a fort; and it has also been suggested that the site of the Spirit Lake massacre should be purchased and turned into a state park. Finally, as was above stated, the last legislature made two small appropriations to enable the Historical Department of Iowa to encourage the preservation and marking of historic sites in Iowa.

In Missouri a marker has been placed over the former grave of Daniel Boone; a memorial to General Sterling Price was erected at Keytesville in June, 1915; and the Missouri society of the Daughters of the American Revolution is making plans for the marking of the El Camino Real. The Santa Fé trail has been marked through Kansas, and plans are being made for the marking of the Oregon trail.

The marking of the last named trail across Nebraska by the Nebraska State Historical Society and the Daughters of the American Revolution has been practically completed. The appropriation of two thousand dollars by the legislature for this purpose has been exhausted and about seventy monuments have

been erected, ranging in cost from twenty-five to five hundred dollars. A large part of the cost of these monuments was raised by popular subscription in the communities along the trail. The two organizations above named, together with other historical and patriotic societies, will now undertake to mark the Mormon trail or California road from the Missouri river west to the Wyoming line along the north side of the Platte river.

The spot near Fort Pierre, South Dakota, where the Verendrye plate was found has been fittingly marked. Historic sites in North Dakota which have either been marked or for which plans are being made include the site of old Fort Lincoln, the Kildeer battlefield of 1864, and the scene of the siege of an emigrant train under Captain Fisk in 1864. In October, 1914, a bronze tablet commemorative of the services of Sacajawea, the Indian woman, was dedicated at Three Forks, Montana, under the auspices of the Daughters of the American Revolution. This same organization in Wyoming secured in 1913 a state appropriation of twenty-five hundred dollars and in 1915 an additional five hundred for the marking of the Oregon trail and other historic sites in Wyoming.

ETHNOLOGICAL AND ARCHEOLOGICAL WORK

As has already been noted, since retiring from the office of secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, Mr. Warren Upham has taken up the work of archeologist for the society.

Early in December, 1914, there was installed in the rooms of the Davenport Academy of Sciences at Davenport, Iowa, a collection of relics and other material illustrative of the history and customs of the Fox Indians. The collection was made by Truman Michelson of the bureau of American ethnology who has spent much time in studying the members of this tribe in Tama county, Iowa.

The large collection of archeological and ethnological material pertaining to the Mississippi valley in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis has been classified, labelled, and displayed in such a manner as to be available for study. An archeological section of the Kansas State Historical Society has recently been organized. Much material has been collected, but it has not been classified. The Department of History of South

Dakota is mapping and describing such archeological remains as exist in the state. In North Dakota the state historical society is conducting a study of the village sites of the Mandan, Arikara, and Hidatsa tribes along the Missouri river.

MISCELLANEOUS HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Under this heading are listed certain activities of state historical societies which have not already been mentioned. Doubtless many pages could be filled with a survey of the activities of county and other local historical agencies and with notices of other events of interest if the data were available or space allowed.

The papers read before the Minnesota Historical Society at meetings during the past year have already been listed in noting the contents of the *Bulletin*. The State Historical Society of Iowa has materially increased its membership since July, 1914, and has enlarged the shelf room of its library by adding a number of steel bookstacks. A bronze tablet made from metal recovered from the battleship *Maine* has recently been placed in the rooms of the society by the Pilgrim chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Iowa City. At Des Moines the Historical Department of Iowa was host to a meeting of the pioneer editors of Iowa in October, 1914. Miss Alice Marple of the department staff is devoting much of her time to the preparation of a bibliography of publications by Iowa authors. The work of classifying and arranging the public archives of Iowa is proceeding steadily under the direction of Mr. C. C. Stiles.

The secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri writes that a "heartier welcome and a greater appreciation of the work being attempted by the State Historical Society has been present during the past two years than ever before." The society has been active in encouraging the study of Missouri history by clubs and other organizations and "is striving to bring the history of Missouri to all Missourians." At St. Louis the Missouri Historical Society library is being used more and more for historical and genealogical research, and the society is endeavoring to interest the teachers and pupils in the public schools in the history of St. Louis and Missouri. On April 13, there was an observance of the anniversary of Thomas Jeffer-

son's birthday. A tablet in memory of the pioneers of Missouri was unveiled in the building of the society on February 16, 1915.

The Kansas State Historical Society has received two special donations, one of one thousand dollars from Jonathan E. Pecker of New Hampshire, and the other of five hundred dollars from John Booth of Kansas. The work of the Nebraska State Historical Society during the next two years will no doubt center in the preparations for the proposed celebration of the semi-centennial of the admission of Nebraska into the union in March, 1917. A large committee has been appointed to draw up plans for an elaborate celebration, and subcommittees on particular features have already been named. In coöperation with the free library commission, the Department of History of South Dakota is about to undertake the reorganization and cataloging of the state library.

DAN ELBERT CLARK

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY, IOWA

REMNANTS OF THE LETTER FILES OF THE DEARBORN FAMILY

The following letters from the files of General Henry Dearborn and his son, Henry Alexander Scammell Dearborn, are now in the possession of Mrs. Edna B. MacRae of Alameda, California. Mrs. MacRae informed me that they were rescued about the year 1897 from a pile of rubbish in the home of one of the great grandchildren of General Dearborn. Realizing that they were of historical importance, Mrs. MacRae brought them to my attention. When placed in my hands, they were preserved in an envelope, yellow with age, which bore the legend, "Woodbury and Moulton, Bankers, Portland, Me."

All the letters have original signatures except two, the exceptions being those of Monroe to Mitchell of September 7, 1812, and of March 20, 1813. These two letters are official copies written on state department paper by the same scribe who wrote the other letters of Monroe, the copyist signing Monroe's name. The letter of Gallatin to Dearborn of March 24, 1809, is entirely in the handwriting of Gallatin, and the two notes from Clay to H. A. S. Dearborn were penned by Clay.

The location of the remaining documents of the collection or their condition is unknown to the writer. According to an article on Henry Alexander Scammell Dearborn in *The national cyclopaedia of American biography* (9:323), he had a voluminous collection of papers containing an account of the life and the correspondence of his father. It was upon this collection that he drew for his *Defense of General Dearborn against the attacks of General Hull*. From the statement of Mrs. MacRae, the writer fears that this valuable collection has been looked upon as rubbish and has been destroyed, as have so many other private collections of historical value.

THOMAS MAITLAND MARSHALL

GALLATIN TO DEARBORN, March 24, 1809

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

March 24th 1809

SIR

The charges stated in the enclosed paper against Dr Waterhouse¹ having been laid before the President of the United States, he directed that they should be enquired into, which I now request that you will be pleased to do as Superintendent of the Marine hospital, & report the result together with your opinion thereon to this Department. Elizabeth Oliver & James Smith are charged for in the accounts as stated in the charges; but whether properly and who they are, does not appear.

Gen. Lincoln's² resignation has prevented an earlier attention to this business.

Doctor Waterhouse has been furnished with a copy of the paper marked "Statement of facts."

I have the honor to be respectfully Sir Your obed^t Serv^t

Albert Gallatin.³

GEN. H. DEARBORN⁴ Collector Boston.

¹ Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse was professor of the theory and practice of medicine in Harvard College, 1783-1812. During the later years of his professorship he was evidently connected with the marine hospital service. In 1813 he was appointed medical superintendent of the nine United States medical ports in New England, which office he held until 1820 when he withdrew from professional life. His honorable discharge was dated June 1, 1821. *The national cyclopædia of American biography*, 9: 254; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical register and dictionary of the United States army* (Washington, 1890), 1: 1008.

² Major General Benjamin Lincoln was a distinguished American commander in the revolutionary war. He was secretary of war from October 30, 1781, to November 12, 1783. He was appointed collector of the port of Boston by Washington. *National cyclopædia of American biography*, 1: 63; Heitman, *Historical register and dictionary of the United States army*, 1: 633.

³ This letter is not included in the lists of Gallatin's letters, published in the *Writings of Albert Gallatin*, edited by Henry Adams (Philadelphia, 1879), 3: 617-633.

⁴ Henry Dearborn was born at North Hampton, New Hampshire, on February 23, 1751. He studied medicine and started practice at Nottingham square, but when the revolutionary war started, he raised a company of volunteers and marched to Cambridge. He served with distinction, being promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel. At the close of the war he settled on a farm on the banks of the Kennebec. Five years later Washington appointed him United States marshal for Maine. He was twice elected to congress, and in 1801 was appointed secretary of war, a position which he held until 1809, when he became collector of the port of Boston. *National cyclopædia of American biography*, 1: 93-94; Heitman, *Historical register and dictionary of the United States army*, 1: 363. Some notice of Dearborn's activity as secretary of war will be found in Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America* (New York, 1889-1891), v. 1-4: *passim*.

[*Endorsed:*] Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury — March 24th 1809 directing an enquirey into complaints against Doct^r Benjⁿ Waterhouse.

MONROE TO MITCHELL, September 7, 1812

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Sept. 7th. 1812.

(Copy)

SIR,

It is expected that by this time you will have engaged a vessel to take you to Halifax, and to bring home as many of our prisoners there as she will accommodate; and it is desired that you will get out without delay.⁵

It is the object of your appointment, and it will be your duty, to take charge of all American Seamen, who are or may become prisoners at Halifax, and to send them home as soon as they are exchanged or delivered up to you for the purpose.

You will avail yourself of every opportunity which offers to send them home, and you are authorized to employ vessels specially for the purpose should it be necessary. You will never permit any considerable number to accumulate there at once. While there you will provide for their subsistence, and other necessities; and you will see that the sick are properly taken care of, and particularly that physicians and nurses are employed to attend them. In providing for their return home, it is probable that an arrangement may be made with the British commander at Halifax to take back British Seamen, which might accommodate both parties and lessen the expence; and it is enjoined on you to observe the utmost economy in your arrangements, compatible with the duties you have to perform. Should any of our citizens, not in the land or naval service of the United States, be made prisoners at Halifax, and be destitute of the means of subsisting themselves, or defraying their expences home, you are authorised to extend to them, in both respects, such aid as may be requisite.

By a letter of instruction to the marshal of Boston, a copy of which is enclosed, [N^o 1] ⁶ you will find that the President has given orders for the delivery of all the British prisoners there, to M^r Allen, late British consul, to be sent to Halifax or elsewhere, on his certificate and the receipt of M^r Baker. These prisoners are to be delivered up on account, to be taken into the estimate on a general exchange of prisoners. A desire to relieve the parties from distress, not to be avoided, in the com-

⁵ The president was authorized by an act of July 6, 1812, to make arrangements concerning prisoners of war and their exchange until otherwise provided for. One hundred thousand dollars was appropriated for the purpose. *Annals of congress*, 12 congress, 1 session (1811-1812), 2: 2354.

⁶ The inclosures mentioned were not with these papers.

mencement of the war, was the motive to this measure. It was impossible that provision should have been made, by either government, for the safe-keeping and accommodation of such of its seamen as might be made prisoners by the other, immediately after the declaration of war; nor was it in the power of either to make suitable provision, itself, for the prisoners it might make. It was thought more humane, for the present, to deliver up to the British commanders, all the prisoners we had taken, which is done in confidence that the same spirit will be manifested, and measure adopted by them. How long this will be persevered in, will of course depend on circumstances, and particularly on the conduct of the British commanders. The principles on which the exchange will be made will be adjusted by commissioners to be appointed by both Governments. I enclose you a copy of a communication between Mr. Baker and me on that subject. [N° 2.]

You will observe that the British prisoners have been supplied with provisions at the expence of the United States. A ration per day has been allowed to each. This supply will be continued till the British commanders may be able to make provision for them.

Your drafts will be paid for the disbursements which you may have occasion to make in virtue of these instructions, they being accompanied by accounts of your expenditures, and a Statement of the number of prisoners under your Superintendence, as vouchers.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your mo: ob: ser:

(Signed) Jas Monroe.

JOHN MITCHELL, Esquire.⁷

VAN RENSSELAER TO DEARBORN, September 10, 1812

HEAD QUARTERS

LEWISTON ⁸ 10th Sept. 1812.

SIR

When I had the honor of receiving your communication of the 1st Inst. acquainting me of the dispositions you are making to reinforce me upon this Frontier with men, cannon, musketry, stores &c my attention was immediately arrested by the proposition of sending them from Oswego ⁹ to Niagara,¹⁰ or indeed any part of that distance, by water —

⁷ See *post*, note 35.

⁸ Lewiston, located on the New York shore about seven miles below Niagara falls. When used by Van Rensselaer as headquarters it contained between forty and fifty houses. William James, *Account of the military occurrences of the late war between Great Britain and the United States of America* (London, 1818), 1: 51, and map at front.

⁹ On the present site of Oswego, New York. See Adams, *History of the United States*, v. 7: map op. 164.

¹⁰ Fort Niagara was located on the American shore at the mouth of Niagara river. It was a fortification built of stone with breastworks on the land side. It mounted

It will be recollected that the passage of Lt. Col. Fenwick¹¹ was rendered safe under a clause of the Agreement for the observance of the Armistice:¹² — but upon the receipt of your letter, my own opinion was against risking anything, hereafter, along that shore by water — But I wished further information on the subject before I should advise you: the opinions of others with whom I have advised, & who are competent judges, agree with my own, that it would be very hazardous for the Batteaux to attempt coming from Oswego to Niagara in the very face of an active enemy having command of the water — The Batteaux might, and probably would, have some days of head wind; and in such case, it would be next to impossible that they should escape the observation of the enemy; and when once discovered they would undoubtedly be attacked in some place where the landing could be effected with most difficulty — My opinion is further strengthened by some late movements of the enemy — The next day after the termination of the Armistice,¹³ the Royal George¹⁴ and another armed vessel chased some vessels re-

between twenty and thirty pieces of ordnance, and contained a furnace for heating shot. James, *Military occurrences of the late war*, 1: 52.

¹¹ John Roger Fenwick attained the rank of lieutenant colonel of light artillery December 2, 1811, and on March 18, 1813, received the title of brevet-colonel for gallant conduct on the Niagara frontier. *Niles' register* (3: 76) says that Fenwick had arrived at Niagara with some pieces of heavy ordnance, and in the same volume (p. 126) says that he had placed the fort on a very respectable basis. For his entire military service, see Heitman, *Historical register and dictionary of the United States army*, 1: 417.

¹² Sir George Prevost, governor general of Canada, having heard that his government intended to revoke the orders in council, hoped that this conciliatory measure would end hostilities. While diplomatic representations were being made at Washington, Prevost and Dearborn, the American commander, agreed upon an armistice August 2, 1812. *Niles' register*, 3: 33-34; Adams, *History of the United States*, 6: 322-323. The effects of the armistice are discussed by James, *Military occurrences of the late war*, 1: 78.

¹³ On August 31, 1812, a general order was issued by Prevost announcing that the armistice was to cease within four days after the arrival of dispatches at Montreal, Kingston, and Fort George. (*Niles' register*, 3: 33-34.) Kingston was the British naval base on lake Ontario, and Fort George the British fortification opposite Fort Niagara. See maps in James, *Military occurrences of the late war*, v. 1.

¹⁴ At the opening of the war the English flotilla on lake Ontario consisted of the *Royal George*, a boat of three hundred and forty tons carrying twenty-two guns, and three smaller vessels. (*The Quarterly review*, 27: 411; James, *Military occurrences of the late war*, 1: 121.) The following letter, written at Canandaigua, October 6, 1812, throws further light on this phase of the war. "On Thursday night last a boat with 40, and a barge with 30 men, from the British brig Royal-George, which lay off, came into the mouth of the Genessee river, and cut away the fastings of two vessels, and towed them out without any opposition. One of them was a schooner, the *Lady-Murray* . . . , the other a small vessel, used as a United States revenue cutter. The next morning, the British boat returned to the store-house of Mr.

turning from Niagara to Oswego, into Genesee River, and fired a few shot; this has excited an alarm among the inhabitants and according to the custom prevailing on the whole Frontier, they have sent a deputation to me praying for protection — I have ordered them some Ammunition: — I can do no more — — I am so entirely convinced that the Cargoes of the Batteaux will be in danger on the passage from Oswego to Niagara, that I shall send an express to have them stopped at Three-River-Point, and then sent up to Cayuga Bridge: ¹⁵ their Cargoes landed, and transported here by land — Perhaps some precautions may be adopted so that the Batteaux may be got raised [?] to the 10 mile point, or some near position on the lake shore, & from thence drawn over-land — I shall bestow further attention upon the subject.

Believing that the best use I can make of the old Stone Mess-House, at Niagara, is to convert it into a Battery, I have ordered the roof to be taken off; the walls above the upper floor to be strengthened by embankments of earth, and two Twelve Pounders, & one Howit to be there mounted. It is high, and may, perhaps, avail us something — I expect it will be prepared in this manner, in a day or two, I was yesterday there, and the roof was nearly taken down.

I have the Honor to be Sir with great consideration Your Most Obt. Ser^t

V. RENSSELAER ¹⁶

MAJOR GENERAL DEARBORN.¹⁷

[Addressed:] Lewiston Sep 10th. Q O Major General Dearborn Head Quarters Greenbush.¹⁸

Spalding, and required the sails and rigging belonging to the schooner which had been dismantled. Finding they were in the store-house, they entered and took them.''
Niles' register, 3: 125-126.

¹⁵ Cayuga Bridge was located near the point where Cayuga lake narrows into Seneca river. Joseph H. Colton, *General atlas* (New York, 1859), plate 15.

¹⁶ Stephen Van Rensselaer was the last patroon in full authority in New York. He owned 436,000 acres in Rensselaer and Albany counties. He entered the New York assembly in 1789 and was in the state senate, 1791-1797, and was lieutenant governor, 1795-1801. He was an officer of militia from 1786 and was made a major general in 1801. Operations on the Niagara frontier were intrusted to him in 1812. He directed the disastrous attack on Queenstown opposite Lewiston on October 13, 1812, and a few days later the command was given to General Alexander Smyth. John B. McMaster, *History of the people of the United States*, 4: 7-13; Edward P. Cheyney, *The anti-rent agitation in the state of New York, 1839-1846* (University of Pennsylvania, *Publications in political economy and public law*, no. 2 — Philadelphia, 1887); *Niles' register*, 3: 125, 138-141; James, *Military occurrences of the late war*, 1: 80-101, 376-386; Adams, *History of the United States*, 6: 336-361.

¹⁷ Henry Dearborn became major general January 27, 1812, and was placed in command of the army on the Canadian frontier. His career in the war of 1812 is discussed, at times with scant justice, in Adams, *History of the United States*, v. 6-7: *passim*.

¹⁸ Greenbush was a short distance below Albany on the east side of the Hudson

[Endorsed:] Gen^l Van Ransalaer — Sep. 10, 1812. Con^s Batteaux &c. — &c. Rec^d Sep. 18, 1812

VAN RENSSELAER TO DEARBORN, September 19, 1812

HEAD QUARTERS

LEWISTON 19th Sept. 1812.

SIR

This morning M^r James Hamilton, son of the late Judge Hamilton of Queenstown, a very intelligent young man who has just returned from Europe, applied to me for liberty to cross over the river to his place of residence. And notwithstanding he has a Pass from the Secretary of State I have felt constrained by a sense of duty to detain him until I can receive your instructions on this subject — Every precaution against Spies will be unavailing, if gentlemen of intelligence can be permitted to pass through our Country, associate in all circles, and then enter Canada. I have no particular reason to question the Honor of M^r Hamilton, or the propriety of his conduct: but it is reasonable to presume that he will consider the safety and welfare of his Country as paramount to all other obligations, and of course he will disclose to the enemy whatever information he posses [*sic*] which can avail them — He has now passed thro' the country; — thro' my Camp: and has but a single mile further to proceed, where he can meet his Brothers¹⁹ who are officers of distinction in the Militia of Canada — I might add that such is the jealousy & suspicion which has prevailed on this Frontier since the surrender of General Hull²⁰ that no caution is too great: — It is indispensible to retain the confidence of the Troops, and Inhabitants: and I might say for the preservation of the Characters of Commanders — I have ordered M^r Hamilton to Buffalo there to remain untill I shall receive your instructions. No occurrence of moment has taken place since the date of my last despatch.

river. Buchon, *Atlas, géographique, statistique, historique et chronologique des deux Amériques et des îles adjacentes* (Paris, 1825), plate xx.

¹⁹ Among the Canadian militia officers at the battle of Queenstown were Captains Robert and A. Hamilton. A Captain Thomas Hamilton, also of the Canadian militia, was captured at York (Toronto) on April 27, 1813. James, *Military occurrences of the late war*, 1: 378, 400.

²⁰ General William Hull, a distinguished officer in the revolutionary war, was appointed governor of Michigan territory in 1805. Two years later he negotiated a treaty with the Wyandot, Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi tribes to purchase a large tract of land. This with cessions in Indiana territory, aroused the violent opposition of The Prophet and Tecumseh, which eventually led to hostilities. When the war of 1812 broke out, Hull was given the task of defending Detroit. The campaign proved a dismal failure, Hull surrendering on August 16, 1812. *National cyclopædia of American biography*, 1: 66-67; Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, 6: 67-112, 289-335; James, *Military occurrences of the late war*, 1: 306-307; bureau of American ethnology, *Eighteenth annual report*, 2: 662-668, 674-676.

I have the honor to be with consideration and Respect Your most ob^t
Sev^t V RENSSELAER.

MAJOR-GENERAL DEARBORN —

[Endorsed:] Gen^l Van Ransalaer Sep. 10. 1812 Con^s M^r Hamilton —
Received Sep. 29. 1812

MONROE TO DEARBORN, January 19, 1813

WAR DEPARTMENT

January 19th, 1813.

SIR,

Inclosed herewith you will receive a Copy of a Letter from the Naval Commander at Sackett's Harbour²¹ to the Secretary of the Navy.²² — I have to state to you that the President feels great anxiety on account of the exposed Situation of our Vessels of War on the Lakes, and directs that an adequate force be stationed at all those places, which unguarded, would invite an attack from the Enemy, as well at Buffaloe, & the Strait of Niagara, as at the other posts below.

A Court Martial has been ordered on General Hull, to sit at Philadelphia on the 25th of next month,²³ of which Brigadier General Hampton²⁴ is appointed President. — This exchange, and that of many of the Officers taken with him, and at Queenstown, has been made by the Government. They are exchanged for the men taken by the Essex,²⁵ on board a British Transport, who were parolled at Sea, and taken to Halifax, and put into immediate Service. The Exchange is made on the

²¹ Commodore Isaac Chauncey arrived at Sackett's Harbor in October, 1812. By November 6 he had equipped a fleet composed of the brig *Oneida* and six schooners mounting forty-eight guns. James, *Military occurrences of the late war*, 1: 121-122.

²² Paul Hamilton was governor of South Carolina, 1804-1806; in 1809 he became secretary of the navy. He resigned in December, 1812, probably at the request of Madison, and was succeeded by William Jones, who served from January, 1813, to December, 1814. Jones was later president of the United States bank and collector of customs at Philadelphia. *National cyclopædia of American biography*, 5: 373.

²³ General Hull was taken to Fort George and thence to Montreal. From there he wrote on September 8, 1812, to Eustis, the secretary of war, that without any request from him, Prevost had offered to take his parole and permit him to return to the United States; soon after he returned to Albany. The original intention was to try Hull at Philadelphia on February 25, 1813, before a court at which Brigadier General Wade Hampton was to preside, but the trial was postponed until January 3, 1814. It was held at Albany and Major General Henry Dearborn presided. *Niles' register*, 3: 40, 53, 58, 344; 5: 218; 6: 345.

²⁴ Wade Hampton became brigadier general February 15, 1809, and resigned March 16, 1814. Heitman, *Historical register and dictionary of the United States army*, 1: 496.

²⁵ For the career of the *Essex*, see Edgar S. Maclay, *A history of the United States navy from 1775 to 1893* (New York, 1894), 1: 322-331, 543-577.

principles of the Cartel²⁶ sent here by the British Commander at Halifax. No objection to the measure is contemplated, because the example was set by the British Admiral, and the number of men exchanged for officers of certain grades, according to the principles of that Cartel, is strictly observed. A longer delay would prevent any trial of General Hull during the present season. Should General Prevost²⁷ make any objection to it, which is not presumed, you will, from the Documents in your possession & explanations given you, be able to remove it.

I have the honor to be Very Respectfully Sir your ob^t Servant,

JAS MONROE.²⁸

MAJOR GENERAL DEARBORN Albany, N. Y.

[*Endorsed:*] James Monroe to Gen^l Dearborn dated Jany 19, 1813 — Inclosing a letter from the naval commandant at Sackets Harbour to the Secretary of the Navy. Expresses the anxiety of the President with regard [to] the safety of Sackets harbour — Niagara — &c Genl. Hull exchanged & to be tried on 25 February: 1813 DONE Rec^d Jany. 23. 1813.

RUSH TO DEARBORN, February 8, 1813

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

COMPTROLLER'S OFFICE,

February 8th 1813

SIR.

Your Accounts of the Customs from the 1st to the 23^d of July are received.

The date of your Successor's²⁹ oath of office being the 21st July, from

²⁶ See *post*, note 36.

²⁷ Sir George Prevost served with distinction in the West Indies, 1794-1807. In 1808 he became lieutenant governor and commander in chief of Nova Scotia. On February 14, 1811, he was chosen governor of Lower Canada and governor general of British North America. During the war of 1812 his policy was to carry on a defensive war. His career in the war was unfortunate; at Sackett's Harbor he displayed lack of generalship; assuming the offensive in July, 1814, he was checked at Plattsburg. For this failure he was condemned by the naval court. He demanded a trial by court-martial, but anxiety ruined his health and he died in London, January 5, 1816, before the trial was held. Leslie Stephen, *Dictionary of national biography*, 46: 320-321. Eulogies of Prevost may be found in the *Gentleman's magazine* (1816), 1: 183-184, and (1817) 1: 83-85. The *Quarterly review* (1822), 27: 405-449, throws the responsibility for English failures on the Canadian frontier upon Prevost.

²⁸ According to Henry Adams (*History of the United States*, 7: 81) Monroe acted as secretary of war from the resignation of Eustis, December 3, 1812, to the appointment of Armstrong, January 13, 1813. It would appear from this letter that Monroe continued to exercise the functions of secretary of war somewhat after that date. This is confirmed by Adams. (*Ibid.*, 147.) Monroe's plans of military organization and operation are given in *American state papers: military affairs*, 1: 608-610.

²⁹ Henry Alexander Scammell Dearborn succeeded his father as collector of the port of Boston. *National cyclopædia of American biography*, 9: 323.

which period he is entitled to the Emoluments of the office, your accounts include *two* days which, properly, belong to *his* agency.

I am, very respectfully, Your obedient Servant,

RICHARD RUSH.³⁰

HENRY DEARBORN Esq^r

[*Addressed:*] Comptroller's Office, R. Rush. Henry Dearborn Esq^r
late Collector, Boston.

[*Endorsed:*] Late Coll^r Acct^s to the 23^d July rec^d — with a note for the
Compt^r — Febr^y 8, 1813.

ARMSTRONG TO DEARBORN, February 12, 1813

WAR DEPARTMENT 12th Feb. 1813.

DEAR GENERAL,

The enclosed Rules & regulations for the government of the Hospital Department was addressed to my predecessor, who as I understand, neither adopted them, nor substituted any others. I now send them to you with authority to have them, or such of them as you may approve, printed and promulgated by General order.

If the Hospital stores, medicines and surgical instruments now at Albany, are not sufficient for the use of the expedition,³¹ you will order Dr. Akerly³² now at New York to send such supply of these articles as may be thought necessary.

The medicine chests which were intended for Regiments & actually distributed among those under my command during the last campaign, were much too large for field service. You would do well to have them reduced in bulk & I shall direct Dr. Le Baron³³ not to have any more of the same kind constructed.

With great respect, I am dear General, Your most obed. servant

JOHN ARMSTRONG.³⁴

GEN. DEARBORN Albany.

[*Endorsed:*] Secretary of War. Febr^y 12th, 1813. DONE.

³⁰ In 1811 Madison appointed Rush comptroller of the treasury. During the war he was one of the chief advisors of the government. Later he was attorney-general, minister to England, secretary of the treasury, and minister to France. In 1828 he was candidate for the vice-presidency with Adams. *National cyclopædia of American biography*, 5: 80-81; Richard Rush, *Memoranda of a residence at the court of London* (Philadelphia, 1833). Rush's *Memoranda* has been published with additions in several editions.

³¹ Dearborn's campaign of 1813 against Toronto and Fort George and about lake Ontario. Adams, *History of the United States*, 7: 144-171.

³² Dr. Samuel Akerly was appointed a hospital surgeon on June 29, 1813, and was honorably discharged on June 15, 1815. Heitman, *Historical register and dictionary of the United States army*, 1: 154.

³³ Dr. Francis Le Barron was appointed garrison surgeon on December 12, 1808, and apothecary general June 11, 1813. *Ibid.*, 622.

³⁴ Armstrong became secretary of war on January 13, 1813. He was keenly dis-

MONROE TO MITCHELL, March 20, 1813

(Copy)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

March 20. 1813

SIR,

Your letters of the 15th 17th 20th 22^d 27th and 29th of October; of the 14th 17th 18th 21st and 24th of November; and of the 1st 4th and 5th of December, 1812,³⁵ have been duly received.

The provisional agreement for the exchange of Naval Prisoners of War, concluded at Halifax on the 28th of November last, will require some alteration.³⁶

The article which relates to non-combatants may, for the present, remain as it stands expressed, leaving the United States free to propose a variation if experience should indicate the propriety of it.

Agreeably to the stipulations in the ninth article, two Cartel vessels will be employed and equipped by this Government. The one already in Commission is of a greater burthen than what is specified; but as she had been already purchased when the provisional agreement was received, it was considered no departure from the spirit of the arrangement to substitute her for one of one hundred and fifty tons. These Cartels will be commanded by Navy Officers, who will be instructed to conform to the particulars which the agreement prescribes.

The President has directed that Salem in Massachusetts, Newport in Rhode Island, Wilmington, in Delaware, and Charleston in South Carolina, shall be the Stations for British prisoners of war brought into the United States; of which you are requested to give the necessary notice to the proper authorities at Halifax.

The degradation of the officers of Privateers carrying less than fourteen carriage guns is not approved; and the President directs that all officers and seamen employed in the public and private armed vessels of the United States be placed upon an equal footing, merely giving a preference in exchange to those longest in confinement; unless otherwise specially agreed.

It is very desirable that the lists of Prisoners hitherto delivered, stipulated to be exchanged by the eleventh article, should be expedited; and

liked by Monroe. The military failures on the Canadian frontier and the capture of Washington were taken advantage of by Monroe, and Madison demanded his resignation. Armstrong's *Notices of the war of 1812* (New York, 1836-1840) is an important source for this period.

³⁵ Mitchell's letter of December 5, 1812, is in *Annals of congress*, 12 congress, 2 session (1812-1813), 3: 1244. Letters from Mitchell to Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren of October 21, and December 1 and 3, 1812, are in *ibid.*, 1240, 1244-1245.

³⁶ A general agreement for exchange of prisoners was announced in the *National Intelligencer* and copied in *Niles' register* for March 22, 1813 (4: 195).

I have to request you to forward them properly authenticated by the earliest opportunity. The stipulation in the same article, that in future no prisoner embarked in regular cartels shall be credited to either nation as exchanged until delivered at one of the stations of the nation to which such prisoner belongs, and a receipt obtained from the proper Agent certifying such delivery, is, on many accounts, inadmissible. When British prisoners are conveyed in American Cartels, as the agreement establishes a suitable guard to keep them in subjection, it might, perhaps, be allowable to reserve the final act of exchange till their delivery at the Ports of destination. The better way, however, would be, to consider the exchange as complete, on the delivery of the Prisoners at the place of embarkation. With respect to such British Prisoners as are conveyed in British Cartels, it is indispensable that this rule should prevail; and you are instructed to admit no other. Receipts of Exchange are of course to be taken at the place from whence the Prisoners depart.

With regard to the support of Prisoners, the United States will allow to those in their hands the same ration in value as is allowed by Great Britain to those in her custody. Whatever remains to be furnished for convenience or comfort on either side, may be supplied in addition by the Agents of the respective Governments. In this respect you can continue to administer to the wants of our fellow citizens in captivity under my former instructions to you. But you are in future, not to loan the money of the Government to individuals. A Physician, if indispensable, had better be employed at a fixed salary, for services to be rendered when called for.

If the provisions necessary to supply the defect of the British ration, for the comfort of our Citizens cannot be procured at Halifax, the requisite articles will be sent from the United States. But it is presumed, as the exchange will be immediate, that, in most cases, the deficiencies may be obtained on the spot. Accurate accounts of all your disbursements, it is expected, will be kept, and regularly transmitted to this Department.

A copy of the instructions to the Marshals of the United States, who will have the charge of the four stations for Naval Prisoners of War, is enclosed for your better information. The rules therein prescribed with respect to letters, letter-bags, and correspondence generally, are to be rigorously enforced by you, and you are moreover requested not to authorize any person whatever to repair to the United States, or their Territories, other than liberated or exchanged prisoners of war.

Agents will be appointed for Quebec, Jamaica, and Bermuda, which the President prefers to Barbados, with instructions similar to yours.

You will, therefore, endeavor to procure Bermuda to be substituted for Barbados.

The President approves of your attention to the wants of our Citizens and enjoins upon you a continuance of it, conforming, in the exercise of your functions, to the regulations established by the officers of the British Government, which you are requested to communicate to me from time to time as they may be varied.

It is distinctly understood and stated, that either party may terminate or suspend the obligation of the provisional agreement, on giving a reasonable previous notice to the other party.

In future your correspondence and agency is to be confined to the Department of State. Your draft on the Secretary of the Navy, of the 19th of October last, in favor of John H. Barnes for five hundred dollars, will be paid, and charged in your general account. If the Salary of two thousand dollars per annum at present allowed you by your appointment as Agent for American Prisoners, is not sufficient for your support, you are requested to state the fact, with the reasons of the insufficiency, for consideration.

The President has decided, that hereafter all prisoners released on parole, are to enter into an obligation not to serve in arms in any part of the world until regularly exchanged. The officers and crew of the Frigate *Macedonian*³⁷ and some others have been recently directed to be delivered upon this condition.

It having been represented to me that the crew of the Privateer *Thorn*, of Marblehead,³⁸ have been long in confinement, and being composed of active and useful men, I wish you to propose their speedy liberation to the British authorities, and, without making it a matter of special preference, to give to their release all the facilities in your power.

I have the honor to be Sir, Your most obed^t Serv^t.

(Signed) JA^s MONROE.

JOHN MITCHELL Esquire Agent for American Prisoners of War.

James Monroe to M^r Mitchell

Agent for prisoners of war at Halifax.

[*Endorsed*.:] James Monroe to Gen^l Dearborn [*sic*] March 20 — 1813 respecting Prisoners of War. Rec^d April 6, 1813

³⁷ On October 25, 1812, in latitude 29° north, longitude 29° 30' west, the frigate *Macedonian*, commanded by Captain John Carden, was captured by Captain Stephen Decatur of the *United States*. Decatur to Hamilton, October 30, 1812, *American state papers: naval affairs*, 1: 280-281.

³⁸ An account of privateers in the war of 1812 is in Edgar S. Maclay, *A history of American privateers* (New York, 1890), 225-502. The *Thorn*, however, is not mentioned in this connection, but the activities in the revolutionary war of a privateer of the same name are noted, *ibid.*, 89, 90.

MONROE TO DEARBORN, March 26, 1813

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
March 26. 1813.

SIR,

I have the honor to inform you that it is the desire of the President that the exchange of prisoners of war, of the land forces, should be confided to you; and pursuant thereto I now enclose you a list of American officers, furnished by the Adjutant-General, for the purpose of their being exchanged against the following officers and men, viz:

1. A Lieutenant of the Royal Artillery, a surgeon's mate, twenty-five privates, and one corporal of the 49th, and eight militiamen, made prisoners on the night of the 27th of November 1812, by the parties of our army which attacked the enemy opposite Black Rock,³⁹ except five of the privates of the 49th, who are stated by Col. Wm. H. Winder⁴⁰ to have been exchanged for five of our sailors and soldiers taken at the same time.

2. The officers and men taken at Brockville⁴¹ by Major Forsyth.⁴²

3. Major General J. Hislop,⁴³ major Thomas Walker, and Lieutenant

³⁹ Black Rock was on the American shore of Niagara river, about two miles north of what was then the village of Buffalo. It was defended by a battery. A ferry ran across to Bertie on the Canadian shore. Black Rock was used as a military base by Brigadier General Smyth in November, 1812. James, *Military occurrences of the late war*, 1: 50, 105-120.

⁴⁰ William Henry Winder was appointed lieutenant colonel on March 16, 1812, and colonel of the Fourteenth infantry on July 6. On the night of November 27 he led a successful expedition from Black Rock to the Canadian shore below Fort Erie. On March 12, 1813, he was promoted to brigadier general. On June 1 he was captured at Stony Creek and remained a prisoner until early in 1814. He returned to Canada to negotiate for the freedom of American prisoners. In May he was placed in command of the Maryland and Virginia districts. Defeated at Bladensburg, he retreated to Washington and then abandoned the capital. He was court-martialed but commended by the court. He was again sent to the Niagara frontier, where he remained until the end of the war. Adams, *History of the United States*, v. 6-8: *passim*; *American state papers: military affairs*, 1: 448; Heitman, *Historical register and dictionary of the United States army*, 1: 1049; *National cyclopædia of American biography*, 10: 487.

⁴¹ Located on the Canadian shore of the St. Lawrence ten miles west of Ogdensburg. It was raided by a small force under Forsyth. The Americans crossed on the ice on the night of February 6, 1813. James, *Military occurrences of the late war*, 1: 133-134.

⁴² Benjamin Forsyth was a captain of the rifles when the war opened. He distinguished himself by leading an expedition on September 20, 1812, against Gananoque to destroy military stores; became a major January 20, 1813; led the attack against Brockville, for which he received the title of brevet-lieutenant colonel. He was killed June 28, 1814, in the action of Odelltown, New York. Heitman, *Historical register and dictionary of the United States army*, 1: 430; *Niles' register*, 3: 93.

⁴³ Sir Thomas Hislop saw extensive service at Gibraltar and Toulon, and in Ire-

John Thomas Wood, captured on the 29th of December 1812, on board his *Britannic Majesty's* frigate *Java*, by the United States' frigate *Constitution*, captain Bainbridge. General Hislop, according to his parole, ranks as a Lieutenant-General within the presidency of Bombay, and, in that respect, may be regarded as a General commanding in chief.

I also transmit to you a list of captive officers of volunteer corps, whose personal character and influence in the western parts of the Union, render it extremely desirable that they should be speedily exchanged. The motive for their immediate exchange is so much the stronger, as a portion of the volunteers⁴⁴ under Genl. Harrison,⁴⁵ whose terms of service have expired, are about to leave him; and if these officers were freed from parole, they might, by proper exertions, be instrumental in effecting the return of many of those men to the ranks of the army.

No answer to my letter of the 12th ult^o relative to the exchange of Genl. Hull and others having reached me, I have to express to you the anxiety entertained at not hearing from you on that subject. This anxiety is increased in consequence of the currency which the error, into which Genl. Sir George Prevost has fallen, has gained by the insertion of his "General order" of the 8th of February⁴⁶ last in our public prints.

The value of rank and the rule of exchange, you will please to observe, is to conform to the tariff in the printed provisional Agreement for the exchange of Naval prisoners of war, a copy of which I now enclose. The principles of this Agreement, with the modification pointed out in my letter to Mr Mitchell of the 20th instant, a copy of which I likewise herewith forward, may form the basis of any convention for the exchange of land troops entered into between Sir George Prevost and yourself. And in relation to the business of exchanges generally, I will thank you to give me the earliest intelligence of all your proceedings.

Information received from Lieut. Larrabee having confirmed the fact land, South America, and the West Indies, 1778-1810. On March 28, 1812, he was appointed commander in chief at Bombay. He sailed in the *Java*, which was captured on December 29, 1812, in 13° 6' south latitude near the coast of Brazil by the frigate *Constitution* commanded by Bainbridge. Major Walker and Captain Wood were members of Hislop's staff. After blowing up the *Java*, Bainbridge landed the prisoners at San Salvadore, where they were paroled. Leslie Stephen, *Dictionary of national biography*, 27: 13-14; *American state papers: naval affairs*, 1: 290; *Annals of congress*, 12 congress, 2 session (1812-1813), 3: 1102-1103.

⁴⁴ An act of congress approved April 10, 1812, provided that the president might require the executives of the several states to take effectual measures to organize, equip, and hold in readiness their respective proportions of one hundred thousand militia, officers included, not to serve more than six months after their arrival at the place of rendezvous. *Annals of congress*, 12 congress, 1 session (1811-1812), 2: 2267.

⁴⁵ William Henry Harrison.

⁴⁶ For Prevost's general order of February 8, 1813, see *Niles' register*, 4: 45.

of his having been retaken, it is requested that you will consider Lieut. Jesup⁴⁷ as absolutely included in the exchange with Genl. Hull and others: And, in consideration of the 23d regiment's being without a field officer, it is proposed that Major Mullany⁴⁸ should be among the first exonerated from the obligations of his parole.

Among the duties which this branch of the public service includes, is the appointment of an Agent for American prisoners, to reside at Quebec: The President wishes you to select a discreet and intelligent officer to repair thither to execute the functions appertaining to such an appointment. His name and rank you can communicate to me whenever you may have made choice of a suitable person.

I have the Honor to be, Sir, very respectfully, your mo. ob. ser.

JA^S MONROE.

HENRY DEARBORN, Esq. Major-General, &c. &c. &c.

[*Endorsed:*] from the Dep^t of State March 26th — 1813 Confiding the exchange of certain prisoners of war (Lists of whom are enclosed) to the controul of Genl Dearborn — stating the wish of the President that a suitable officer be sent to Canada to act in the capacity of agent for Prisoners of war — &c. &c. Rec^d April 4 — 1813.

MONROE TO DEARBORN, November 25, 1813

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
November 25. 1813.

SIR,

A. W. Stuart, British Consul at New-London before the war, and afterwards agent for prisoners, having forfeited his claim to confidence, by granting licenses for a trade with the enemy,⁴⁹ and other improper

⁴⁷ There were two officers by the name of Larrabee in the service at that time. Adam Larrabee became a first lieutenant on May 1, 1811; Charles Larrabee attained the same rank and became a captain September 12, 1812. The rank of the former would seem to settle the matter of identity, but some doubt is thrown on the subject by the fact that Jesup is referred to as a lieutenant, although he had already been advanced to the rank of captain. Thomas Sidney Jesup became a first lieutenant on December 1, 1809. He served as adjutant to General Hull and was raised to the rank of captain on January 20, 1813. Heitman, *Historical register and dictionary of the United States army*, 1: 573, 616; *National cyclopædia of American biography*, 12: 65.

⁴⁸ James Robert Mullany became major of the Thirteenth infantry March 13, 1812, and was transferred to the Twenty-third infantry on August 26, 1812; he was advanced to lieutenant colonel on March 3, 1813. Heitman, *Historical register and dictionary of the United States army*, 1: 735.

⁴⁹ The following extract throws light on this subject: "Two thirds of the army in Canada are at this moment eating beef provided by American contractors, drawn principally from the States of Vermont and New York. This circumstance, as well

conduct, was dismissed from that office some time since, and ordered into the interior with other alien enemies, to a place designated by the marshal of Connecticut. Information from unquestionable authority was afterwards received here, that Mr. Stuart had left that place, contrary to the injunctions laid on him, had returned to New London, and was engaged in favoring an illicit commerce with the enemy, and giving them intelligence. He was ordered back to the place assigned him, and confined there, from which confinement he made his escape. Many acts are alledged against him, disrespectful to this government, repugnant to his duty, and in violation of our laws. It has been intimated, that, either thro' timidity, or other improper bias, the Marshal of that state has connived at, if he has not sanctioned in some instances, this unjustifiable conduct of Mr. Stuart. Whether from that, or from other cause, it appears to be impossible to subject him to those restraints in that state, which he has merited, and which the public interest essentially requires. The example of an alien enemy, defying the authority of the government, alone, if not in committing crimes, of a very atrocious character, cannot fail to produce a very pernicious effect. It is important that this man's conduct should be thoroughly investigated, and if the facts above stated, or any of them of a marked character, are true, that he be taken into custody and removed to New York, without delay, and confined there in safety. I have to request, therefore, by order of the president, that you immediately send a judicious and discreet officer to New London for this purpose, with instructions to communicate with commodore Decatur, and follow his advice in all the measures he may take in the business. The enquiry should also be extended to the conduct of the Marshal particularly, so as to enable the government to take, eventually, such measures in regard to him as may appear to be proper. It might likewise embrace all the circumstances in any way connected with Mr. Stuart's being at large after confinement and his unlawful conduct.

I have the honor to remain, Sir, with great consideration, your most ob^t sert.

JA^s MONROE.

HENRY DEARBORN, esq. Major-General, &c. &c. &c.

[*Endorsed:*] from Mr. Monroe Dep^t of State. Nov: 25, 1813. ab^t a Mr. Stuart at New London. Rec^d Nov 29, 1813.

as that of the introduction of large sums of specie into this province, being notorious in the United States, it is to be expected Congress will take steps to deprive us of those resources, and under that apprehension large droves are daily crossing the lines coming into Lower Canada." Prevost to Lord Bathurst, August 27, 1814, quoted by Adams, *History of the United States*, 7: 146. Further light is thrown on this subject in *Niles' register*, 4: 370.

CLAY TO DEARBORN, December 26, 1831

H. Clay's⁵⁰ respects to General Dearborn,⁵¹ with many thanks for the opportunity afforded him of perusing the interest [*sic*] letter now returned, enclosed. Could we infuse the spirit which it breathes in our friends, throughout the Country, as I hope we may, there would be but little doubt of the issue of the existing contest.

Monday morning.

[*Addressed:*] The Honble Gen^l Dearborn at Mr. Walkers.

[*Endorsed:*] Hon. Henry Clay Dec. 26. 1831

CLAY TO DEARBORN, December 27, 1831

(Private)

MY DEAR SIR

I send my answer, with the original note which you presented, thinking you would probably prefer having that.

With great regard Your friend

H. CLAY.

Tuesday night.⁵²

[*Addressed:*] The Honble Gen^l Dearborn at Mr. Walkers

[*Endorsed:*] Hon. Henry Clay.

⁵⁰ Henry Clay appears to have been in Washington at that time. Clay was then in violent opposition to Jackson. On Christmas day, 1831, he wrote, "The Executive is playing a deep game to avoid, at this session the responsibility of a decision on the Bank question. . . You say the Calhoun party has almost disappeared at Richmond. Judging from the number of the members of the General Assembly who attended the late caucus, I should suppose all parties but that of Jackson had disappeared in Virginia." Clay to Brooke, December 25, 1831. Henry Clay, *The private correspondence of Henry Clay*, edited by Calvin Colton (New York, 1856), 322-323.

⁵¹ Henry Alexander Scammell Dearborn, son of General Henry Dearborn, in 1812 succeeded his father as collector of the port of Boston. As brigadier general of militia he commanded the defenses of the harbor. He held his collectorship until 1829, when he was removed by President Jackson. He was then elected to the state house of representatives, became a member of the governor's council in 1830 and of the state senate in 1831. He was sent to congress in 1831, serving from December 5 of that year until March 2, 1833. He was adjutant general of Massachusetts, 1835-1843, and was mayor of Roxbury from 1847 until his death in 1851. (*National cyclopædia of American biography*, 9: 323.) The above letter is significant; Dearborn had evidently joined the Clay forces against Jackson. The letter was written soon after his arrival at Washington, where he had gone to serve in the house of representatives.

⁵² December 27, 1831.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

America in ferment. By Paul Leland Haworth. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1915. 477 p. \$1.50 net)

From the title of this work it is the evident purpose of the author to cover an exceedingly wide range of topics. History, politics, industrial reform, social progress, the immigration question, are among the most obvious of the subjects under which may be included the miscellaneous matters here considered. There is hardly a topic of general interest now before the public today that does not find its place somewhere in this work. The author has been unusually successful in bringing into a small compass much current information and opinion on this series of living topics. Such chapter headings as, "The problem of industrial peace," "How can we raise the standard of living," "Social justice for workers," are a sufficient indication of what is proposed to be accomplished in this work.

A cursory examination of any one of these chapters, however, is sufficient to convince the reader that this is not a piece of investigation but merely a compilation from miscellaneous and unidentified sources. The advantages of compiling in so wide a field are obvious enough and the author has utilized them fully. On the other hand the average reader is quite likely to demand some discussion of causes or processes as well as a mere statement of fact. That America is in ferment is fairly evident to most of our citizens who do any thinking at all but they will not be entirely content with a work which so completely ignores the *why* and the *whither* of this all-pervading unrest.

The principal criticism of the work as a whole lies in its almost total lack of references to the sources of the author's statements and conclusions. The material is presented in very much the same form as a popular speech or newspaper article. If one wishes to dissent from or check up the facts or figures presented, there is no opportunity of doing so. The books consulted, the tables used, the records from which figures are compiled seem quite wholly absent. This is a serious defect in any rational treatment of problems like the ones discussed since in the field of current reform opinion has far less weight; fact and general statements backed up by unverified figures are quite apt to be fallacious and misleading. The author has, also, a very bad habit of using quotations without giving author or book and also of quoting authors without reference to the particular book or magazine where the quotation can be

found. This occurs some sixty different times throughout the work and is a serious blemish from the point of view of the scholar or of the student of history. Occasionally it is possible to check a misstatement which runs counter to what is generally understood by the current observer. Burbank did not evolve the spineless cactus but obtained the seeds of this form of cactus from the federal department of agriculture. Immigration into Canada is not stimulated by corporation interest as with us. The material lot of the Indian is not at present the best in their history, too many illustrations to the contrary can be cited by the well informed. Such errors of facts raise doubts as to the general accuracy of the other numerous statements of facts. On page 335 the author says: "A large proportion of the negro vote is purchasable and lends itself easily to the selfish schemes of designing men who have money with which to buy." This may or may not be true; no evidence is offered and we are left with a mere statement of this grave political abuse on the author's word. Some other general remarks at the beginning of the work leave one in doubt as to the validity of the evidence upon which they are based. On page 10 occurs the following: "It is altogether probable that the next decade will determine the future of our Great Experiment." Again, on page 32 we are told that "The truth of history is that throughout its career the United States has been imperialistic." This may be the utterance of truth based on profound insight into our national life but it may be something quite the reverse. The author shows an amiable weakness for generalizing something after the following fashion: "It is not by destroying each other that labor and capital can best serve their own interests and those of their common country but by getting together."

As producing a mere piece of compilation the author has done the general public a considerable service but whatever value such a work may possess has not been at all enhanced by the numerous impromptu expressions of opinion found in every chapter.

ORIN G. LIBBY

The American college. By Isaac Sharpless, president, Haverford College. [The American books.] (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1915. 221 p. \$.60 net)

The titles of the five chapters of this book are, "History of the American college," "College administration," the "Courses of study," "Student life," and the "Functions of the college." The first chapter sketches briefly the founding of nine of the colonial colleges and outlines the changes in the courses of study and the other phases of the development of the American college up to the present time. In the other chapters Mr. Sharpless gives the reader an acquaintance not only with all the

sides of an American college or university, such as its governing board, president, faculty, alumni, course of study, student organizations and activities, but also with the controversies as to coeducation, vocational studies, the elective system, fraternities, athletics, freedom of speech of professors, and like questions. The author briefly and clearly presents the arguments on both sides of the controversies, and though his position on each question is evident, he is not prolix or insistent with his own opinions.

Mr. Sharpless strongly criticizes the lack of thoroughness in the entire American educational system and the tendency of men in many of the higher institutions to take technical courses and specialize early. The need of democracy, he says, is for disciplined and cultured leaders, and the problem of the American college is to produce them. He inclines to the view that the liberal education which it is the purpose of the college, as distinct from the university, to provide is the kind most suited for the making of such leaders. Many will not agree with the author on this point. Some will contend that the advantages which the author thinks attach to all colleges are possessed only by the best of the small colleges.

Though designed for the general reader, this work by Mr. Sharpless will be of interest to those engaged in college work as expressing the opinions of an experienced educator.

E. T. MILLER

The department of state of the United States. Its history and functions.

By Gaillard Hunt, Litt.D., LL.D., lately chief of the bureau of citizenship, department of state. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1914. 459 p. \$2.25 net)

This volume and that of Mr. Learned on the *President's cabinet*, issued by the same press, form the beginning of what might well be made a series dealing with the national administration of the United States government. Mr. Hunt's book has developed from a historical sketch of the department, prepared in connection with the world's fair at Chicago in 1893. It deals with the formation and development of the department, and with its internal organization and functional activities.

In the first five chapters are considered in detail the embryonic history of the department: the committees of the continental congress, the department of foreign affairs under the articles of confederation, and the beginnings of the new department under the constitution of the United States. Later chapters deal with the "sometime" and "occasional" duties of the department, its administrative subdivisions, and its various functions, such as the seal, the laws, the diplomatic and consular service,

passports and treaties. The concluding chapter on "Buildings occupied" is followed by a bibliographical note.

The work is based on an intensive knowledge of the original sources, many of which are the manuscript records of the department; and there are many citations from laws and official circulars and other documents, some of which are quoted *in extenso*. It may therefore be accepted as authoritative in the matters covered.

Mr. Hunt is at his best in dealing with the earlier history of the department, and with the less-familiar aspects of the work of the department, as the keeper of the seal and public archives, and the issuance of passports, authentications, and introductions. He also gives interesting information as to some of the subordinate officials of the department. There is, however, little effort to emphasize the significance of the facts. For example, it is not noted that in its custody of the laws of congress, the department is a permanent agency of the *legislative* branch of government rather than an *executive* organ; and that in this capacity the secretary of state acts under the authority of acts of congress and is not legally subject to the orders of the president. Nor is attention drawn to the tradition of continuous service, illustrated by the tenure of the early chief clerks, three of whom served for a period of forty-one years from 1792 to 1833, and a fourth from 1855 to 1873, and several other subordinate officers; while the long service of assistant secretaries Hunter and Adeë are not mentioned. Modesty doubtless explains why Mr. Hunt's own long service in the department is not set forth.

In the preface, the author states that he has written no diplomatic history of the United States nor biographical sketches of the secretaries of state. Nevertheless, it is disappointing to find only nineteen pages on the diplomatic and consular service; and to have some of the most important secretaries of state, such as Seward, Hay, and Root, mentioned only in connection with minor matters of administrative procedure. The office of counsellor of the department, of so much importance in recent years, is mentioned only incidentally in a list of official salaries.

These comments may be of service if this volume is followed by others dealing with the other executive departments of the United States government. Such a series would be of much value to all interested in public affairs in this country. It should be noted, however, that Mr. Hunt's volume is not, as is stated in the preface, the first historical study of any of the executive departments. There is a *History of the war department* by Lurton D. Ingersoll, published in Washington in 1880.

JOHN A. FAIRLIE

War's aftermath. A preliminary study of the eugenics of war as illustrated by the civil war of the United States and the late wars in the Balkans. By David Starr Jordan, chancellor, Stanford University, and Harvey Ernest Jordan, professor of histology and embryology, University of Virginia. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914. 104 p. \$.75 net)

This publication grows out of an investigation of the results of the civil war made in 1912 for the world peace foundation by the two Jordans and by Mr. Edward B. Krehbiel of Stanford University. It consists of an abstract of a part of the material then secured with the addition of a study by the senior author of the social and racial demoralization following the Balkan wars. For the southern study observations were made in five counties of Virginia, and in one county each of Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee.

The book is of great interest, although the authors very properly hesitate to proclaim any very definite conclusions. But some of the historical assumptions which seem to underlie the discussions and to enter into the structure of the questionnaire, which was sent out to confederate veterans and others, deserve attention. The main assumptions are these: there was in the South a rather distinct social stratification; the whites were lacking in application to industry; political and social democracy, actual or potential, hardly existed. The principal propositions included in the questionnaire which was sent to a selected list of several hundred may be condensed as follows: the leading young men of the South in 1861 belonged to military companies and hence went into war early and were nearly all lost; the war took only the physically fit, and "the best blood"; volunteers were better than conscripts, and exemptions and deserters were poorest of all; southern society was changed for the worse because of the loss of leaders and of "best blood," and because the survivors of each class were in numbers in inverse proportion to their social worth; widows and girls of the upper class did not marry or remarry enough to leave a proper proportion of descendants; women of the upper class married "down"; leaders since the war do not measure to the ante-bellum standard; whisky and cousin-marriage injured the race before 1861; as a result of war the best of the middle class rose to proper status, social and political; after the war facilities for education were generally poor; emigration after 1865 weakened the population; the population deteriorated because of "carpet-bag" business men and politicians; as a result of the loss of the best young men there has been a paucity of genius and a failure of personal initiative.

In the discussions based upon the replies to the above propositions the authors make more or less positively these assertions: In all war-swept

regions the human harvest is bad; the survivor is followed by his kind, he determines the future; "those who fought the most survived the least"; forty per cent of the young men (eighteen to thirty-five years of age) of the South were lost; the southern white population lost ten per cent, the northern only two per cent; "the war wholly destroyed plantation life"; the war was followed by eugenic or racial decline because of the loss of the racially most valuable and the consequent reversal of selection.

I have outlined the principal statements of fact and opinion found in this work because they are for the most part rather generally accepted in the South; because they are evidently indorsed by the authors, and because they underlie nearly all the writing in the field of southern history, politics and society. Probably most of them can never be proved or disproved, but some are of such interest that endless speculation will continue. Before the historian can make much use of such studies the investigators must accumulate larger stores of undisputed facts and arrive at more definite conclusions. One will surely grant the great biological loss, which was rendered heavier by the politically repressive action of the Washington government. But quite a book might be written on the counterbalancing benefits of the civil war.

WALTER L. FLEMING

The Indian to-day. The past and future of the first American. By Charles A. Eastman (Ohiyesa). [The American books.] (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1915. 182 p. \$.60 net)

This little book of one hundred and eighty-five pages is exceedingly timely. In recent years the Indian has attracted much attention and we have had several volumes treating of his present and past condition — from Curtis' expensive artistic treatment in several magnificent volumes to Dixon's plea for a vanishing race. Eastman's early life was spent among Indians. He was born in a buffalo skin lodge near Redwood Falls, Minnesota, in the winter of 1858. His boyhood was spent with aborigines and away from white people. He was early sent to school and steadily progressed until he held degrees from both Dartmouth and Boston University.

Himself a near-full-blood Sioux, and long associated with educated and noneducated Indians, he writes authoritatively. Mr. Eastman is not a mere ethnologist seeking the derivation of obscure if not obsolete ceremonies, but a man of broad sympathies and keen insight. His recent work presents within convenient compass all that the public should know regarding our red brothers.

Naturally, he begins with the Indian "as he was," thus following the

treatment adopted by Mr. Leupp in his book, *The Indian and his problem*. Eastman paints the native American as he actually was, and not as we see him through the eyes of our frontiersmen and early colonists. Most of this class never understood the aborigines. Through contact with the lower class of whites swarming near Indian reservations, the Indian lost much and gained little. Eastman's statement, "his spiritual and moral loss was great," accurately describes the transition period.

In chapter ii he considers the Indian wars and their causes. In this section he briefly reviews the wars of two centuries, placing the blame upon the shoulders of the frontier element and our government. This chapter is followed by one detailing the evil effects of the agency system and citing how President Grant's successful plan of placing Indians under various religious denominations was brought to naught by the interference of politicians who desired agency positions as rewards to bestow upon political henchmen. Our author gives us a glimpse of the simple faith on the part of the Oneida and Stockbridge Indians in our promises. These had become Christians and exchanged their New York reservations for lands in Kansas. While the Menominee Indians were humanely entertaining these landless Indians, white settlers took possession of the Kansas tract. It was not until 1905 that our government paid a part of the value of the Kansas lands to these Indians.

Chapter v deals with the Indian in school. The showing is exceedingly creditable, as eighty-six per cent of educated Indians are reported as "doing well." The health problem, now very serious, citizenship, native arts and industries, Indians as professional workers, and the Indians' gifts to the nation, are topics which he considers at some length. One of the prominent members of the Society of American Indians, he very properly discusses what that organization attempts to do for the native American. Following the purpose of the organization to avoid friction with the interior department and to suffer somewhat rather than protest too violently, he is not very severe upon the grafters responsible for the Indians' present deplorable condition. That is, while eighty-six per cent of the educated natives are self-supporting, too many ignorant Indians have been swindled out of their lands and moneys. Concerning the Oklahoma and Minnesota scandals, and the poor inspection service of our interior department up to about the year 1910, he says: "Much of this graft might readily be stopped, and the ignorant Indian protected, were it not for the fact that the relationship between the shysters and certain officials is very much like that between the police of New York City and the keepers of illegal resorts. When complaint is made, big envelopes with 'U. S.' printed in the corners pass back and forth — and that is too often the end of it. The Sioux call the U. S. Indian inspec-

tors, who are supposed to discover and report abuses, 'Big Cats'; but an old chief once said to me: 'They ought rather to be called prairie owls, who are blind in the daytime and have rattlesnakes for their bedfellows.' "

Mr. Eastman indorses the national commission idea as a possible solution of the Indian problem, but thinks half the members should be men and women of Indian blood. His book is readable and an important contribution to our Indian literature particularly since it gives us the Indian point of view.

WARREN K. MOOREHEAD

Writings by John Quincy Adams. Edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford. Volume V (1814-1816). (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915. 556 p. \$3.50)

The wealth of material to be found in each succeeding volume of the *Writings of John Quincy Adams* makes the task increasingly difficult of selecting that of primary importance. Special interest in volume v, including dispatches and letters between January 2, 1814, and March 31, 1816, attaches to the detailed accounts of the problems which faced the American commissioners at Ghent. One seems to get even a more intimate view of the embarrassing situations in which Adams and his associates were placed during these four months of drudgery than is to be acquired from reading the *Memoirs*. Master of an incisive style, his words seem fairly to leap forward in defense against the overbearing and insulting assumptions of the English representatives. Ten days before the final terms of the treaty were agreed upon, in a letter to his wife, he declared: "But it is the temper in the British notes and in the conferences on the part of two of the British plenipotentiaries which bring mine to the severest trials. You know all the good and all the evil of my disposition; but you cannot know the violence of the struggle to suppress emotions produced by the provocations of overbearing insolence and narrow understandings. They have, however, been suppressed. . . The British plenipotentiaries present to us articles sent to them ready drawn from England, and when we ask what they mean, what the object of them is, they answer they cannot tell; the article was sent them from England, we must construe it for ourselves. If we propose the alteration of a word, they must refer it to their government. If we ask for an explanation, they must refer it to their government. It is precisely the French caricature of Lord Malmesbury. 'My Lord, I hope your Lordship is well this morning'. . . 'Indeed, Sir, I do not know, but I will send a courier to my Court and inquire.' And thus all we have obtained from the two conferences of three hours each is, another courier to the Court to inquire" (p. 236).

Characterizations of his colleagues are much kindlier than are those

found in the *Memoirs*. On no occasion does he cloak his own shortcomings. The humor might easily have escaped the reader had it not been labeled; for instance in the following letter where he addressed Mrs. Adams as "My Best Friend," he said: "We had returned home, and were in session conversing together upon what had been passing in the conference, when Mr. Clay remarked that Mr. Goulburn was a man of much *irritation*. *Irritability*, said I, is the word, Mr. Clay, irritability: and then fixing him with an earnest look, and the tone of voice between seriousness and jest, I added 'like somebody else that I know.' Clay laughed, and said, 'Aye, that we do; all know him, and none better than yourself.' And Mr. Gallatin, fixing me as I had done Mr. Clay, said emphatically, 'that is your *best friend*.' 'Agreed,' said I, 'but one' — and we passed on in perfect good humor to another topic. There was, however, truth in the joking on all sides."

On many occasions he referred to the outcome in the peace of Ghent as more fortunate than they had hoped to procure. No subject of dispute between the nations had been settled and Adams while hoping for years of peace expressed the principle, today so familiar: "But the surest pledge that we can have of peace will be to be prepared for war" (p. 400).

Nowhere can there be found a more satisfying summary of the influence of the war on the development of America (pp. 314, 356, 357). Adams' own intense spirit of nationalism is prevalent on all occasions. The proceedings of the Massachusetts legislature was the "internal ulcer in our body politic." "But, at this moment," he exclaims, "how fearfully does this mad and wicked project of national suicide bear upon my heart and mind, when I have the profoundest conviction that if we now fail to obtain peace, it will be owing entirely to this act of the Massachusetts legislature."

European politics, diplomacy, and society are all subjects for discussion for the "romance" of the "Corsican Alexander" ran through its final chapters and was ended during these months. Some of his choicest expressions have to do with religion and education.

It is unfortunate even in an advance copy to find that pages 494, 495 and numerous others have exchanged places with 66, 67, 77, etc.

J. A. JAMES

A great peace maker. The diary of James Gallatin, secretary to Albert Gallatin, 1813-1827. With an introduction by Viscount Bryce. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915. 314 p. \$2.50 net)

It is gratifying to students of history that during the year of the celebration of the centenary of peace between Great Britain and the

United States that volume v of the *Writings of John Quincy Adams and A great peace maker* have been published. Both of them give a more intimate account, than has heretofore been accessible, of the personalities of Adams and Gallatin, the two commissioners at Ghent whose services made the treaty of December 24, 1814, possible.

James Gallatin, eldest son and private secretary of Albert Gallatin, was admirably situated between the years 1813 and 1827 to give a picture of European society. During these years his father served as American commissioner at Ghent, minister to France, and minister to Great Britain.

The volume makes a good supplement to the writings of Gallatin. That statesman, in his dispatches and letters to friends, quite in contrast to Adams, rarely commented on happenings outside the round of his official duties. Some of the letters, here included, do not appear in Gallatin's *Writings*, edited by Henry Adams. The letters of Gallatin to Madam de Staël-Holstein and that to Alexander von Humboldt (pp. 40-45) are of value. The fact that Gallatin received private notes from the Duke of Wellington during the negotiations at Ghent is of interest. Especially is this true if there is foundation for the entry of February 13, 1815: "It seems it was mainly due to him that the English made the concessions they did and brought the matters to a speedy termination." A letter presented to Gallatin in 1815 which describes an interview with Napoleon Bonaparte on the island of Elba should also be noted.

The tributes of praise accorded at all times by the diarist to his father might easily be discounted if the statements made by John Quincy Adams were not in keeping with them. Evidently the tact, patience, self-control, and good humor of Gallatin in times of strain won victories over his colleagues and his opponents as well. His son wrote: "What has pleased me more than anything else is that these three great men — Lord Castlereagh, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Liverpool — have unreservedly acknowledged that to his good sense, moderation and firmness the signing of the treaty was due" (p. 74). Adams wrote in 1815: "Without disparagement to any other of my late or present colleagues I consider him as having contributed the largest and most important share to the conclusion of the peace" (*Writings*, 5: 267). The diary seems to emphasize how well Gallatin was fitted to serve as the diplomatic representative of any nation. Possessed of a rare combination of personal qualities, he was, besides, a member of one of the oldest and most honored families of Switzerland, was distantly related to Madam de Staël and Benjamin Constant, and had known Voltaire intimately, and counted among his friends Alexander von Humboldt, La Fayette, and J. C. L. Sismondi.

Very completely the diarist, as a youth of seventeen, portrays the life of the *grande monde* of European capitals and five years later he declared: "I have not the slightest temptation to gamble about my one and only virtue." The diary, in general, bears evidence of its authenticity, although some alterations were made in 1869 (see p. 51). The second wife of Albert Gallatin was from Maryland and not New England, as stated by Viscount Bryce in the introduction (p. x).

J. A. JAMES

George Hamilton Perkins, commodore, U.S.N. His life and letters. By Carroll Storrs Alden, Ph.D., instructor in English, U.S. Naval Academy. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1914. 302 p. \$1.50 net)

The letters of Commodore Perkins, which form the basis of this biography, are interesting chiefly as revealing the routine that made up the life of the American naval officer before the day of the modern navy. Their author was born in 1836, educated (as far as he would permit, for he was dismissed for poor scholarship) at the new Naval Academy at Annapolis, and broken in by patrol duty on the Isthmian and the West African coasts. He was retired under age, because of heart trouble, in 1891, having followed the service into every corner of the seas. His career was uneventful, as naval careers go, save for his signal work at the battle of Mobile bay and the capture of New Orleans. After the latter engagement he was one of the spectacular two, Captain Theodorus Bailey being the other, who went ashore without escort and pushed their way through the angry populace of New Orleans to demand the surrender of the city. The book shows signs of having been written for the family interest, but the career that it describes was creditable and the story is worth telling.

F. L. P.

A Walloon family in America. Lockwood de Forest and his forbears, 1500-1848. Together with a voyage to Guiana, being the journal of Jesse de Forest and his colonists, 1623-1625. By Mrs. Robert W. de Forest. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914. 314; 391 p. \$5.00 net)

Some librarians are said to find their greatest pleasure not in reading but in classifying a book. Certain readers find their interest maintained by the variety of subjects with which a book deals. To both of these groups of people the volumes before us will appeal, for they include bibliography, biography, description, history, and travel. Undertaken as the life-story of Lockwood de Forest, 1775-1848, the work developed

into a history of the De Forest family in Europe and America from 1500. To quote the narrator: "It seemed wise to say something about Lockwood's Connecticut ancestors. . . . Then it became necessary to speak of Isaack de Forest, the founder of the family in America. . . . Lastly it became imperative to give an account of Jesse, the father of Isaack, about whom it is now possible to tell more than was ever known before."

The work begins with a description of the De Forests in northeastern France during the sixteenth century but the story gradually centers around Jesse de Forest and his friends as they seek a refuge in Holland from religious persecution, and then sail to found a Protestant settlement under Dutch auspices in South America. The basis for this portion of the narrative is in part *The de Forests of Avesnes (and New Netherland)*, a good piece of genealogical research by John W. de Forest, published in 1900. Even better authority is *The journal of Jesse de Forest for 1623*, recently (1901) found in the British Museum. Not least among the merits of our author is her thoughtfulness in giving us this journal in the original French and in English translation, with facsimile page, map, and an excellent introduction as an appendix to her biography. The position of leadership accorded this sturdy head of the house is witnessed by the manner in which other members of the family are compared to Jesse and their efforts measured by his zeal. Among his most notable exploits are his emigration to Leyden, his endeavor to establish a Walloon and French settlement in Virginia, and finally his leadership in the expedition to Guiana detailed in this journal, now for the first time published. Incidentally this De Forest journal seems to settle the date of the entrance of the Dutch into New Amsterdam as 1624.

Hendrick and Isaack de Forest led the family during its life on Staten island. The former is more closely connected with Dutch rule and this opportunity is improved by our author to introduce a pleasant description of colonial life in New Amsterdam before the coming of the English. The facility with which Mrs. de Forest turns aside from family chronology to picture early American conditions has indeed given her narrative a value which it would never have attained had its field been limited strictly to biography. Our thanks are due to the De Forest family also for their many sided activities. In the seventeenth century travel of any kind required courage, and life in America during the succeeding hundred years demanded the same virtue. In this sterling quality the forbears of Lockwood de Forest were not lacking, and they entered fully into the life of their respective communities. It is interesting to note the part taken by Isaack de Forest when New Amsterdam was seized by the British in 1664 although Holland and Great Britain were seemingly as much at peace as was Europe in July, 1914.

With David, Samuel, and Nehemiah de Forest the scene shifts to Connecticut. In this and the preceding section the author enters the field of United States history and she presents the De Forest family to us as a type of the early civilization of New York and southern New England. Throughout her work one is reminded of such writers as Edward Eggleston, Sydney George Fisher and, more than all, of Alice Morse Earle. Frequent reference is made to the writings of the last named and from her Mrs. de Forest appears to have received much of the inspiration for that social history which charms us in the volumes under review. Nowhere is this charm more readily seen than by comparing our author's chapter on the De Forests in war time with that on Nehemiah de Forest immediately following. The revolutionary war does not lend itself easily to chatty history but the story of the innkeeper of New Stratford and his neighbor, Nathan Wheeler, gives a more accurate picture of many New England country towns than would an austere narrative of double the length.

The first half of volume II is devoted to the life of Lockwood de Forest. In these one hundred and seventy pages biography and history are again most happily united but it is religious and social history and not political development which is discussed. In giving his descendants an excellent account of Lockwood de Forest, the biographer has made him an essential part of the period in which he lived. His early struggles, followed by well-earned prosperity as a leader in the shipping industry of New York during the first half of the nineteenth century are well pictured, but a more adequate idea of the self-reliant, perhaps stubborn nature of this commercial pioneer is obtained from the careful description of the religious controversies into which he was led by varieties of doctrinal belief and severities of church discipline. Here again the reader feels that it is not a single life which is being opened to him, but rather a composite picture of the religious life of the time.

Mrs. de Forest has given much attention to recent histories of the persons and periods treated in her volume. A merited interest is shown in contemporary documents and many references are made to them. In other cases the narrative is placed on the secure foundation of the original manuscripts. Liberal quotations from her authorities are given as an appendix to the second volume together with a bibliography, genealogical notes, and a chart of the male descendants of David de Forest of Stratford. These features, with the numerous and excellent illustrations and explanatory maps add much to the value of the work. A wide circle of friends has been a great help to the author and this help is freely acknowledged. It is pleasant also to bear testimony to the high character of the binding and general makeup of the volumes. If there be a fault, it is in the index. Fulness of entry for the De Forest

family is expected in a work of this character and does no harm if there be no consequent neglect of other equally important persons or events. The critic who uses these volumes for the colonial history of New York and Connecticut will regret the lack of a more comprehensive index, but it must be remarked that the history of these communities was not the first purpose of the author.

CHARLES H. LINCOLN

Church and state in Massachusetts, 1691-1740. By Susan Martha Reed, Ph.D., head of the department of history, Lake Erie College; sometime fellow in history, University of Illinois. [University of Illinois studies in the social sciences, vol. III, no. 4.] (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1914. 208 p. \$1.05)

This is a study of the ecclesiastical system in provincial Massachusetts as it was modified by the conditions resulting from changes in colonial administration after 1691. The complex features of the system are carefully outlined, and the steps by which its rigidity was broken down are clearly traced. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the supremacy of the Calvinistic majority in Massachusetts was seriously threatened, not only by the decline of religious fervor among members of Congregational and Presbyterian churches, but also by the increase of dissent after the inclusion of Plymouth colony within the province. The general court of Massachusetts endeavored to check these influences by a more strongly centralized system of ecclesiastical administration and by legislation of increasing severity. In actual operation the ecclesiastical system proved far less rigid than the legislation of the period would suggest. From time to time special concessions were made to towns having a majority of dissenters among their population, and in Boston, even before the charter changes of 1691, the voluntary system of church support had superseded the ordinary practice of maintaining churches by general taxation.

The author shows, conclusively, that the strongest force operating against the established church in Massachusetts during the period of whig control of British colonial policy was the centralized Quaker organization in London which through its system of yearly meetings kept English Quakers in close touch with their coreligionists in the American colonies. English Quakers constituted an important element in the whig party, and they availed themselves of this political strength to secure the royal disallowance for colonial legislation which would have been adverse to interests of Quakers in New England. In comparison with Quaker successes, the efforts of the church of England and of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were of secondary importance during this period; and Baptists, owing to their lack of organization,

exerted slight influence in Massachusetts before the great awakening. The legislative concessions to dissenting sects which were won chiefly through the efforts of the Quakers perceptibly weakened the authority of the Massachusetts ecclesiastical system before the middle of the eighteenth century, although the state church which was slow in dying retained nominal control of religious affairs until 1833.

Material for this study has been found in colonial records in New England, in public document collections in London, and, more especially, in the records of the various religious organizations. Systematic use has been made of the records of Quaker yearly meetings which are kept on file by the Society of Friends in London, and of the papers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; wherever necessary the records of individual churches have also been investigated. The accompanying bibliography suggests the abundance and variety of printed and manuscript material available for the study of religious influences in American history. A more detailed classification of these sources would have afforded greater assistance to future students.

The most original and perhaps the most commendable feature of this monograph is the scholarly use made of two distinct classes of historical material. The story of the relations between church and state in Massachusetts has been traced as far as possible in the public documents. At each step the facts found there have been checked by an investigation of religious records, and where the documents leave gaps in the story it has been found possible to fill them in from the religious material. The method cannot be too highly recommended to investigators in this field of research. The complexity of religious influence in American history makes a comparative method imperative, if conclusions are ever to be reached, yet because of the nature and volume of the material at hand the student is constantly exposed to the temptation of presenting the history of one religious sect as if no other sect or organization were in existence. By using the political material as a basis and by carefully comparing the records of several religious organizations, Miss Reed has been able to avoid a pitfall into which others have sometimes been betrayed. The result is a picture true in perspective as well as in fact. It is earnestly to be hoped that studies of equal excellence may some day be available for states outside of New England.

MARTHA L. EDWARDS

The Scandinavian element in the United States. By Kendric Charles Babcock, dean of the college of liberal arts and sciences, University of Illinois; sometime fellow, University of Minnesota and Harvard University. [University of Illinois studies in the social sciences, vol. III, no. 3.] (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1914. 223 p. \$1.15)

Mr. Babcock has long been a student of the Scandinavian element in this country. Since 1892 he has been a contributor to periodicals of articles dealing with phases of the subject, and from these earlier studies has grown the present elaborate monograph on the Scandinavian element. In its preparation the author has utilized extensive materials and authorities. Besides printed sources of all sorts, in English, Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish, he has secured "much matter relating to the subject gathered by means of personal interviews, correspondence, and observations extending over a series of years."

He is deeply interested in the problem of the alien, and believes in the careful investigation of the characteristics of each "cohort in the national forces," an intensive study of each immigrant group. Thus can their contributions to American life and character be appraised. For the Germans the monumental study by A. B. Faust constitutes such a work. Recently similar works have appeared for the Scotch-Irish, for the Jewish immigration from 1881 to 1910, and for emigration from the United Kingdom. Mr. Babcock has undertaken the study of one great group, the Scandinavians,¹ who in at least six states of the Northwest have been "among the chief contributors to State-building." He points out significantly that among the twenty-four million immigrants who came to the United States during the eighty years ending in June, 1906, the Scandinavians numbered more than one million and seven hundred thousand.

The author begins with an analysis of the Scandinavian character. Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes have many characteristics in common, such as patience, persistence, thrift, love of adventure, courage in facing the possibilities of the future, hatred of slavery, clear, high ideas of personal and political freedom. No less striking is their adaptability to changes of clime, conditions, and circumstance. Yet there are striking temperamental differences between the three. Mr. Babcock's contrast of the Swedes and Norwegians is discriminative and significant. The Swede is aristocratic, polite, vivacious, fond of dignities, assertive, often brilliant, yet a persistent worker, and capable of energy and endurance. The most striking quality of the Norwegian is his democracy.

¹ Very recently a less pretentious book relating to the same subject has been written by Alfred O. Fonkalsrud under the title *The Scandinavian-American* (Minneapolis: K. C. Holter, 1915).

He is "simple, serious, intense, severe even to bluntness, often radical and visionary, and with a tendency to disputatiousness." He has fire and imagination, and is a strenuous, almost turbulent, worker, but, in Mr. Babcock's opinion, he has rarely developed the qualities of great leadership.

Immigrants to the United States are to be judged by "the character and preparation which best fit men to contribute to the permanent progress of a self-governing people." What is the status of the Scandinavians upon this basis? Mr. Babcock believes they are to be rated high—their character, their literacy, their history confirming him in this belief. One feels that he might well have dealt more fully with the latter phase, the history of the Scandinavians in Europe as a background. The Norwegian constitution of 1814, for example, and the political and literary movements in that country during the nineteenth century undoubtedly exerted vast, though intangible, influence upon the thought of the Norwegian element in America.

In a series of four chapters Mr. Babcock considers the causes for the great movement of Scandinavians in response to the call of the American West, and tells briefly and concisely the fascinating story of the westward wave of Scandinavian immigration. The chapters on Norwegian immigration deal with a subject that has been covered in a thorough and scholarly manner by George T. Flom in his monograph *A history of Norwegian immigration to the United States from the earliest beginning down to the year 1848*. Mr. Babcock adds a compact chapter dealing with the expansion and distribution of the Scandinavian immigrants during the years 1850-1900, tracing the stream of immigration as it flows out "over the wilderness of the upper Mississippi Valley and west of the Great Lakes." He points out that seventy per cent of the total Scandinavian immigration came into the Northwest.

The greater and more significant portion of the monograph is in the nature of an interpretation of the contribution of the Scandinavians to America from economic, religious, intellectual, social, and political standpoints. The section on "Economic forces at work" is impressive in the mass of facts and statistics which it presents. Of particular importance is the history of the relation of Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish immigrants to the land policy and the development of railway transportation in the West. The value of a particular group of immigrants in the building and development of a region is difficult to estimate because so many angles must be considered. Even economically a purely statistical study must be at best incomplete, for, as Mr. Babcock himself points out, industry, frugality, and intelligence are prime factors. Yet his estimate on the basis of money value is of considerable interest. He values an immigrant over fourteen and under forty-five at one thousand

dollars. Then, estimating that eighty per cent of the foreign-born enumerated in the census of 1900 reached this country between those ages, the total capital represented by the Scandinavians on that basis was eight hundred and fifty million dollars. Immigration in the next five years added two hundred and thirty million dollars to this. The total represented "just so much given by the gods of plenty to accelerate the development of the West" (p. 93).

Mr. Babcock's figures frequently do not come down to date. The money estimates referred to above reach the year 1905. On pages 102-103 he speaks of the department store of "S. E. Olson & Co." in Minneapolis, as "one of the largest department stores west of Chicago, and probably the greatest Scandinavian business house in the country . . . which does a yearly business of about \$2,000,000, and in the height of the season employs more than 700 persons." However, S. E. Olson and company went out of business fourteen years ago. On page 122 in his paragraph on church services in the Lutheran church, figures for 1905 are used. Those for 1913 were available, and show a great advance in the transition from Norwegian to English. On page 121, also, the statistics of the United church are for 1905. Other similar indications show that considerable portions of the book were written at least eight or nine years ago, and not thoroughly revised before publication.

In discussing the Scandinavian element from the religious and intellectual standpoint, Mr. Babcock points out their almost perfect literacy; their record in acquiring the use of English; their establishment of church schools and denominational colleges, as well as their loyalty to the American public school. In his account of churches and religion among the Scandinavians, he confines himself largely to statistics. The literature of the Scandinavian Lutheran church, the annual reports of the church synods, and other valuable sources on the religious life of the Scandinavians seem not to have been utilized. This is unfortunate when one considers how vital the church has been for a large proportion of the immigrants from the northern peninsula. It is likewise to be regretted that, while a good estimate of the Scandinavian press is given, no mention is made of the literary activity of the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes in this country, which has been neither inconsiderable in quantity nor insignificant in quality. One fails to find in Mr. Babcock's book the names of the influential literary leaders among the Scandinavian-Americans. Such a discriminative anthology as *Norsk-amerikanske digte*, for example, is not mentioned. One could wish that less attention had been given to the political, and more to the literary, musical, and artistic labors of the Scandinavians.

After a brief statistical examination of their social relations and

characteristics, Mr. Babcock makes a careful study of the Scandinavian influence in local and state politics, and of party preferences and political leadership. In the states of the Northwest the Norse have been extremely active in all branches of local politics, no less than in the legislative, administrative, and executive departments of state government. Not a few have risen to high political distinction in both nation and state. With the spread of the spirit of independent voting, the old staunch republicanism of the Scandinavians seems to be undergoing a change. Mr. Babcock criticizes severely, and with good cause, the tendency toward voting and political recognition on a racial basis.

By thus surveying one important element in its development, Mr. Babcock has made a valuable contribution to American history and particularly to the history of the West. His conclusions, after so long and thorough a study, are significant. "In temperament, early training, and ideals," he declares, "the Scandinavians more nearly approach the American type than any other class of immigrants, except those from Great Britain. . . . The Scandinavians, knowing the price of American citizenship, have paid it ungrudgingly, and are proud of the possession of the high prerogatives and privileges conferred. They fit readily into places among the best and most serviceable of the nation's citizens; without long hammering or costly chiseling they give strength and stability, if not beauty and the delicate refinements of culture, to the social and economic structure of the United States" (pp. 181-182).

A critical essay on materials and authorities, an appendix of statistical tables, and the index conclude the volume. In arrangement and classification, as well as inclusiveness, the bibliography is the best in its field. The section on documentary sources is particularly good. On the religious life and literary activity of the Scandinavians it is not so satisfactory. It is difficult to understand why such mines of information as the annual church reports should be omitted. Also, both for the Norwegians and Swedes, not a few congregational histories have been written, many of them of considerable historical interest, which are not included. Hjalmar R. Holand's *De norske settlementers historie* (Ephraim, Wisconsin, 1908. 603 p.), though to a certain degree uncritical, should not, at any rate, have been omitted from the bibliography.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

The color line in Ohio. A history of race prejudice in a typical northern state. By Frank U. Quillin, Ph.D., professor of sociology and economics, Knox College. [University of Michigan historical studies, published under the direction of the department of history.] (Ann Arbor: George Wahr, 1913. 178 p. \$1.50).

Within the last few years a number of monographs on the Negro problem in various northern communities have appeared, the two most notable of these being Miss Mary W. Ovington's description of the status of the colored man in New York City and Mr. John Daniels' account of the life of the Negroes in Boston. A third valuable contribution to our knowledge of the color line in the North is Mr. Quillin's investigation of race relations in Ohio from the origin of that state to the year 1912. The author begins his study with an account of the race problem as it injected itself into the first constitutional convention in 1802. He then traces the legal and social status of the Negro down to 1849, when the so-called "black laws" were repealed, describes the fruitless efforts to obtain for the colored man, in the constitutional convention of 1850-1851, the right to vote, to join the militia, and to send his children to schools patronized by the whites, summarizes the legal and social treatment of the race in Ohio since 1850, and concludes with an account of his observations of present-day conditions in six Ohio municipalities, ranging from a town of two thousand inhabitants to the city of Cleveland, with a population of over half a million. It is interesting to note that the conclusions of the author, arrived at independently, coincide with those of Mr. Alfred Holt Stone, who has given us a study of the race problem from the viewpoint of a "Black Belt" planter. Briefly stated, these conclusions are: that race prejudice varies directly with the density of Negro population; that the Negro has fewer industrial opportunities in a northern state like Ohio than in the South; that there is no social equality between the races anywhere; that while theoretically the Negro in Ohio enjoys full civil rights, he is actually discriminated against as frequently as in any southern state; and that race prejudice is stronger today than it was half a century ago. To support these conclusions, Mr. Quillin gives numerous facts, many of which he could obtain only "from the lips and hearts of the colored people themselves."

Indeed, in some instances race prejudice seems to have reached an extreme not found in any southern community, as is shown, for example, in Dayton, where a well-known clothing store refuses all Negro patronage and a ladies' cloak store also draws the color line. In Cincinnati there was such objection to young colored men calling their organization a Young Men's Christian Association that they changed the name to Young Boys' Christian Association. Only in the city of Cleveland is

anything like a general desire for good will and fair play between the races in evidence, but here also there is no social intermingling, and a colored man will not attempt to patronize a restaurant for whites. The author concludes his study with an account of conditions in the town of Syracuse, his boyhood home, where for a century no Negro has been allowed to remain over night.

If any criticism is to be made of Mr. Quillin's monograph, it will be that, in view of the Negro's undoubted progress, the author seems in many instances too pessimistic. A few of his conclusions, too, are apparently based on insufficient data, as when (p. 133) he states that Negro criminality in Cincinnati is five times as great as that of the whites, because the arrests of Negroes were five times as great, in proportion to population, as those of the whites. Typographically the book leaves much to be desired. Inductive studies of this character are to be welcomed, for heretofore one of the great obstacles to a better understanding of race relations has been the tendency of writers on this subject to generalize rather than to investigate, with the result that among those who have given us books on the problem there seems to be great confusion of thought.

WILLIAM O. SCROGGS

A history of Indiana from its exploration to 1850. By Logan Esarey, Ph.D., instructor in western history, Indiana University. (Indianapolis: W. K. Stewart Company, 1915. 515 p. \$3.00)

As the title indicates, Mr. Esarey's *History of Indiana* covers the period from the earliest French explorations in the Mississippi valley to the year 1850. In twenty-one chapters comprising approximately five hundred pages the writer has treated the more important phases of the state's history: political, social, economic, educational, and religious. The first nine chapters of the book cover the period prior to statehood, and form an indispensable introduction to the history of the state proper. Chapters x-xxi are more or less local in their nature, and, as Mr. Esarey no doubt intended, they contain in reality the history of the state. Here the writer's ability to make a substantial contribution to the historical knowledge of the state and of the Mississippi valley has had ample play. He has used to advantage printed documents and newspapers; and from the latter has been able to fill in gaps open too long in western state history. Heretofore our knowledge of internal improvements, for example, has been confined largely to legislative enactments and trustee reports, and to financial balance sheets. By the use of newspapers Mr. Esarey has gone back of formal legal action to the unorganized opinions of the people, where he has been able to examine and to describe the motives that prompted their undertakings. Thus in many respects the

book is a "history of the people of Indiana," rather than a history of the state itself. To say the least the investigations on which a great part of it rests have been made from the viewpoint of the people as well as from the viewpoint of legislative deliberations and executive actions.

By the use of several well-executed maps, Mr. Esarey has brought out vividly the movement of population northward from the Ohio river districts, the general topography of the state, the location of internal improvements, the distribution of the Indian tribes, and various other phases of the state's history. An alphabetically arranged bibliography, a readable table of contents, and a workable index are features of the book.

So much for a general description of contents and method of procedure. Now for a kindly word of criticism.

In the early chapters the author has added little to what is already known to students of the history of the Mississippi valley. In several instances, in fact, he has even failed to draw from first class sources, as Margry's *Memoirs*, and Alvord's *Cahokia records*. Chapter xviii, which deals with "the pioneers and their social life," is disappointing in that it is largely made up of generalities without the support of particular instances. A reader finishes this chapter with the feeling that he has gained practically no new knowledge of the customs and manners of the people. The subject matter is too general. With omissions here and there it could be made to do service in any one of a half dozen state histories. The fact is that the author has missed an excellent opportunity to portray the early Indianian in his own particular environment.

Several faults and omissions of a more general nature may well be noticed. First, little or no manuscript material appears to have been used in its preparation. Election returns, for example, must exist in manuscript form, even though they be fragmentary. If Indiana's supply of unprinted material is to be measured by its use in this connection, it is lamentably small. A second fault, particularly in the sight of one who is not familiar with the details of Indiana's history, arises from the rapidity with which so many figures pass in review before the reader without pausing long enough to form an acquaintance. Actors of minor rôles come forward one after another only to disappear immediately from the stage. A third fault is to be found in the bibliography: it might have been classified to advantage; and some estimate might have been given of the works of local historians which have been used as authorities.

Whatever faults the volume may contain — and after all they are minor and in no way detract materially from its value — Mr. Esarey's work in this connection is a distinct contribution not only to the history of the state of Indiana but also to the history of the Mississippi

valley. Its preparation is merely another indication that western historians have gone earnestly to the task of doing scholarly work in local fields.

C. M. T.

The Illinois-Wabash Land company manuscript. With an introduction by Clarence Walworth Alvord. (Chicago: Cyrus H. McCormick, 1915. 22, 40 p.)

The research of Mr. Alvord with reference to the opinion of lords Camden and Yorke dealing with the sovereignty of the native Indian tribes has an exceedingly important bearing upon the attempts in the decade preceding the revolution made by land speculators and prospective colonists to open the western wilderness for settlement and occupancy. The matter has been touched upon by Carter in his *Great Britain and the Illinois country, 1763-1774*, in which he cites the opinion of Yorke, giving as his reference British Museum, Additional manuscripts, 21,687, as well as a citation to the letter of Lord to Gage, July 3, 1773. The opinion of lords Camden and Yorke is categorical in its statement that purchase of land by individuals from the natives, without royal grant, is permissible, subject only to "His Majesty's Right of Sovereignty over the Settlements as English Settlements, and over the Inhabitants, as English Subjects." The date of the opinion, as pointed out by Mr. Alvord, must have been some time in the year 1769, and he concludes from the fact of the death of Charles Yorke in January, 1770, only a short time after he had become lord chancellor, that the opinion must have been "wholly private." It is noteworthy that Judge Richard Henderson, who had sent Daniel Boone to the westward in the interest of the land company known as Henderson and company, both in 1764 and again in 1769, was induced to make his purchase of the Kentucky area from the Cherokee in 1775, on the strength of the opinion of lords Camden and Yorke; and this opinion was cited to him, a royal judge on the bench in the province of North Carolina, some years before by Lord Mansfield, in support of his tentative purpose to secure western lands by direct purchase from the Indians.

Mr. Alvord remarks, that it was probably well known to William Murray, the chief spirit in the Illinois Land company, and his associates that Dunmore's chief legal adviser in his western plans, Patrick Henry, shared the opinion of lords Camden and Yorke in regard to the sovereign right of Indians. The authority for this statement in regard to Henry's view is, unfortunately, not given. It may be mentioned, however, that Henry contemplated taking shares in the Transylvania company; and in the investigation of the treaty of Watauga, which was held at various times and places during the year 1777 by a committee of the Virginia

legislature, it was brought out in the testimony that Henry had given it out as his opinion that Henderson's purchase would "stand good." Mr. Alvord hazards the view that Henry and George Rogers Clark probably discussed the validity of the purchases of the Illinois and Wabash land companies. Certain it is that Clark and Henry took up land together, presumably in the Illinois country, as evidenced by a well-known entry in Clark's diary.

In the discussion of the episodes arising out of the activities of Murray and his associates, as set forth in the documents — which, in addition to the opinion of lords Camden and Yorke, consist of the text of the treaty with the Illinois Indians in 1773, the treaty of Louis Viviat in 1775 with the Piankashaw and Wea tribes for the Wabash lands, and the articles of agreement uniting the Illinois and Wabash companies — Mr. Alvord has shown his customary fertility in research, his ability to marshal evidence unobtrusively derived from many sources, and his broad knowledge of the period. The ultimate failure of the designs of Murray is shown as inevitable in face of the most powerful opposition, and of the confusion incident to the coming of the revolution. But Mr. Alvord, in his introduction, has given a new vitality to the buoyant hopes and energetic efforts of the persistent Murray. "Thus the purchases by the company came to naught," he observes in conclusion; "but the enterprise itself was not without significance, for the Illinois-Wabash Land Company was one of the first great companies, some successful, some unsuccessful, which have aided in the settlement of the West. William Murray, whose name is almost unknown in history, was but the prototype of hundreds who have followed his example; and his name should be linked with those of his contemporaries, Richard Henderson and George Morgan, who, though unsuccessful, were pioneer promoters of settlement on a large scale in the Mississippi Valley."

The volume is a beautiful specimen of bookmaking. The paper and printing are exceptional in quality and appearance, and the documents are faultless reproductions in facsimile of the originals. A minor typographical error, "wholy" on page 5 has been noted.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON

In the path of La Salle or boy scouts on the Mississippi. By Percy K. Fitzhugh. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1914. 374 p. \$1.25)

The title promises well as a book for boys and the story of the struggle and conquest of the hero over himself is well told. Conservation of water by the national government, or the expedition of Lewis and Clark might better be used than "In the path of La Salle" as descriptive of the content of the volume, for the events narrated have little association with the

Mississippi river. It cannot be commended as having any value historically.

J.

Stories of old Kentucky. By Martha Grassham Purcel, member of the board of education, Paducah, Kentucky. (New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: American Book Company, 1915. 192 p. \$.66)

Scouting with Daniel Boone. By Everett T. Tomlinson. [Pioneer scout series.] (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1914. 303 p. \$1.20 net)

Each of these books deals largely with Daniel Boone and the pioneer days of Kentucky. The first is of somewhat wider scope, as it begins with prehistoric times and contains some matter which bears on later periods of Kentucky history. The narrative is not continuous, but is broken into the form of stories. These are told in unusually well-selected words, adapted to the historical reading of children in the graded schools. The latter part of the book is, perhaps, not quite so successful, as the effort to include some account of Kentucky scientists, artists, literary men, and historians results in what is sometimes no more than a mere list of names. As a whole, however, the work is excellently done.

Mr. Tomlinson's book, on the other hand, is a novel for boys somewhat on the Henty plan. Daniel Boone is the central figure and that truly philosophical pioneer is refined into a veritable Marcus Aurelius. To hold the interest of the boy-readers a youthful hero is provided, whose fortunes link themselves to those of Boone. But this is not enough, and the writer frankly tells the reader that he has made use of "a few adventures on the border which strictly do not belong to this tale," though every one is "true." The author believes there is no better way of inspiring patriotism than by interesting our boys in such heroic men as Daniel Boone. Without attempting to dispute this thesis, one may respectfully question the advisability of attempting to arouse such interest by blurring, with regard to characters that are really historical, the distinction between history and fiction.

Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865. By Harrison Anthony Trexler, Ph.B., assistant professor of economic history, University of Montana. [Johns Hopkins University studies in historical and political science, series xxxii, no. 2.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1914. 259 p. \$1.50)

Mr. Trexler has performed a twofold service: he has written a scholarly and well-organized book on an important subject; and he has, indirectly, demonstrated the value, for historical purposes, of a class of material which, although very extensive, has been heretofore almost untouched by

students — county records. The first three chapters of the study deal with the economic, legal, and social aspects of the institution of slavery, and present conclusions based on a critical and statistical study of a large quantity of detailed material. Then follow chapters of more general interest, although by no means more important, on "The slavery issue in politics and in the churches," "Senator Benton and slavery," and "Missouri and Kansas." The closing chapter treats of "Manumission, colonization, and emancipation."

One of the most valuable features of the book is an extensive critical bibliography covering twelve pages of small type. The material listed includes archives and other manuscript collections; state and federal documents; contemporary pamphlets, reports, memoirs, and travels; newspapers; and secondary works. The location of manuscript material and of newspaper files is indicated in each case, and it is to be regretted that the same practice was not followed for the rare books and pamphlets. Serious gaps in the files of archival materials listed would indicate that Missouri has been as careless as most of the other states about the preservation of public records. Only Missouri newspapers are listed, although it is certain that much valuable material on the subject could have been found in files of the early papers of Kaskaskia and Edwardsville, Illinois. A few slips in the bibliography have been noted, as where "Father John Clark" appears as the author of *A memoir by "an old pioneer,"* although in fact he was the subject of the book, the author being Rev. John Mason Peck.

So excellent a monograph, presenting, as it does, a mass of detailed information, deserves a more adequate index. It is worthy of note, however, that the *Johns Hopkins University studies* are now indexed separately instead of by volumes, each number being complete in itself. Another step in advance would be to give up the practice of grouping the *Studies* into volumes and to assign them consecutive serial numbers.

SOLON J. BUCK

The Indians of the Pike's peak region; including an account of the battle of Sand creek, and of occurrences in El Paso county, Colorado, during the war with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, in 1864 and 1868. By Irving Howbert. (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1914. 230 p. \$1.35)

The title of this interesting book is somewhat misleading. Though the first two chapters contain a brief sketch of the customs of the principal Indian tribes formerly inhabiting what is now the state of Colorado, the remaining five chapters deal with the Indian troubles in the region about Pike's peak between 1864 and 1868. This latter is the valuable portion of the book, containing as it does the recollections of a participant in the

various episodes described. Of this section the greater part is devoted to an account of the events surrounding the battle or massacre of Sand creek and to a vigorous defense of the action of Colonel Chivington and the Third Colorado cavalry. In the final chapter are reminiscences of the Indian troubles of the year 1868 in the district about Colorado City.

Concerning few events in the history of Colorado is there as much dispute as there is over the so-called massacre of the Cheyenne and other Indians at Sand creek in November, 1864. It was and is maintained that the attack was unjustifiable and that the conduct of the Third Colorado was barbarous. In rebuttal Mr. Howbert, a member of the regiment, presents in a very clear-cut fashion the case of the Colorado pioneer. He justifies the attack on the score of the previous Indian troubles and the necessity of punishing the Indians to insure the future safety of the settlers. He denies, seemingly with justice, that the Indians were under the protection of Fort Lyon. In answer to the stories of revolting brutality he relates his experiences during the battle, in the course of which he did not witness any such acts, though he saw "a number of dead Indians whose scalps had been taken, and among them a few squaws." One of his statements is emphatic (p. 111): "I never saw any one deliberately shoot at a squaw, nor do I believe that any children were intentionally killed." The evidence of so competent an eyewitness, even though it is presented fifty years after the event, can hardly be neglected in the history of the frontier strife with the Indians. The real difficulty lies in the reader's desire entirely to exculpate the settlers at once after reading such a convincing narrative.

JAMES F. WILLARD

Letters of a woman homesteader. By Elinore Pruitt Stewart. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914. 282 p. \$1.25)

The title of this interesting little volume gives the reader only a slight suggestion of its real character. It is true that the book is a series of letters written by a young woman who, tired of the struggle to make a living for herself and child in Denver, has taken up a claim in southwestern Wyoming in the hope of bettering her condition. But if one expects to find only the prosaic chronicle of the everyday life of a homesteader he will be pleasantly surprised for the author has the happy faculty of araying even the most commonplace events in clothing which makes them extremely attractive. Her breezy descriptions are sure to arouse interest, and a genuine love of nature has given her the power to appreciate and portray the majesty of the mountains, the wonders of the sunrise and sunset, and the cool silence of the great pine forests in a way which will appeal to all who love the out-of-doors.

The whimsical humor with which she describes her neighbors and acquaintances is refreshing and at the same time shows the writer's sympathetic appreciation of the frontier people and frontier conditions. The reader cannot fail to get acquainted with "gude mon" Stewart, Gavotte, and the efficient Mrs. O'Shaughnessy; to have a kindly feeling for lonely Zebbie Parker and little Cora Belle; and to enjoy a laugh at the eccentric Aggie McEttrick whose Scotch instinct for getting the worth of her money compels her to miss a midnight train rather than give up her room at the hotel when she has paid for a whole night's lodgings; and at the cow-puncher who instructs his companion as to the most expeditious way to bring his love affair to a happy conclusion.

The hard life of the frontier home is mentioned but not emphasized. Here and there are suggestions of sad and troubled days but since it is the evident intention of the "homesteader" to enjoy life, they are few. "When you think of me," she writes, "you must think of me as one who is truly happy. It is true, I want a great many things I haven't got, but I don't want them enough to be discontented and not enjoy the blessings that are mine. I have my home among the blue mountains, my healthy, well-formed children, my clean, honest husband, . . . I have loads and loads of flowers which I tend myself. . . I have the best, kindest neighbors. . . Do you wonder I am so happy?"

What with chickens, cows and children, housework, gardenwork, and farmwork one wonders how the time was found to write letters so decidedly worth while. There is not a dull page in the whole book.

WILLIAM V. POOLEY

Diary of Nelson Kingsley, a California argonaut of 1849. Edited by Frederick J. Teggart, associate professor of Pacific coast history, University of California; curator of the Academy of Pacific Coast History. [Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History, vol. 3, no. 3.] (Berkeley: University of California, 1914. 413 p. \$1.00)

This is the bare text of the journal of a gold-seeker who left New Haven in the bark *Anna Reynolds* on March 12, 1849, and arrived in San Francisco bay on November 22, 1849, after a tedious voyage around the Horn. The author was an associate of the California and New Haven Joint Stock company, and gives in his record a picture of the bickerings and failures common to that type of organization. In August, 1850, when the company was eighteen months old, he was of the opinion "that we could not raise money enough to take ourselves all home." He remained in California until March, 1851, when he sailed for the states. Here the journal ends. There are abundant details of prices and conditions in the Sacramento valley, as daily records of gold output after the company

began to wash it. The printing appears to be literal and precise, but Mr. Teggart has not provided us with the illuminating notes that he might have drawn from his rich knowledge of California history.

F. L. P.

Sir George Etienne Cartier, Bart. His life and times. A political history of Canada from 1814 to 1873. By John Boyd. (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1914. 439 p. \$5.00)

Sir George Cartier played for many years a leading part in Canadian public life. The great crux of Canadian politics is of course the relations between French and English. As the leader of a somewhat backward province, sympathizing fully with the prejudices of his countrymen, yet enlightened enough to desire a good understanding with the English, and to see that such dreams as that of "a French republic on the banks of the St. Lawrence" were impracticable, Cartier is an interesting figure. He it was who made possible the federation of the scattered Canadian provinces, by persuading the *habitant* that only so could absorption in the American union be prevented, and that such federation would mean the retention under imperial sanction of the special privileges of the French. His life-long friendship with Sir John MacDonald, the Upper Canadian leader, is one of the features of Canadian political history, and the two statesmen did much to extricate Canada from the quagmire of racial and religious bitterness into which she had been plunged in 1837. Cartier was a legist too, and it was by his endeavors that the admirable civil code of Quebec, practically as it exists today, was framed out of the welter of old French customs, edicts and ordinances of French *intendants* and councils, provincial laws, and what not, which had previously existed. Though no orator, he had the power of hitting out phrases which stick. When under the union act of 1841, the number of representatives from Upper and Lower Canada was by imperial statute made equal, for the purpose of partially disenfranchising the French majority, and when the increase of population in the upper province put the boot on the other foot, Cartier calmly told the convulsed house of commons that the excess of population in Upper Canada had no more right to representation than so many codfish in the bay of Gaspé. Similarly, when the charter for the Canadian Pacific railway went through, it was Cartier who leaped to his feet with the cry, "All aboard for the West."

Mr. Boyd's life of this interesting man is not wholly satisfactory. The subtitle of "A political history of Canada from 1814 to 1873" reveals one of its defects. The attempt to show Cartier as invariably the central figure at times falsifies the perspective, and at others produces the paradox that we lose him in long accounts of well-known events and tendencies, regarding which Mr. Boyd has nothing new to tell us. Cartier had

preserved his papers with great care, and the reminiscences which he left behind presumably written with the fearless candor which was a part of him, would have been interesting in the extreme, but since his death they seem to have disappeared, and far too much of Mr. Boyd's volume is taken up with long extracts from well-known secondary authorities. The book could with advantage have been shortened to three hundred pages. Another misfortune is that it was produced "in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of Sir George Etienne Cartier's birth," and as a *livre d'occasion*, produced in conjunction with a rather florid ceremony, its literary merit suffers. Long facsimile reproductions of letters to the author from Sir Robert Borden, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and other great and good men, pictures of the house in which the book was completed, etc., pad out the already verbose volume.

Yet Mr. Boyd's book is not without value. By careful picking and choosing we can arrive at a lifelike picture of the vigorous, fearless personality of his hero: brusque, overbearing, willing to buy either an opponent or a constituent, if only so he could carry his point, but with a love for Canada which extended far beyond the bounds of his native province, and with a high belief in her destiny which did much to keep her sound in her hours of doubt and almost of despair.

W. L. GRANT

The tercentenary history of Canada from Champlain to Laurier, MDCVIII-MCMVII. By Frank Basil Tracy. Revised to the present time by Britton B. Cooke. In three volumes. (New York and Toronto: P. F. Collier and Son, 1913. 1180 p. \$2.25)

This book is laid out by an earnest student who has had a very wide reading and who possesses a great power of assimilation combined with the faculty of analysis, for he is enabled to embody in eleven hundred and fifty small pages all that is necessary to know of the numerous events embracing three centuries, without running, as so many authors do, into particular topics which may suit his own fancy, to the detriment of other situations of equal importance. Thus the narrative is well balanced and every part of it is proportioned to the merit of each subject.

I like an exposition of this kind, so well distributed in short chapters and sorted chronologically. The reader is not suddenly carried to another period of time nearer to him, and he advances slowly, with his face looking backward, so to say, from the point of departure, after the fashion of a land surveyor who traces a straight line as he proceeds on the ground and knowing exactly where he is to stop. This, after all, is what former generations have done and also what we are doing every day.

Having ascertained, as above, the convenience of this arrangement, I

find that the whole description is expressed with a sense of fair play altogether creditable and that in the case of blame, for instance, even the terms used are never too strong for the ear of a delicate reader. Praise is also measured on the same scale and we are left free to elevate our admiration a little more if it please any of us to do so, but the narrative is not dull for all that. It runs swiftly and turns around the main facts once or twice in order to make us more familiar with all their aspects.

The reader will easily remember what he has seen in this book. The effect on the mind is that of a candid and clear truth, and nowhere can be detected any desire to enforce certain plea or theory or way of interpreting history after a preconceived manner belonging to a particular school — and not always upright. The philosophy of the author is in perfect tune with the new style in history — that is: men of the past must not be represented as more exceptional or honest than those of our own days, and this is simply correct because humanity has not changed since. We are bound to judge the individuals after that standard, although circumstances may have taken sometime an aspect quite different from those within our personal knowledge.

Any one who succeeds in tracing the main lines of the records of a people is more of a historian than the writer who indulges in the description of a mass of details fit for an article in a magazine and limited to a brief period of history.

BENJAMIN SULTE

The Canadian North-west. Its early development and legislative records.

Minutes of the councils of the Red river colony and the northern department of Rupert's Land. Edited by Prof. E. H. Oliver, University of Saskatchewan. In two volumes. Volume I. [Publications of the Canadian Archives, no. 9.] (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1914. 688 p.)

Canadian history naturally divides itself into three great sections whose limits are determined by geographical considerations as well as those of race, time, and environment. Lower Canada is the region of the French occupation; Upper Canada received its development after the American revolution and derived its social order from the loyalists who were indemnified by grants of Ontario lands; the Canadian Northwest is the field of the fur companies and the railroads, and has an essential unity less with Ontario and Lower Canada than with the vast continental interior of which it forms a physical part. Beyond lake Superior the great plains are unbroken between northern Mexico and the Arctic, and the international boundary along the forty-ninth parallel does not represent any important economic or social division.

The records of the Canadian Northwest, the first instalment of which

are now at hand, reveal the close relationships between that section and the American Northwest and Southwest. They are published under the direction of the archivist who has done so much for history in Canada, and under the immediate editorial supervision of Mr. Oliver of the University of Saskatchewan. They promise to cover the whole range of Northwest history from the incorporation of the Hudson's Bay company down to the Alberta and Saskatchewan acts of 1905, and when the second volume will have appeared they will doubtless become the standard source for general historians of the region.

The parallelism between Canadian and American development in the Northwest works out often in minute resemblances. It was in 1832 that active development of the upper Missouri and Rocky mountain country was beginning on a large scale, and that Independence and Fort Leavenworth were thriving on the new life of the far West. In that year, at Fort Garry (Winnipeg) the local officers of the Hudson's Bay company held a council that indicates the need for better institutions in the valleys of the Red and Assiniboine. And thereafter church and state were never absent in that country. None of the colonial corporations that operated in the American seaboard colonies did as well by its wards as the Hudson's Bay company, through its council of Assiniboia, did for the little population that held the nucleus of Manitoba. Until the end of the sixties, when company control was stopped and Manitoba became a state in the dominion of Canada, the council continued in its work. Its problems of education, lands, and communication bear a family resemblance to those of the American frontier.

Isolation was the great obstacle to the rapid development of Assiniboia. The route leading through Hudson's bay was closed by ice much of the year. The great lakes stretched away to the southeast, closed part of the time, and always impeded by the obstructions at the sault Ste. Marie and Niagara until the completion of the Sault and Welland canals. Nearest of all available bases was St. Peter's, in the United States, and deliberate efforts were made to develop a regular trade thither. Fort Snelling had been erected by the United States shortly after the war of 1812, and St. Paul had grown up in its vicinity in the thirties. The Red river carts had already been coming annually to the mouth of St. Peter's river for many years, and the traffic that they began merged without break into the larger freights of the Northern Pacific, the Canadian Pacific, and the Great Northern. In 1845 the council of Assiniboia remitted taxes on one stove per resident per year imported from St. Peter's, and encouraged the export of local goods over this route by allowing exporters to bring in personal goods duty free.

We have in this volume the complete minutes of the council of As-

sinibolia, many letters and other papers of the governors, and part of the minutes of the council for the northern department of Rupert's Land, as well as several useful maps. The printing and proof reading appear to be carefully done, but there are no page references connecting the elaborate table of contents with the printed texts, and it is both difficult and exasperating to thumb over the whole book to find any specific document. It is to be hoped that the second and final volume may have an index.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

Insurgent Mexico. By John Reed. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1914. 326 p. \$1.50 net)

Mr. Reed's book describes insurgent Mexico from the newspaper correspondent's, or magazine writer's point of view. Therein Mr. Reed presents to us a remarkably true and vivid picture of Mexico as it is to-day. Almost without comment on his part he describes the Mexican people, their country, their life, their customs, and so forth, choosing his details with unerring skill, and presenting the picture with charming directness and simplicity. In so doing Mr. Reed has succeeded in bringing before an Anglo-American public a sympathetic picture of a Spanish-American people, making clear therewith some of the striking differences that render understanding and intercourse between the two so difficult.

In reading Mr. Reed's sketches one experiences something of the charm of this untoward country and its exceptional people, child-like, spontaneous, untrammelled by the conventional codes that confine men and women of a more advanced civilization. One appreciates their quick and ready response to the immediate, their disdainful disregard of the remote; one realizes the futility of their revolutionary warfare, lacking any clearly defined course, left in the hands of haphazard leaders, carried on by slightly organized, undisciplined masses of men, most of whom — in common with the peons left at home — have little or no conception of what they are all fighting for.

The extensive ranchos, the stately haciendas, once the scenes of charming Spanish hospitality, now either usurped by revolutionists or occupied by bandit bands; the wretched poverty of the poor peons still living on these estates; the news of warfare constantly coming in from all sides; the "bailles" between battles; the singing and dancing; the cock fighting and gambling; the utter disregard of human life, and the cruelty on so many occasions; such is Mexico today, as Mr. Reed sees it, from the standpoint of the newspaper correspondent, or magazine writer, if you will.

Reed's *Insurgent Mexico* shows the writer as he is and at his best, as a realist in the artistic sense, who describes life as he sees it, on the human side. Always sympathetic, thoroughly steeped in his subject, Mr.

Reed still succeeds in keeping his personality from the pages. Vividly dramatic, full of realism, in itself romance, accurate and sane, are these sketches that Mr. Reed affords us in his *Insurgent Mexico* — a contribution, be it said, to the human and artistic aspects of this trouble-torn country.

LINDLEY M. KEASBEY

Panama. The canal, the country and the people. By Arthur Bullard (Albert Edwards). Revised edition with additional chapters. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914. 601 p. \$2.00 net)

Mr. Bullard's compact book is a veritable cyclopedia of information, set forth in narrative style, concerning Panama, the country, the canal, and the people. Especially instructive is the author's historical account: of the early days after the arrival of the Europeans; of the part played on the isthmus in the revolt from Spain; of the subsequent era of varied misrule, when there was no political principle at stake save local self-government; of the use made by the commercial world of old caravan routes; of the building of the railway and the unsuccessful attempt to construct a waterway from sea to sea; of the recent revolt from Colombia, the independence of the republic, and the actual construction of the Panama canal.

In depicting the Panama people, Mr. Bullard is entirely frank, if not altogether fair. From this account they seem to be a slipshod, lazy folk, cherishing a deep-seated hatred for foreigners, and antagonistic to all attempts to improve their country through outside aid. "The situation," says Mr. Bullard, "furnishes an interesting study of how far political passion can blind people to their economic interests." In the end, however, Mr. Bullard admits his own inability, and that of every other American, really to understand the Panama people; though there may be some virtues among them still undiscovered.

On the other hand Mr. Bullard gives his readers a real impression of the wonderful natural resources of this isthmus country. There are great difficulties, however, in the way of their development. Among these our author points out: the uncertainty of land titles; the absence of roads and bridges, rendering it impossible to install machinery any distance from navigable waters; and, the greatest difficulty of all, the scarcity of suitable labor. Native labor is all but useless, and imported labor is exposed to the ravages of jungle fever, which few, if any, escape. In this connection Mr. Bullard calls our well-deserved attention to the remarkable improvements in sanitation effected under the American government; in his opinion, these improvements, consisting of water-works, ice plants and laundries, plumbing and drainage systems, paving and quarantine re-

quirements, etc., have transformed Panama itself, for instance, from a pesthole into a sanitary, if not actually a salubrious city.

Mr. Bullard's book is delightfully written, in easy, conversational style; it is full of vivid descriptions of the country and interesting incidents in the life of the people. There is an excellent index at the end; altogether the book should add considerably to the voluminous literature on the subject of the American isthmus.

LINDLEY M. KEASBEY

NEWS AND COMMENTS

The resignation of Claude H. Van Tyne from the board of editors of the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW leaves his fellow editors with a keen sense of personal loss; and in announcing that resignation they wish to bear their testimony both to the high value of the assistance and advice that he ever stood ready to contribute freely, and to the pleasant and harmonious relations that always existed between him and his fellow editors.

The American church history seminar of the Catholic University of America, at Washington, D. C., has just published its first *Annual report* on the work done by its member during the academic year, 1914-1915. In addition to work in historical methodology and criticism, the seminar as a whole has undertaken the collection and organization of a complete bibliography of the sources and materials for the study of American church history from 1492 to 1690, an enterprise which will greatly facilitate the future studies of the seminar. Each of the twelve members of the seminar was further set to research on some special subject; and in the field of western history, monographs are promised by Mr. Ammi Brown on the influence of the Quebec act on the American revolution; by Rev. Daniel O'Connell on the Spanish inquisition in the Spanish colonies of the United States; by Rev. Philip Gordon on the historical value of the Jesuit relations.

A brief article by Edgar R. Harlan, curator of the Historical Department of Iowa, is rich in suggestion regarding the use of the motion picture film as historical source material. The three and a half pages of the pamphlet, reprinted from the July, 1915, *Annals of Iowa*, make scarcely a beginning in the subject. It is to be hoped that Mr. Harlan will expand his pioneer effort in this hitherto untouched field.

The October issue of the *Iowa journal of history and politics* indicates a very practical and very modern phase of its field by publishing a discussion of the legislation of the thirty-sixth general assembly of Iowa, which was in session from January to April, 1915. The author is Mr. Frank Edward Horack, of the State University of Iowa. Mr. Jacob Van der Zee, of the same institution, contributes an article on the history of Presbyterianism in Iowa City. A large number of publications

are noticed, and comment is made on the activities of several historical societies. This issue, being the final one for 1915, includes an index to all four numbers of volume XIII.

The latest volume of the *Wisconsin historical collections* is a comprehensive index of the preceding volumes, I-XX.

Homer C. Hockett and Arthur M. Schlesinger have just published a syllabus of United States history. Both authors are of Ohio State University.

In the *Magazine of history* for June, Rev. C. W. Backus, a staff officer of General Merritt, recounts his participation in the fight at Appomattox Court House; Mrs. E. M. Gosse tells of some of the historic places in Old Roxbury, Massachusetts; General Philip Reade continues his article on Massachusetts at Valley Forge; and Rear Admiral C. M. Chester relates "The romantic story of Rebecca Chester of New London." The documentary department contains a letter from Lincoln to Rev. James Lemen, quoted from a paper read by Mr. W. C. MacNaul before the Chicago Historical Society in February, 1915; and a letter written by Franklin to Rev. Dr. Price, published in the *Boston Transcript* about seventy-five years ago, and now in the possession of a venerable gentleman of Boston.

The *Catholic historical review* for October prints an extremely interesting report by Bishop Flaget of the diocese of Bardstown to Pius VII, dated April, 1815, in which is given an account of Catholic activities in the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, and the territories of Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. Two articles in the same number are of general historical interest: "Pioneer efforts in Catholic journalism in the United States (1809-1840)," and "Early conversions to the Catholic church in America (1521-1830)."

The Ohio Valley Historical Association held its ninth annual meeting on October 21 and 22, 1915, at Columbus, Ohio. Five papers were read treating various phases of the general subject: "Early religious development in the Ohio valley." In addition there were single papers on: "Fixing the capital of Ohio"; "Woman suffrage in the constitutional conventions of Ohio"; "Political effects of the panic of 1837"; and "Early newspapers in the Virginias."

Mr. Gilbert A. Tracy of Putnam, Connecticut, has recently printed the lecture delivered by Abraham Lincoln in Cooper's institute, New York, in February, 1860. The booklet includes the speech of introduc-

tion made on that occasion by William Cullen Bryant, and a reprint from the *New York Evening Post* of an account, written by James A. Briggs in 1867, of the negotiations which resulted in the engagement of Mr. Lincoln to deliver the lecture.

On October 9, the forty-fourth anniversary of the great Chicago fire, the Chicago Historical Society dedicated a room in its building to the fire department of Chicago. The room contains exhibits of great interest in the fire of 1871 and the Chicago fire department, the center of attraction being an old hand fire engine, which at the dedication was presented to the society in the name of the city of Chicago by Chief Thomas O'Connor. The address of the evening was made by Colonel Francis A. Eastman, his subject being, "The old volunteer and later fire companies and the great fire of October 8-9, 1871."

Local history in Kentucky literature is the subject of an interesting paper read by Otto A. Rothert before the Louisville Literary Club, September 27, 1915, and privately printed. It is a reckoning of the use already made of episodes of Kentucky history by novelists, poets, and other literary workers, and a suggestion of fields of history and mines of material as yet unworked by them.

The leading article in the *Tennessee historical magazine* for September is entitled "The true route of the Natchez trace." In it Mr. Park Marshall aims to correct "what he considers a serious error in topographical history" in regard to the location of the Natchez trace or Columbian highway, which has received support from even the publications of the bureau of American ethnology. Mr. John H. De Witt concludes the article, begun in the June number, on General James Winchester. The value of the article is increased by the printing of many letters from the Winchester papers. Forty-six carefully annotated letters written by James K. Polk to Cave Johnson, between 1833 and 1848, are contributed by the editor, St. George L. Sioussat.

In the October number of the *Southwestern historical quarterly* appears the first chapter of a study of "Administrative problems of the confederate post-office department," by L. R. Garrison. William Whitley Pierson's study of the case of Texas versus White is concluded in this issue. There are also articles by Robert Finney Miller on "Early Presbyterianism in Texas," and by Charles E. Chapman on "The Alto California supply ships, 1773-76." Another instalment of the series of British correspondence concerning Texas is printed in the documentary department.

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THE LOYALISTS IN WEST FLORIDA AND THE NATCHEZ DISTRICT

During the period 1764 to 1781, West Florida was a British province, and embraced a large part of the present states of Alabama and Mississippi, extending somewhat northward of the site of Montgomery, Alabama. Captain George Johnstone arrived at Pensacola as the first governor under the new régime in February, 1764, accompanied by a British regiment and many highlanders from Charleston and New York. He at once organized the civil government, and garrisoned Fort Charlotte at Mobile, Fort Bute at Manchac, and Fort Panmure at Natchez. The English authorities encouraged immigration, and numerous settlers came in before the revolution from the Carolinas and Georgia, from Great Britain and the British West Indies, from New Jersey, Delaware, and Virginia, and even from the New England colonies. These settlers formed communities between Manchac and Baton Rouge, in the Natchez country and in the region drained by the bayou Sara, the Homochitto, and the bayou Pierre. In November, 1776, a fresh contingent of New Englanders, led by Captain Mathew Phelps, settled on the Big Black river. Many highlanders who had joined the royal standard under Brigadier General Donald McDonald in North Carolina, February 1, 1776, only to be defeated by the state troops, took refuge in West Florida soon after. Among the people who established homes on the shores of the Tombigbee and Mobile bay were large numbers of adherents to the British cause who had fled hither through the trackless forests from Georgia and

South Carolina in the early days of the revolution. Other refugees from the same colonies located on the Tensas river and lake, where a settlement grew up which is said to have approached Mobile in population.¹

When William Bartram, the botanist, visited Mobile in the summer of 1777, he found it the center of an extensive trade with the Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creeks, with a population consisting of a few French and a larger number of people from the northern colonies and Great Britain. The town then extended back from the river nearly half a mile, but contained some vacant houses and others that were in ruins. Pensacola was already a place of several hundred habitations, including the governor's stone mansion with its tower, and the spacious residences occupied by the provincial secretary and certain prosperous merchants and professional men. The officers' houses, together with the council chamber and the barracks for the garrison, were all within the stockaded, tetragonal fortress.

Gathered from all parts of the British dominions, largely cut off from intercourse with the other American colonies, and surrounded by numerous Indian tribes, the white population of West Florida, like that of its sister province to the eastward, had in general no desire to join in the revolution. But there was danger of an outside attack on the Floridas, and the British commander in chief, General Howe, desired therefore that the Indians should be secured for their defense. He clearly expressed this desire in his orders of August 25, 1776, both to Governor Patrick Tonyn at St. Augustine and to Colonel John Stuart, the superintendent of Indian affairs at Pensacola. The friendship of the tribes if secured, was, however, to be strongly supported by the troops already in West Florida, which were supplemented in the fall of 1776 by the arrival of the Royal American regiment, a corps of loyalists recently raised by Colonel Beverley Robinson in New Jersey and New York. Notwithstanding official intimations that there were some enemies of the crown even in West Florida, Howe was disposed to rely

¹ A. J. Pickett, *History of Alabama and incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi from the earliest period* (Birmingham, 1900), 320, 323, 331, 332, 334, 336, 339; John F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi, as a province, territory, and state with biographical notices of eminent citizens* (Jackson, 1880), 1: 94, 102, 109, 135, 416.

for the present mainly on the troops in the peninsula and on the savages. In order to secure unity of action, all the troops in this region were placed under the command of Brigadier General Augustine Prevost in May, 1777.²

But already the cloud that was to prove ruinous to British interests in the twin provinces had appeared to the southward. The king's armed sloop, *West Florida*, had given offense in the previous April to the Spanish governor of Louisiana by seizing some small vessels containing cargoes of wine and tobacco, and Galvez had retaliated by the seizure of all the English shipping he could find in the Mississippi, on the score that it was engaged in the contraband trade. This breach of relations was followed by the erection of temporary works and new barracks at Pensacola, the holding of a council with the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations at Mobile, and the hurried dispatch of two ships from New York, one loaded with provisions and the other with presents for the Indians. By the succeeding November the revolutionary party of Georgia, through the agency of Galphin, was threatening the Cherokee with destruction for their attachment to the royal cause, while it had already seduced the northern Creeks from their allegiance to England. In consequence, Colonel Stuart issued a proclamation forbidding trade with this nation, particularly the trade in rum, and proceeded to embody two companies of refugees, one a troop of light horsemen under the command of Alexander Cameron, the other company being placed in charge of Captain Richard Pearis, himself a fugitive from the vicinity of Charleston, who had entered West Florida a few months before in company with six others. The duty assigned to the second of these companies was the suppression of the rum trade at Mobile bay.³

The withdrawal of all traders from the Creek nation brought in six hundred Indians from the friendly towns of the lower Creeks, together with a deputation from the rebellious Cupitalis. Numerous conferences followed, and when the highly educated

² A. B. Meek, *Romantic passages in southwestern history; including orations, sketches and essays* (New York, 1857), 89; Pickett, *History of Alabama*, 342; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain* (London, 1904), 1: 56, 73, 84, 107, 108.

³ *Ibid.*, 118, 123, 137, 147, 182, 186, 187.

and influential half-breed chief of the Creeks, Alexander McGillivray, appeared at Pensacola bearing a message of repentance from the Oakfuskee, another of the rebellious tribes, he was sent back with an invitation for the Oakfuskee chiefs to come and meet Colonel Stuart in council. Meanwhile, Pensacola had become the rendezvous of many of the Creeks and five hundred of the Cherokee, the latter having arrived in a naked and forlorn condition. The principal chiefs among the disaffected tribes appear to have seized the earliest opportunity to return to their allegiance to the crown, besides taking immediate steps to expel the few American traders whom Galphin had recently sent amongst them. The Seminole Creeks had not wavered in their loyalty and were now, early in February, 1778, being solicited by Colonel Stuart to be prepared for action when they should be summoned. The sufferings of the Cherokee under the wrath of the Georgians and their prompt relief by the superintendent of Indian affairs rendered them obedient to the latter's demands for active service on occasion; and parties of the Choctaw and Chickasaw, accompanied by a few whites, were already scouting on the Mississippi river, while large bands of the Kawita, according to McGillivray, were demonstrating their loyalty by attacks upon the revolutionists.⁴

Whatever duties the scouting parties of the Chickasaw and Choctaw may have performed, they failed to afford the protection then needed by the settlements on the lower Mississippi, including those of the Natchez district. This district, with which we are specially concerned here, extended a distance of one hundred ten miles up the river from Loftus Cliffs to the mouth of the Yazoo, being ten miles wide at the upper end and forty at the lower. Besides the people from New England and elsewhere who settled in this region before the revolution and in the fall of 1776, numerous Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina also entered the Natchez country in order to escape from the divided sentiments of friends and neighbors in the colonies from which they came. In 1776 the town of Natchez was already in existence, but contained only twenty log and frame houses, which were all on the river bottom below the bluff. This small village could boast of four

⁴ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution*, 1: 189, 190, 197, 199, 204, 206.

merchants, one of the number being James Willing, who had removed hither from Pennsylvania in 1774. Three years later Willing had returned to Philadelphia, where his family were prominent in colonial affairs, and obtained from congress a commission as captain in the navy for the purpose of undertaking an expedition down the Mississippi to win the inhabitants along its banks to neutrality and to bring back provisions. As a former resident and trader in the district, Willing enjoyed a wide acquaintance among the older settlers on the river, and it might be expected that his task would not prove difficult among the new families many of whom had moved in since the war began because they were disinclined to take sides against friends and kindred in their old neighborhoods. Others had come however, because their loyalty to the king had rendered them obnoxious to the whigs in the states where they had previously lived.⁵

On January 10, 1778, Captain Willing embarked at Pittsburg in an armed boat called the *Rattletrap* with a "crew" of twenty-eight or twenty-nine men. Six weeks later he was at Natchez, where on February 21 he received the capitulation of William Hiorn and seven others who are described in the original document as "delegates" for the district. Governor Peter Chester wrote a long letter from Pensacola under the date of March 21 to Major General Prevost at St. Augustine concerning Willing's activities. In this letter the governor states that the rebel captain had been able to increase his force to about one hundred men on his way down the Ohio and Mississippi and, by sending detachments into the Natchez country, had succeeded in taking the magistrates and persons of influence by surprise, thus extracting from them an engagement of neutrality. The Americans had then proceeded down the river, taking with them the negroes and other property of Colonel Anthony Hutchens, and on February 23, an advanced detachment of the rebels had seized the armed ship *Rebecca* at Manchac and made the inhabitants of that settlement prisoners on their parole. Meanwhile, the rest of the invading company, which was joined by several

⁵ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American manuscripts in the Royal Institution*, 1: 213; Claiborne, *Mississippi, as a province, territory and state*, 1: 95, 103, 113, 115, 116, 135; Reuben G. Thwaites and Louise P. Kellogg, *Frontier defence on the upper Ohio, 1777-1778* (Madison, 1912), 191 n.

men from the Natchez settlement and a number of French and Spanish bateau men, together with other banditti, "laid waste" all the settlements from Manchac to Pointe Coupée, burning several houses and appropriating the property of the inhabitants, except in a few instances. With this booty a detachment went on to New Orleans, where, according to report, it was to be auctioned off by Oliver Pollock, the agent of the American congress. Below New Orleans this detachment had captured the brig *Neptune*, its numbers having increased on the way down the river to between three and four hundred men, according to the latest reports received by Governor Chester.⁶

The governor had taken immediate action by sending the king's war sloops *Sylph* and *Hound* to the Mississippi to intercept other rebel craft that might be coming to the support of Willing's party and to demand from the governor of Louisiana the restitution of the property brought by the Americans into his territory. At the same time he had remonstrated against Galvez's affording protection or furnishing supplies to the rebels. Inasmuch as Governor Chester had received word that a force of two or three thousand men was preparing to descend upon West Florida from Pittsburg in the following May, he suggested to General Prevost that one of the sloops be ordered up the river to Manchac to obstruct the passage of the Pittsburg contingent and also prevent the return of Captain Willing and his men. That Willing's depredations among the settlements on the Mississippi had produced a result very different from that intended by the American congress appears from the circumstance that the inhabitants of the Natchez district now appealed to Governor Chester to send them one hundred men from the garrison at Pensacola, in order that they might break their neutrality and resist the rebels, while the settlers at Mobile also applied for reinforcements. Colonel Stuart sent one of his commissaries to set the Indians in motion, and the governor took steps to raise a new corps of loyalists for the expedition to the Natchez. He also requested General Prevost to send as many

⁶ Thwaites and Kellogg, *Pioneer defence on the upper Ohio*, 191 n., 202, 203; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American manuscripts in the Royal Institution*, 1: 197, 213; Claiborne, *Mississippi, as a province, territory and state*, 1: 118.

troops as could be spared from St. Augustine, in order that a detachment might be supplied to Mobile, and that the garrison at Natchez might be strengthened sufficiently to restore the confidence of the inhabitants there, as otherwise a general exodus of all the settlers on the lower Mississippi and in the adjacent parts of West Florida was to be expected. Although General Prevost found it impracticable to comply with Governor Chester's demand for troops, Governor Tonyn of East Florida wrote, March 31, 1778, that he had dispatched three vessels "to scour the inland passage and frustrate the designs of the Rebels." Later, word reached St. Augustine that two of these, namely, the *Rebecca* and the *Hinchenbrook*, had fallen a prey to the invaders. Tonyn also ordered Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown and his regiment of East Florida Rangers to penetrate the province of Georgia as a corps of observation. It may be added that Brown did not return until he had destroyed Fort Barrington, sometime in the latter part of March.⁷

Meanwhile, the people in the Natchez country had been warned by Colonel Hutchens, who had been carried off a prisoner by Willing's men but had since escaped, that the Americans contemplated a second attack on the river settlements. Accordingly, the settlers immediately formed an armed association of some three hundred members and sustained an attack near White Cliffs, in which a number of the Natchez men were wounded and eight of the enemy were killed. It was just after this experience that those inhabitants of the district who were capable of bearing arms volunteered for garrison duty, repaired Fort Panmure, sent a detachment of their number to Manchac, which was being plundered by some of Willing's men, and garrisoned the old fort there with a party of associated settlers. Having decided that they were no longer bound by their oath of neutrality, they also applied for reinforcements, as seen from Governor Chester's letter to Prevost which we have given above in substance. In response to this application, Chester sent them a detachment of seventy-five soldiers from his garrison to

⁷ Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier defence on the upper Ohio*, 191, n.; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American manuscripts in the Royal Institution*, 1: 213, 221, 236, 239, 260; William H. Siebert, "The legacy of the American revolution to the British West Indies and Bahamas," in the Ohio State University, *Bulletin*, 17: no. 27, p. 6.

take post at Manchac, and a small body of Loyal Carolina Refugees under the command of Captain Michael Jackson to garrison Fort Panmure. Jackson soon made himself unendurable by his oppressive treatment of the volunteers and inhabitants generally and was placed under arrest by Colonel Hutchens; Captain Thaddeus Lyman was then put in charge by the associated loyalists at Natchez. Jackson, however, had the support of about thirty deserters and others, and kept the garrison in a distracted condition for several days, being able by his treacherous dealings to reinstate himself in command twice during this period. Then Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Dickson, the commandant at Manchac, dispatched Captain Foster to assume control at Natchez, and Jackson and his followers secretly decamped, carrying with them all the portable property of the fort they could lay their hands on. Those remaining behind who had acted with Jackson were sent under guard to Pensacola, where several were ordered shot.⁸ Willing and the rest of his party, meantime, had sailed from Manchac to the Tensas settlements above Mobile, and had tried to enlist the people there in their cause. In 1779 Captain Willing sent his troops north under the command of Lieutenant Robert George, who placed them under the orders of General George Rogers Clark. But Willing himself proceeded to Mobile, was captured there and placed in confinement in the stone keep of Fort Charlotte. He narrowly escaped being hanged in the plaza in front of that fortress; but was shipped to New York at the close of the year.⁹

If Willing's adventures accomplished nothing for the Americans, they at any rate moved the new commander in chief of the British forces, Sir Henry Clinton, to send one thousand troops under Brigadier General John Campbell to Pensacola, at the same time that he dispatched three thousand under Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell to take possession of Savannah. Clinton's instructions to the former officer made it clear that he was to assume command of the king's soldiers in West Florida,

⁸ Claiborne, *Mississippi, as a province, territory and state*, 1: 121-123; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American manuscripts in the Royal Institution*, 1: 260; Pickett, *History of Alabama*, 348, 349.

⁹ Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier defence on the upper Ohio*, 192 n.; Meek, *Romantic passages in southwestern history*, 90.

that a new fort, already ordered to be erected at Manchac, was to be garrisoned with three hundred men, and that two galleys were to be provided for the protection of inland navigation and the prevention of subsequent invasions. The troops which arrived at Pensacola at the close of December, 1778, included two provincial corps, namely, the Pennsylvania Loyalists under the command of Lieutenant Colonel William Allen, and the Maryland Loyalists under that of Lieutenant Colonel James Chalmers. The strength of these regiments at the end of the following February was 183 and 331 men, respectively. Lieutenant Hugh Mackay Gordon of the Sixteenth regiment of foot, who mustered them, wrote in March that the Maryland Loyalists could not be mustered until February 22, owing to the number sick with the smallpox, which had carried off a great many and had induced General Campbell to disperse one company. The writer described Pensacola as "the worst place in the world," where nothing was to be had but lean pork and beef, except poultry which was extravagantly dear, and added that the only thing in which the place abounded was a beautiful white sand that circulated freely.¹⁰ General Campbell found conditions there so much to his distaste that after a residence of two and a third months he asked to be relieved, asserting that he was unequal to the fatigue and trouble afflicting him.¹¹

About a month later this general threw some light upon the situation among the loyalists on the Mississippi by reporting that Captain Hutchens' and Captain Syman's [Lyman's] independent companies, having officers and noncommissioned officers with few or no men under their command, were to be reduced, and that Captain [Francis] Miller's company, which was still on foot, was to be treated as military or as bateau men. General Campbell also referred to the alarming situation of the garrison at Manchac, which had recently suffered from inundation, was experiencing difficulties in obtaining provisions, was suffering

¹⁰ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American manuscripts in the Royal Institution*, 1: 314, 323, 339; *Winslow papers, A. D. 1776-1826*, edited by Reverend W. O. Raymond, M.A. (St. John, N. B., 1901), 39; Reverend W. O. Raymond's manuscript notes on Colonel Edward Winslow's muster rolls (St. John, N. B.).

¹¹ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American manuscripts in the Royal Institution*, 1: 396.

losses by desertion, and was finding that material for the construction of the new fort could not be secured in less than twelve months.¹²

In the meantime Colonel John Stuart had died at Pensacola on February 21, 1779, and at the end of April Clinton had appointed Captain Alexander Cameron as superintendent of Indian affairs. Cameron was absent on official business in the Cherokee country at the time, and remained so all summer, with the result that the Indian department fell into a state of confusion. Early in May Campbell reported to the commander in chief that the Sixteenth regiment was worn out in the service, and requested another in its place, together with a force of carpenters to make possible the erection of the fort at Manchac. He also discovered that the governor of Louisiana was trying to win the Choctaw to the cause of Spain. At length, on June 15, 1779, the Spanish monarchy declared war against England. Under these circumstances it is not difficult to understand why Spanish officers paid frequent visits to the Natchez district during the same summer. The report that Colonel George Rogers Clark had been victorious at Vincennes in the previous February led Campbell to reinforce Lieutenant Colonel Dickson at Manchac with the grenadier company of the Waldeck regiment, and to deem it prudent to forward the remainder of this corps to the Mississippi as rapidly as transports could be procured. On August 20, the independence of the American states was proclaimed at New Orleans "by beat of drum," and nine days later two British transports returning from the Amite river where they had just landed a detachment of the Waldeck troops, were seized at Galveston by the Spaniards, while Galvez was seen marching with considerable force towards Manchac. The strength of the British at this post and at Natchez was at the time, September 14, about 457 men, not including the officers. General Campbell was already at Red Cliffs, at the entrance of Pensacola harbor, as were also the Pennsylvania Loyalists. The number of vessels in the harbor was insufficient to carry more than two hundred fifty men, although Campbell expected to obtain others from Mobile. He had only one armed vessel at hand, a second being on lake Pontchartrain. The rest of his

¹² Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American manuscripts in the Royal Institution*, 1: 397, 411, 443, 446, 470.

force was presumably standing on the defensive at Pensacola and Mobile. Thus situated, General Campbell had good reason for writing to Clinton representing his inability to execute Lord George Germain's orders to attack New Orleans. It is, however, stated in some private correspondence of the time that an expedition for this purpose was ready to embark, when the news came that Don Galvez had obliged the British troops on the Mississippi to capitulate.¹³

According to local historians, Galvez stormed Fort Bute at Manchac on September 7, 1779, and then advanced up the river with fifteen hundred men to Baton Rouge, whither Colonel Dickson had retreated to make his stand in a more tenable position behind a redoubt and lines lately thrown up at Watt and Flower's plantation. Dickson's force at this point is said to have comprised four hundred regulars and one hundred fifty militia of the country. The commandant's resistance was spirited, though brief, and he capitulated on September 21, surrendering the British posts on the lower Mississippi, the Amite, and Thompson's creek, and the entire Natchez district. Leaving Colonel Grandpre in command at Natchez, Galvez now returned to New Orleans, and made preparations to reduce Mobile. After breasting a hurricane, he summoned Elias Durnford, the commandant of Fort Charlotte, to surrender on March 1, 1780. Durnford was able to hold out until the thirteenth, when he also capitulated, agreeing to hand over to Spain the whole region from the Perdido to the Pearl.¹⁴

The next task of Galvez was to take Pensacola. To this end he brought reinforcements and heavy artillery from Havana, and early in April sent a proposal to Campbell for the neutrality of the Indians, a large body of whom had been assembled in the provincial capital. However, the savages lacked the patience to await the Spanish attack and departed day by day, while those who lingered fixed on April 19 or 20 as the date of their departure. At the end of November 1779, Campbell had disbanded the two companies of Loyal Refugees raised by Colonel Stuart two years before, but in the following year found it expedient to

¹³ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American manuscripts in the Royal Institution*, 1: 403, 423, 424, 427, 431, 448, 470, 477; 2 (1906): 28, 30, 31, 33, 63.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 2: 72, 77, 102; Claiborne, *Mississippi, as a province, territory and state*, 1: 125.

form a new troop, called the West Florida Royal Foresters, and to erect a redoubt at Red Cliffs for the defense of Pensacola harbor. The troop of Foresters numbered only forty-three on April 1, 1781, while the united corps of Pennsylvania and Maryland Loyalists contained but three hundred ten, rank and file, on February 1 of the same year. Campbell's other forces comprised the following regiments: the Royal American, the Third Waldeck, the Sixteenth, the third battalion of the Sixtieth, and a company of Royal Artillery. In the opening days of January, 1781, the Spanish troop ships assembled in Mobile bay, and at daylight on the seventh a large detachment from Pensacola, consisting of the third battalion of the Sixtieth regiment, the Waldeck soldiers, the Royal Foresters, and the Pennsylvania and Maryland Loyalists, attacked the enemy's post at Mobile village, only to be repulsed. Some British ships that were ordered to coöperate with the land forces in this assault were prevented from doing so by the weather and the ebb tide.¹⁵

Galvez now marched his land forces, estimated at four thousand French and Spanish, to Pensacola, and his fleet entered the harbor there about March 12. From this date until May 9, the bombardment of the place continued with little intermission. During the siege, according to the journal of one of the defenders of Fort George, the loyalist volunteers, the Indians, and the Pennsylvania and Maryland regiments distinguished themselves by their courageous attacks on the enemy. On the night of May 8, a shell falling upon the magazine, exploded it and carried away the principal part of the advanced works, besides killing more than a hundred men in the fort. This disaster gave the Spanish the opportunity to approach from the landward side and fire at close range, thus considerably increasing the death roll of the British. The situation of those in the beleaguered town had now become so desperate that General Campbell and Governor Chester signed articles of surrender on May 9, yielding the whole province to the arms of Spain. More than a year later Campbell proudly asserted his belief that history would exonerate him for his defeat. This sentiment he expressed in a

¹⁵ Claiborne, *Mississippi, as a province, territory and state*, 1: 125; Reverend W. O. Raymond's manuscript notes on Colonel Edward Winslow's muster rolls; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American manuscripts in the Royal Institution*, 2: 122, 146, 159, 161, 201, 233, 234, 246.

letter of June 17, 1782, to Galvez in which he gloried in the recollection, as he put it, of the resistance which his "handfull of gallant and intrepid officers and men" had offered to the "multitude of foes (in the combined forces of France and Spain)" in a manner which he would leave "to the chaste pen of a candid historian to relate."¹⁶

The settlers in the Natchez district had been astonished by Galvez's easy victory at Baton Rouge, but were fully convinced that he would be overwhelmed at Pensacola. They therefore sent a courier to Campbell, evidently during the Spanish bombardment of the provincial capital, proposing to make a diversion in his favor by rising and recapturing Fort Panmure. The general returned a favorable answer, together with commissions for their officers in order, as he explained, to prevent the emigration of the people of Mobile and Natchez from West Florida. As matters turned out, he could scarcely have hit on a surer way of promoting their exodus. The officers who were involved in this plot were Colonel Anthony Hutchens, Captains Thaddeus Lyman, Jacob Blomart, Jacob Winfrey, Philip and John Alston, Thomas Lyman, and Christian Bingaman. At the head of a large number of loyalists, these men took their position on an eminence north of Natchez, April 22, 1781, and were joined there by fifty warriors of the Choctaw nation, who had come in with the courier on his way back from Pensacola. Under the cover of night the insurgents planted their artillery so as to bear on the fort, and the next day an exchange of artillery fire occurred. On the twenty-ninth, the Spanish commandant sent a flag of truce to Colonel Hutchens, promising clemency to the armed settlers, if they would surrender their leaders and disperse. The royalists promised to return an answer within twenty-four hours, but instead sent a forged letter, purporting to contain the intelligence that Fort Panmure had been mined, that the people of the country were joining the insurgents in large numbers, and that the commandant could only save his garrison by surrender. The ruse was successful, the fort capitulated, and the Spaniards were permitted to withdraw to Baton Rouge under escort. On the way thither the escorting party

¹⁶ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American manuscripts in the Royal Institution*, 2: 279, 281, 286; 3 (1907): 22; Claiborne, *Mississippi as a province, territory and state*, 1: 126.

under Captain Winfrey sighted a body of the enemy and some Indians coming up the river and fled in consternation, although in a skirmish that followed fourteen were killed and some captured. The remainder, who with friends joining them numbered about two hundred, prepared to make a stand against the Spaniards at White Cliffs, but soon received word that General Campbell had been defeated and that West Florida had become a Spanish province.¹⁷

Thus, nothing remained for the insurgents except to seek safety in flight. Accordingly, they gathered their families, horses, and movable effects together and fled to the cane swamps. Thence more than one hundred individuals, besides slaves, set out on horseback, with their meagre belongings and supplies packed on other horses, for the British settlements on the Savannah. In the course of their wanderings, which lasted five months, they traveled over the prairies in the present state of Mississippi, suffering the pangs of thirst in a season that was unusually dry; they were deprived of their pack horses and plundered of their effects by hunting parties of Indians; they made a detour near the Tennessee river and penetrated the mountains of Blount county, Alabama, and in July 1781, worn and starving, they were fortunate enough to find temporary shelter and refreshment in the Creek town at Hickory Ground in the southern part of the present Wetumpka, on the east bank of the Coosa river. Thus rested and recuperated, the party proceeded on its journey, crossing the Tallapoosa, Chattahoochee, and Flint. Then the fugitives divided into two groups, one of which turned in the direction of East Florida, and succeeded in reaching Savannah in safety. The other group fell into the hands of the whigs, but being released, appears to have arrived at the same destination. We are informed that General Lyman and his three sons were among these refugees, and that when the British evacuated Georgia in July, 1782, one of the sons went to New York, another to Nova Scotia, and the third to the island of New Providence in the Bahamas. Two others, namely, Doctor Dwight and his wife, returned to Northampton, Massachu-

¹⁷ Claiborne, *Mississippi as a province, territory and state*, 1: 126-130; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American manuscripts in the Royal Institution*, 2: 246, 300; Pickett, *History of Alabama*, 351-360.

setts, the doctor being afterwards lost on a voyage to Nova Scotia.¹⁸

Colonel Hutchens and twenty other men lingered in concealment until they learned that a party of Choctaw was in pursuit of them. Then they started on horseback to overtake the larger party, whose wanderings and sufferings have been briefly described above. On the second night of their flight they were overtaken by the Indians and all were slain but Hutchens and one companion, who managed to escape to Savannah. Thence Mr. Hutchens went to London, where he remained several years, after which he was permitted to return to Natchez through the intercession of the influential loyalist merchant, William Panton at Pensacola, with the Spanish authorities. Then John Alston with another small party of loyalists, which seems to have included Captains Blomart and Winfrey, Parker Carradine, George Rapalje, John Smith, and William Eason, made his way to the Creek nation, where he and his companions were arrested by the Indians. After being carried to Mobile, they were forwarded to New Orleans and condemned to death on the charge of rebellion, but were pardoned by the governor.¹⁹

Still a fourth party of those active in the revolt and consisting of Captain Thaddeus Lyman, Philip Alston, Christian Bingham, John Ogg, Caleb Hansborough, John Watkins, William Case, John Turner, Thomas James, Philip Mulkey, Ebenezer Cossett, Thompson Lyman, and Nathaniel Johnson, escaped to the Cumberland settlements in Tennessee. Like the band which had been transported to New Orleans, the members of this party were pardoned and permitted to return to their homes in the Natchez district. Although the Spanish government had confiscated the property of the loyalists, it now cancelled these confiscations in numerous instances, while in other instances it nullified purchases of lands from those insurgents who had sold

¹⁸ John W. Monette, *History of the discovery and settlement of the valley of the Mississippi, by the three great European powers, Spain, France, and Great Britain, and the subsequent occupation, settlement and extension of civil government by the United States until the year 1846* (New York, 1846), 462, 463; Pickett, *History of Alabama*, 360; Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York* (London, 1823), 1: 306-316.

¹⁹ Pickett, *History of Alabama*, 360; Claiborne, *Mississippi, as a province, territory and state*, 1: 131, 133.

out before effecting their escape. The properties thus recovered were restored in whole or in part to the original owners, or to their wives and children.²⁰

Whether any of the refugees from West Florida became dwellers among the Indians in the present states of Alabama and Mississippi is not known, although local historians assert that many loyalists did so. James G. Gunn, a native of Virginia, was one of those who found an asylum among the Chickasaw, settling first near Toshish in what was later known as Pontotoc county and afterwards in Lee county, Mississippi. Mr. Gunn grew wealthy and owned many negro slaves. It is said that he celebrated the birthday of George III throughout his life, and forbade the commemoration of the fourth of July on his plantations. His name is perpetuated in that of "Guntown" in Lee county. Among the tories who sought shelter in the Chickasaw country now constituting Montgomery county, Alabama, were James Russell, Thomas Love, and Messrs. Allen and Pickens. Love married an Indian wife and lived near the site of Mount Meigs. Four of his sons became chiefs among the Chickasaw. Allen acquired a farm near Tocopola. Little is known of Pickens, except that he came from South Carolina, where his family had espoused the cause of American independence.²¹

At least one important loyalist remained in West Florida after the Spanish conquest. This was the Scotchman, William Panton, whose large estates in Georgia and South Carolina had been confiscated on account of his adherence to the British crown, and who established himself on St. Mary's river early in the revolution. Later he removed to Pensacola, where he was carrying on an extensive trade when Galvez took that place in 1781. He soon entered into an agreement with the Spanish authorities, which proved of mutual benefit, affording Mr. Panton the opportunity of uninterrupted commerce, while the new government of West Florida secured the benefit of his influence over the Indian tribes south of the Tennessee river. Moreover, Pan-

²⁰ Claiborne, *Mississippi, as a province, territory and state*, 1: 133-135.

²¹ Mississippi Historical Society, *Publications* (Oxford), 8: 543, 545, 560, 586, 587; Pickett, *History of Alabama*, 421, 422.

ton introduced Colonel Alexander McGillivray, the representative of the Creek and Seminole nations, to the Spanish governor of Pensacola, with the result that an arrangement was entered into by which these tribes were to become allies of Spain, make peace with the Chickasaw and Cherokee, surrender all intruders who came to stir up rebellion against the Spanish government, deliver up any white subjects of the United States taking shelter among them, besides fugitive slaves from Louisiana and Florida, and abandon the practice of taking scalps in war. In return for these concessions the Creeks and Seminole were to receive the rights of trade at the most advantageous places. That Mr. Panton sacrificed nothing by his services to the new government appears from the fact that in 1789 the firm of Panton, Leslie, and Company was in possession of large trading establishments at St. John's, St. Mark's, St. Augustine, Mobile, Pensacola, and at Chickasaw Bluff on the Mississippi. The most important of these was at Pensacola, and comprised a store usually containing a stock worth fifty thousand dollars, together with warehouses where furs and skins were assorted and packed for the foreign markets, being shipped in schooners belonging to the firm, which constituted a fleet of fifteen vessels.²²

Of those who were taken prisoner at Pensacola, some families were detained there on account of sickness. When they were able to depart, they were shipped to New York by way of Havana before the end of December, 1781. Brigadier General John Campbell and Captain Adam Chrystie, the latter being the commanding officer of the Royal Foresters, may have gone with this contingent. At any rate, the latter is known to have been at Newton, Long Island, early in April, 1782, and the former in New York city by the middle of the following month. There were fourteen Royal Foresters, sixty-eight Pennsylvania Loyalists, and one hundred thirty-seven Maryland Loyalists still at Pensacola on April 24, of the same year. Doubtless they were sent north soon after, some of them being placed in the hospital on their arrival at New York. Indeed, hospital accounts dated June 24, 1782, are still extant for part of the Loyal American

²² Claiborne, *Mississippi, as a province, territory and state*, 132 n.; Pickett, *History of Alabama*, 2: 60, 96.

regiment, as well as for part of the Maryland and Pennsylvania corps.²³

On September 12, 1783, Sir Guy Carleton ordered eleven corps of loyalist troops and detachments of three others transported from that rendezvous of American Tories to the St. John river in what is now the province of New Brunswick. Among these corps were the Loyal American regiment and the Pennsylvania and Maryland Loyalists. Most of the families of the Maryland corps sailed in the ship *Martha* with the fall fleet, but their vessel was wrecked late in the same month, off the Tusket river, and over one hundred lives were lost. "It is recorded," says Paul Leicester Ford, "that the troop stood drawn up in company order, while the women and children were ordered into the boats, and the few survivors among the men were chiefly saved by clinging to the wreckage." In an undated list of persons who embarked for Nova Scotia, probably aboard the fated transport, we find the names of Lieutenant Colonel James Chalmers, organizer of the troop, and Lieutenant Colonel William Allen of the Pennsylvania Loyalists. Captain Adam Chrystie of the Royal Foresters was in New York city November 3, when he signed a petition for a grant of land in Nova Scotia. A census of the disbanded corps and loyalists on the river St. John, bearing the same date, shows two hundred eighty-nine Loyal Americans, seventy-three Pennsylvania Loyalists, and seventy-two Maryland Loyalists. These numbers included the women and children, as well as the men. Most of these people were already settled on their lands, the location of the Marylanders being on the east side of the river in the parish of St. Mary's, and that of the Pennsylvanians being in Southampton and Northampton parishes on the same side. Part of the Loyal American regiment also settled on the St. John, being scattered in various communities, while the remainder went to Nova Scotia.²⁴

²³ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American manuscripts in the Royal Institution*, 2: 372, 439, 489, 514, 535, 540; Reverend W. O. Raymond's manuscript notes on Colonel Edward Winslow's muster rolls; Siebert, "The legacy of the American revolution to the British West Indies and Bahamas," in the Ohio State University, *Bulletin*, 17: no. 27, p. 13.

²⁴ Raymond, *Winslow papers*, 132, 133, 156 n., 211 n., 243 n., 244, 245; *Orderly book of the "Maryland loyalists regiment," June 18th, 1778, to October 12th, 1778. Including general orders issued by Sir Henry Clinton, Baron Wilhelm von Kuy-*

phausen, Sir William Erskine, Charles, Lord Cornwallis, General William Tryon, and General Oliver De Lancy. Kept by Captain Caleb Jones, edited by Paul L. Ford (Brooklyn, 1891), 2; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American manuscripts in the Royal Institution*, 4 (1909): 105, 380, 409, 420, 443, 479; New Brunswick Historical Society, *Collections* (St. John, N. B.), no. 5, p. 206, 207.

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EARLY NEGRO DEPORTATION PROJECTS

In colonial days negroes were sent out of the country as a punishment for crime. A law existed in Pennsylvania in 1705 which provided for the transportation¹ without the province of any negro, slave or free, who was convicted on the charge of attempted rape, or "robbing, stealing, or fraudulently taking and carrying away any goods, living or dead, above the value of Five pounds." Previous to transportation, which was at the expense of the owner in case of a slave or of the convict himself in case of a free negro, the culprit was flogged and branded.² Pennsylvania did not reimburse slave-holders when their slaves were executed by the colony. In 1707, when two slaves guilty of burglary were condemned to death, their owners petitioned the authorities for the privilege of selling and transporting the convicts without the province; this request was granted on condition that the slaves receive severe public whippings at the cart's tail on three successive market days, and in the meantime lie in irons in prison at the owner's expense.³

The statutes of South Carolina and Virginia relating to the punishment of negro slaves were similar to the Pennsylvania law of 1705. Madison wrote in 1783 that his slave, Billy, had coveted "that liberty for which we have paid the price of so much blood," and for this reason he was not a fit companion for fellow slaves in Virginia, but he could not think of punishing him by transportation.⁴ In addition to the regulation pro-

¹ The practice of deportation was not unknown. As early as 1646 Massachusetts returned to Africa a cargo of negroes, landed on her shores, on the ground that they had been kidnapped. *Records of the governor and company of Massachusetts bay in New England* (Boston, 1853), 2: 168, 176; 3: 13, 46, 49, 58, 84. Similarly Rhode Island returned some free negroes to the Spanish colonies in 1746. William E. B. DuBois, *The suppression of the African slave trade to the United States of America* (*Harvard historical studies*, vol. 1 — New York, 1896), 289.

² *Laws of Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, Pa., 1801), 1: 45, 46.

³ *Minutes of the provincial council of Pennsylvania* [*Colonial records*] (Philadelphia, 1852), 2: 402.

⁴ James Madison, *Writings* (Hunt ed. — New York, 1900-1910), 2: 15.

viding for the deportation of criminal blacks, Virginia enacted in 1691 that any white marrying a negro, a mulatto, or an Indian should be banished from the colony forever;⁵ and the practice of transporting Indian captives to the West Indies and selling them to the planters as slaves was generally approved by the colonists.⁶

Deportation as a penalty for law-breaking and for participation in rebellion had long been used, and it is not strange that the colonists should follow this practice in dealing with the criminal negroes; not infrequently today in local courts habitual drunkards and those guilty of petty offenses are ordered to leave the city limits. Some of the colonists themselves were deported criminals. In Virginia, in order to limit the number of free negroes and to relieve the state of that class of its population so often guilty of sheltering runaway slaves, receiving stolen goods, and making requisitions for poor relief, a law was enacted in 1691 forbidding further emancipation of slaves unless the owner provided for their transportation beyond the limits of the colony within six months from the date of manumission. For violating this law a fine of ten pounds was imposed, which was used to send the freedmen out of the colony.⁷

About a century later as a result of the revolutionary philosophy, a widespread sentiment for liberating the slaves manifested itself in all parts of the United States; some of the states abolished slavery outright, others provided for gradual emancipation; while the remaining states, chiefly those in the South, made possible or extended the privilege of voluntary manumission. Virginia falls in this last group of states; slaves there might be liberated by special act of the assembly, by deed or by

⁵ William W. Hening, *Statutes at large; being a collection of all the laws of Virginia from the first session of the legislature in 1619* (New York, Philadelphia and Richmond, 1819-1823), 3: 87.

⁶ Edward Channing, *History of the United States* (New York, 1905-1912), 2: 399.

⁷ Hening, *Statutes at large*, 3: 87, 88. The law was designed to prevent an increase in the number of free negroes: the transportation charge would restrain the owner, and the prospect of banishment would curb the slave's desire for freedom. If these restraints failed to prevent manumission, the state still would not suffer, since the freedmen would be removed. Cf. John H. Russell, *The free negro in Virginia* (Johns Hopkins University, *Studies in historical and political science*, 31: no. 3—Baltimore, 1913), ch. 1-3.

will,⁸ and the freedmen were allowed to remain within the state.⁹ Judge Saint George Tucker estimated that from 1782 to 1791 no less than ten thousand negroes were liberated in Virginia.¹⁰ The emancipation of the slaves in the North, where their numbers were small, was not so serious a matter as in the South, where they composed a much larger proportion of the population. The free negro was objectionable to the slaveholder because, existing side by side with slaves, he made them discontented and refractory; he was objectionable to the taxpayer because there was more expense for poor relief, police, and constabulary; and he was objectionable to the average citizen because the next demand would be for social and political equality. No doubt James Galloway of North Carolina voiced the sentiment of many when he said, in the convention to ratify the federal constitution, "It is impossible for us to be happy, if, after manumission, they are to remain among us."¹¹

Why not, then, re-enact the Virginia law of 1691 which had apparently solved the problem one hundred years before? The answer lies in the conviction then prevailing that slavery ought to be abolished,—a conviction which was based on the new revolutionary philosophy and on the religious principles of the Quakers. In consequence of these influences abolition societies had sprung up in Virginia and petitions were presented to the assembly asking for a gradual emancipation law. Some of the most prominent men in the state liberated their own slaves, while others prepared measures designed to solve the vexed question. A number of Virginians had come to agree with John Jones Spooner, rector of Martins Brandon parish in Prince George county, that the manumitted "ought to be sent to col-

⁸ Two noted cases of manumission by will are those of Richard Randolph and John Pleasants. See *DeBow's review* (New Orleans and Washington, 1858), 24: 285 ff., and Robert A. Brock, in *Virginia Historical Society, Publications*, 6: 16-18. Philip Ludwell by will in 1767 provided for the manumission and transportation to England of two slaves. *Virginia magazine of history*, 19: 288.

⁹ On emancipation in Virginia see James C. Ballagh, *A history of slavery in Virginia* (Johns Hopkins University, *Studies in history and political science*, extra volume, 24 — Baltimore, 1902), 116-127.

¹⁰ In 1782 the state removed the restraints of manumission imposed in 1691 and further strengthened in 1723. See Hening, *Statutes at large*, 4: 132.

¹¹ Jonathan Elliot, *Debates in the several state conventions on the adoption of the federal constitution* (Washington, 1836-1845), 4: 101.

onize some new country; for there will be no happiness here, while they remain mixed with the whites.”¹² During the last quarter of the eighteenth century deportation was regarded not as a punishment for crime nor as a means to prevent an increase in the number of free negroes but as the logical outcome of manumission. Deportation had become a broad social problem, involving the transportation of the negro population to a distant territory, with the aid of the state and under the auspices of the national government.

A scheme of such gigantic proportions necessarily met with objection. Already Patrick Henry had declared in sorrow that reëxportation was impracticable,¹³ and in 1795 Saint George Tucker of William and Mary College proposed an alternative to the usual colonization program which was at the expense and under the direction of the state. The outlay of Virginia in supporting the revolutionary army in the West was used by Tucker to demonstrate the impossibility of deporting the black population. If it had sometimes cost ten dollars to get a bushel of corn to camp, and if Virginia had felt the burden of taxation in providing for three or four thousand soldiers, how could the state hope to bear the expense involved in the transportation and support of three hundred and five thousand freedmen, or all the slaveholding states of eight hundred thousand? Even if the negroes were sent gradually and in small companies the cost still rendered the scheme objectionable. The hardships of the march and camp life and the suffering and death attending the formation of new settlements were additional arguments against it, because “if humanity plead for their emancipation, it pleads

¹² J. J. Spooner, “A topographical description of the county of Prince George, Virginia,” in Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, first series, 3: 92. See also *ibid.*, fifth series, 3: 410. Spooner was formerly a New Englander. He observed that the people in Prince George county generally wished for the emancipation of the blacks.

¹³ William W. Henry, *Patrick Henry; life, correspondence and speeches* (New York, 1891), 1: 114. In a fragmentary pamphlet on religious toleration, probably written about 1766, he said: “The disadvantages from the great number of slaves may perhaps wear off, when the present stock and their descendants are scattered through the immense deserts of the West. To re-export them is impracticable, and sorry I am for it.” He wrote Robert Pleasants in 1779, “I believe a time will come when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil.” Quoted by Stephen B. Weeks, “Anti-slavery sentiment in the South,” in Southern History Association, *Publications*, 2: 95.

more strongly against colonization." And if it was impracticable to colonize the freedmen within the United States, how much more so was it to send them beyond its borders? ¹⁴

James Sullivan of Boston upon hearing of Tucker's criticism of negro deportation at the expense of the state predicted that the cost would be so great that the federal treasury could not bear it even were there no other items of government expenditure, and that the blacks, undisciplined and given to depredations, could not be kept in order during the exodus. Moreover if they were removed to another territory it would be impossible to organize them into a state of civil society; and if they were settled in separate and independent bodies they would harass their neighbors to such an extent that other states would be compelled to make war upon them. And if such a fine body of people as the Israelites under the leadership of Moses and the commissary of God fell into dissensions and rebellion, what could be expected, said Sullivan, of a body of negroes only lately in slavery? ¹⁵

The sentiment, however, for the removal of the blacks beyond the limits of the state was so pronounced and the arguments so convincing that Judge Tucker indicated, in true judicial fashion, a policy by which Virginia could obtain the benefits of the deportation of the colored people without incurring the expense of sending them away. "By excluding them from offices, the seeds of ambition would be buried too deep, ever to germinate; by disarming them, we may calm our apprehensions of their resentments arising from past sufferings; by incapacitating them from holding lands, we should add one inducement more to emigration and effectually remove the foundation of ambition, and party struggle. Their personal rights, and their property, though limited, would, whilst they remain among us, be under the protection of the laws; and their condition not at all inferior

¹⁴ Saint George Tucker to Doctor Jeremy Belknap of Boston, in Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, fifth series, 3: 405 ff. The step-sons of Judge Tucker, Richard and John Randolph, emancipated their slaves by will; the former placed his on a Virginia farm, the latter attempted to colonize his in Ohio. See F. N. Watkins to Ruffin Farnville in *DeBow's review*, 24: 285 ff.; and Henry N. Sherwood, "The settlement of the John Randolph slaves in Ohio," in Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings, 1911-1912*, 5: 39 ff.

¹⁵ Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, fifth series, 3: 412 ff.

to that of the *laboring poor* in most other countries. Under such arrangement we might reasonably hope, that time would remove from us a race of men, whom we wish not to incorporate with us, which now form an obstacle to such incorporation." Thus "denying them those privileges here which they might hope to acquire elsewhere, endeavor to prompt them to migrate from hence. The Floridas, Louisiana, and the country south of the mouth of the Mississippi would afford a continual drain for them. At that distance they would never be formidable to us, and would possess a climate better adapted to their natural temperament."¹⁶

Notwithstanding the objections of expense, of numbers, of adequate order and discipline during the exodus, and of subsequent trouble in the settlement, and the impracticable nature of the whole thing, there was a marked enthusiasm for colonization and a number of plans were offered whereby it might be effected. Madison thought in 1791 that the deportation sentiment was so strong that any measure the legislature might pass providing for the compulsory gradual emancipation of slaves would also arrange for sending them out of the state.¹⁷

A scheme for the colonization of the Virginia blacks in the Old Northwest was presented to the state legislature by its author, William Craighead, but without success. Captain Craighead was an active, ardent patriot in the revolutionary war, presiding magistrate for many years of his home county, Lunenburg. He spent the most of his life in this county, having emigrated from Delaware where he was born in 1731. The main features of his plan for the removal of the blacks were that the colonists should be sent gradually, that they should have suitable preparation previous to emigration, and that the colony

¹⁶ Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, fifth series, 3: 421. Also Saint George Tucker, *Dissertation on slavery* (Philadelphia, 1796), 93, 94. This was a part of Tucker's plan for the gradual emancipation of slaves in Virginia and was submitted to the state assembly.

¹⁷ Madison, *Writings* (Hunt ed.), 6: 60, 61; *Letters and other writings of James Madison* (Philadelphia, 1865), 1: 543. Madison had found "arguments of great force" for deportation and believed some of the abolitionists would concur in it even though it retarded the number of manumissions. Robert Pleasants, the Quaker president of the Virginia Abolition Society, had prepared a petition praying the legislature to pass a measure providing for the emancipation of all female slaves at the age of eighteen, and all the male slaves at the age of twenty-one years; when he solicited Madison's opinion on the proposal, he received the above statement.

should hold a relation to the government similar to that held by the Indians.¹⁸

Another project for negro deportation about which we have more information, originated with Ferdinando Fairfax, a descendant of the great English family of that name.¹⁹ Fairfax was brought up at Mount Vernon and was a favorite of Washington. He owned large estates and at one time was regarded as the richest man in America,²⁰ but subsequent misfortunes led to his imprisonment for debt in the District of Columbia.²¹ Fairfax was a promoter; he had plans for the formation of a company to work his Shannondale Inn estate,²² and he was connected with projects for steamboat navigation. His scheme for deporting the American negroes was national in its scope, and if it had been carried out it would have involved the United States in a colonial enterprise. Considering our national politics in 1790, it is significant that a Virginian should have attempted to give such solidarity and power to our federal government.

It was proposed by Fairfax that under the auspices and protection of congress, a colony of the free blacks then in the United States and of those afterward freed by voluntary emancipation should be settled in Africa. As soon as the resources of the country would bear it, compensated manumission should obtain. It was proposed further that congress should provide for the support, defense, and government of the infant colony until it should be able, as an independent nation, adequately to carry on the functions of a state. And in order that this time might

¹⁸ James G. Craighead, *The Craighead family* (Philadelphia, 1876), 56, 57; Archibald Alexander, *A history of colonization on the western coast of Africa* (Philadelphia, 1846), 61, 62; Brock, in *Virginia Historical Society, Collections*, 6: 24. In an essay published in the *American museum* for November, 1788, and dated Baltimore, May 10, "Othello" recommends either the manumission and colonization of the slaves in the western territory, or some measure providing for their gradual emancipation.

¹⁹ William Meade, *Old churches, ministers and families of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1857), 2: 259, 281, 282.

²⁰ William Faux, *Memorable days in America* (London, 1823; reprinted Cleveland, 1905); Reuben G. Thwaites, *Early western travels* (Cleveland, 1904-1907), 12: 123, 131.

²¹ *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D. C.), March 7, 1817.

²² *Description of Ferdinando Fairfax's Shannondale Inn estate with a plan of a company for improving the same* (Washington, 1815).

not be too long delayed, seminaries were to be established in the colony for the education of the children of those already deported and the future emigrants were to receive careful training before they should embark for their new home. Africa was selected for the site of the colony because its climate was suitable to the nature of the negro and it was sufficiently removed from the whites to prevent the intermarriage of the two races. Fairfax thought that in the course of time the colony would bring rich financial returns to the United States in the way of commerce, and that it would be the means of spreading the gospel in a heathen country.²³

Somewhat earlier than Fairfax's project there was drawn up a plan, semi-official in character, for emancipating and colonizing the Virginia blacks. In 1776 Virginia appointed a committee to codify the laws of the state,²⁴ and in addition to a digest of the existing laws respecting slaves this body agreed upon certain principles for a future, general plan of emancipating them which in due time was to be presented as an amendment to the committee's report.²⁵ It was recommended that slave children "should continue with their parents to a certain age, then be brought up, at the public expense, to tillage, arts, or sciences, according to their geniuses, till the females should be eighteen, and the males twenty-one years of age, when they should be colonized to such place as the circumstances of the time should render most proper, sending them out with arms, implements of household and of the handicraft arts, seeds, pairs of the useful domestic animals, etc., to declare them a free and independant [*sic*] people, and extend to them our alliance and protection, till they shall have acquired strength; and to send vessels at the same time to other parts of the world for an equal number of white inhabitants; to induce them to migrate hither, proper encouragements were to be proposed."²⁶ No material results came from this proposal and the reason is adequately expressed in the words of Jefferson, "It was found

²³ The plan as he outlined it is in the *American museum*, December, 1790, pp. 285, 286.

²⁴ The committee ultimately consisted of Jefferson, Wythe, and Pendleton; they reported June 18, 1779.

²⁵ Thomas Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed. — New York, 1892-1899), 1: 67, 68.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 3: 243, 244.

that the public mind would not yet bear the proposition.”²⁷ The committee’s scheme was incorporated in Jefferson’s *Notes on Virginia*, copies of which began to circulate in 1782; in this way the public generally had an opportunity to become familiar with the proposed measure.

An adverse comment on this plan was made by Gilbert Imlay, a captain in the revolutionary war and a commissioner for laying out lands in the West. He thought the change in the labor force would hurt the business of the state; that great difficulties would be experienced in supplying the places of the displaced workmen; and that the expense attached to the measure would prevent its execution. Imlay favored gradual emancipation and the right of the freedmen to all the liberties of free tenants.²⁸ Jefferson’s proposal, however, had a leavening influence and many advocates of gradual emancipation accepted the colonization feature. Among those who were convinced of the soundness of the scheme was John Parrish, a Maryland Quaker, whose abolition spirit was aroused by the Louisiana purchase and the repeal of South Carolina’s law prohibiting the importation of slaves. He could see no objection to a negro settlement in the West and proposed that congress supervise the distribution for colonization purposes, of this vast area “where there are millions of acres likely to continue many ages unoccupied.” As assignments were made to the negroes already free and the blessings of deportation became manifest an impetus would be given to the abolition movement and in the course of time slavery would become extinct. Segregation would not only give the negro liberty but it would also bring him citizenship, the right of property and the pursuit of happiness.²⁹

Jefferson’s attitude on the slavery question appears in his writings as early as 1779 and he consistently adhered to his first conviction until his death. The solution of the question was in two parts: first, the manumission of the slave; second, his de-

²⁷ Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), 1: 68. At this writing (1821), he predicted that evil results would follow a continued rejection of the proposition.

²⁸ Gilbert Imlay, *A topographical description of the western territory of North America* (London, 1797), 223, 224.

²⁹ John Parrish, *Remarks on the slavery of the black people* (Philadelphia, 1806), 41, 44.

portation out of the state. It is his arguments for deportation that chiefly concern us and these were grouped under three heads, political, physical, and moral. The two races can never live in harmony with equal political power; the one will entertain prejudices, the other will recollect its injuries. New provocations will cause a division into two parties and produce convulsions. Physically, it is the problem of one race opposed to another on account of differences in color, form, and beauty. The blacks have inferior ideals of morality and they rank beneath the whites in reason, memory, and imagination. An opposition so decided will not admit of amalgamation, therefore, the only solution is to transfer the blacks to another country³⁰ "in such slow degree as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers."³¹

To what extent the sentiment in favor of negro colonization prevailed in the South before 1800, it is impossible to say. It no doubt was not so widespread as that in favor of abolition, for many were willing to see the slaves liberated whether or not they were deported. Even the abolitionists constituted a minority, — "a minority which for weight and worth of character, preponderates against the greater number, who have not the courage to divest their families of a property, which, however, keeps their conscience unquiet."³² In his observations concerning Maryland and Virginia in 1788 Brissot de Warville says, "They speak not of projects for freeing the negroes; they praise not the societies of London and America; they read not works of Clarkson — No, the indolent masters behold with uneasiness the efforts . . . to render freedom universal. The Virginians are persuaded of the impossibility of cultivating tobacco without slavery; they fear that if the Blacks became free they would cause trouble; on rendering them free, they know not what rank to assign them in society; whether they shall establish them in separate districts, or send them out of the country. These are the objections you will hear repeated everywhere

³⁰ Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), 3: 244-250; Thomas Jefferson, *Writings* (Washington ed. — Washington, 1853-54), 8: 380, 381.

³¹ Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), 1: 48, 49.

³² Jefferson to Dr. Price of London, in 1785, *ibid.*, 1: 377.

against freeing them.”³³ The recommendations of the board of revisors, chief of whom was Thomas Jefferson, to import free laborers to supplant deported slave laborers; the project of Judge Tucker to produce a voluntary and spontaneous separation of the two races; the plan of Craighead to transport the blacks to the Old Northwest, and that of Fairfax to send them to Africa, all proved abortive. The significant thing about these scattered and separate projects for negro deportation is that each was a plan concomitant to emancipation and that on the whole the benefits to be derived therefrom were to accrue to the state itself. The advocates of deportation were men of great weight in the state and it is not surprising that in a later period their doctrine became the platform of a large following.

Turning now to a consideration of negro deportation in the North during this early period, we find its supporters confined chiefly to New England and Pennsylvania.³⁴

What appears to be the first proposal for returning the blacks to Africa was formulated about 1714 by “A native of America,” probably a resident of New Jersey. It was expected that the deported negroes would act as missionaries in Africa. The plan is set forth as follows:

“1. That Subscriptions be taken of all Masters that will set their Negroes free, and of the Number of Negroes so to be set free, that they may be sent to their own Country.

“2. That Subscriptions be taken, what each Man (Negro, Master, or others) will give to defray the Charge of sending the Negroes home.

“3. That such Negro as had rather serve their Masters, then [than] go home, may be kept still (it being their Free Act, and it not being safe to have them free in this Country)”.³⁵

The noted Quaker who did so much for the colored race, An-

³³ Jean Pierre Brissot de Warville, *New travels in the United States of America* (London, 1794; Boston, 1797), 1: 237.

³⁴ It should not be overlooked that some of the men discussed in connection with Jefferson's scheme were northerners, and that their interest in negro deportation was aroused by his writings on the subject.

³⁵ Quoted by Mary S. Locke, *Anti-slavery in America from the introduction of African slaves to the prohibition of the slave trade, 1619-1808* (Radcliffe College monographs, no. 11 — Boston, 1901), 30. The proposal is printed in John Hepburn, *The American defence of the Christian golden rule* (n. p., 1714?), appendix. Hepburn was probably a Britisher sojourning in New Jersey.

thony Benezet, advised in 1773 the colonization of the American negroes in "that large extent of country, from the west side of the Allegheny Mountains to the Mississippi, on a breadth of four or five hundred miles."³⁶ He was opposed to African colonization for "that would be to expose them, in a strange land, to greater difficulties than many of them labor under at present."³⁷ Another Pennsylvania Quaker who believed in the settlement of the negroes beyond the Alleghenies was Thomas Branagan, a converted slave trader. Branagan was a native of Dublin, Ireland, and at one time was a plantation overseer in Antigua. After his conviction of the infamy of slave trading he resided in Philadelphia where he wrote two poems, *Avenia* and *The penitential tyrant*, in which he sets forth anti-slavery views. In his *Serious remonstrances, addressed to the citizens of the northern states and their representatives*, he reprints with approval Jefferson's colonization views and supports them in a discussion of length. He found a number of reasons why the blacks should be removed: they displaced white labor, they checked immigration from Europe, they intermarried with the whites, they were a troublesome and rebellious element. Moreover, it was impossible to incorporate them into the body politic, and as long as slavery existed the North would suffer from the ingress of poor southern blacks. The tax which supported this element of the population might as well be applied to the expense of its deportation. Branagan thought his plan would be hailed with joy by the blacks and that they would gladly make the change; if they refused to go and it was compatible with law he would deport them forcibly. The only objection he could find to his project was that the loss of the negro population would reduce the representation of the South in congress.³⁸

³⁶ Job R. Tyson, *A discourse before the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, delivered October 24, 1834, in St. Paul's church, Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1834), 44; Roberts Vaux, *Memoirs of the life of Anthony Benezet* (Philadelphia, 1817), 29-31.

³⁷ Anthony Benezet, *Short account of that part of Africa inhabited by the negroes . . . and the manner by which the slave trade is carried on* (Philadelphia, 1762 and 1763), 69. Roberts Vaux, author of Benezet's memoirs, writing in 1817, favored the settlement of the negroes either in some territory of the United States where the climate was suitable to them or in Africa. Deportation was a feature of his scheme for gradual emancipation. Vaux, *Memoirs of the life of Anthony Benezet*, 58, note.

³⁸ Thomas Branagan, *Serious remonstrances, addressed to the citizens of the*

Branagan preferred to have the seat of the settlement in some distant island, a choice "recommended by many respectable politicians," but fearing that the removal would be accompanied by cruel exposure and unjust treatment, he recommended the establishment of a state in the Louisiana territory upwards of two thousand miles from the white population. Congress might "appropriate a proportionable part of the territory . . . as a colony, or separate state, a particular quantum of that land to be given to each free colored person who would emigrate gratis; funds to be established in the several states for the accommodation of the negroes, who would think proper to emigrate to enable them to clear and cultivate the land, for their own sake, and as their own property forever; a governor, judges, and magistrates, to be appointed (as in New Orleans) by the President of the United States; of the most intelligent and virtuous of the African race, so that such white persons as wish to emigrate and associate with the blacks, may likewise be under their control and governed by them."

In 1793 Noah Webster, a member of the Connecticut Society for the Promotion of Freedom, was asked to make the annual address for the society, but the great lexicographer found it impossible to handle the slavery question adequately without preparing a lengthy treatise on it. In this treatise he pointed out that the expense attached to colonization, the likelihood of the refusal of the negroes to go, and the impracticability of the project would probably defeat it, yet he thought it might be possible to assign the blacks some land in the United States and remove them to it gradually. Their removal would take away the causes for dissension and jealousy between whites and blacks and it might be possible to raise some funds to finance the exodus. He preferred however to raise the slaves to the condition of free tenants, a project which he admitted to be as visionary as deportation. It is interesting to observe that he

northern states and their representatives (Philadelphia, 1805), xiii, 29. To remove the existing northern handicap, he suggested two extra votes for every five head of horned cattle. *Ibid.*, 36, 37; see also 17, 18, 24, 41, 59, 64, 69, 73, 77, 79, 111. In 1805 Branagan asked Jefferson to subscribe to *Avenia*, but political considerations deterred Jefferson from making any written expression. He asked Dr. George Logan of Philadelphia, a political friend, to explain how impossible it was for him to commit himself. Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), 8: 351, 352.

was familiar with Jefferson's plan for emancipation with colonization.³⁹

The origin of the deportation movement has been generally ascribed to Samuel D. Hopkins, pastor of the First Congregational church in Newport, Rhode Island. Born in Connecticut in 1721, he graduated at Yale and was a Newport pastor from 1770 to 1803, the year of his death. His colleague in religious work, the pastor of the Second Congregational church, Ezra Stiles, also a native of Connecticut and a graduate of Yale, (later serving as its president for almost a quarter of a century), was moreover Hopkins' co-worker in the early stages of his plans for negro deportation.

It was not so much the presence of a large number of negro slaves that turned the mind of Hopkins to this question as it was the impression made by scenes in the Newport slave-market, the centre of the trade for all New England. From 1804 to 1808, Rhode Island slavers owned fifty-nine out of two hundred and two vessels which carried negroes to Charleston, South Carolina; and during this period out of 17,048 taken into that port by American vessels 6,238 came from Rhode Island, 3,488 of them from Newport alone.⁴⁰ So extensive was this traffic and so lucrative in its returns that it was the mainstay of the town's prosperity. It was considered lawful and just even by some of those who worshiped where Hopkins preached; indeed they were engaged in the traffic. Hopkins did not believe it was right to buy and sell human beings, but he hesitated to denounce from his pulpit the business ventures of his flock. Upon deliberation, however, he decided to deliver a sermon against the slave trade; this he did, and it was fairly well received.⁴¹

But this Newport pastor held that no one should advocate manumission who would not help prepare the freedmen for the enjoyment of liberty in a civilized community, and in order to do this work intelligently in Newport Hopkins held a confer-

³⁹ Noah Webster, *Effects of slavery on morals and industry* (Hartford, Conn., 1793), 35, 36.

⁴⁰ Edwards A. Park, *Memoir of the life and character of Samuel Hopkins, D. D.* (2 ed. — Boston, 1854), 115, 140.

⁴¹ William Patten, *Reminiscences of the late Reverend Samuel Hopkins, D. D. of Newport, R. I.* (Warren, R. I., 1795, and Providence, 1843), 80-83.

ence with his colleague, Stiles, and on August 31, 1773, the two issued a joint circular letter outlining a plan, which they had distributed among the churches of Massachusetts and Connecticut.⁴²

This joint letter was addressed "To all who are desirous to promote the kingdom of Christ on earth in the salvation of sinners" and set forth that there were two negro communicants in the First Congregational church at Newport who were anxious "to quit all worldly prospects, and risk their lives in attempting to open a door for the propagation of Christianity among the poor, ignorant, perishing heathen brethren" in Africa. These men were Bristol Yamma and John Quamine, both of the Guinea coast. Quamine was sent to America so that he could attend school, but his prospective tutor sold him into slavery; later he bought his freedom. Yamma likewise had purchased his freedom, but in 1773 was still fifty dollars in debt. It was proposed in the circular letter that Yamma's debt be lifted and that both negroes be put in school and taught the Bible, in order that they might be ordained and started on their gospel mission; and funds were solicited for this purpose. The letter closed with the following appeal: "And it is humbly proposed to those who are convinced of the iniquity of the slave trade, and are sensible of the great inhumanity and cruelty of enslaving so many thousands of our fellow-men every year, with all the dreadful and horrid attendants, and are ready to bear testimony against it in all proper ways, and do their utmost to put a stop to it, whether they have not a good opportunity of doing this, by cheerfully contributing according to their ability, to promote the mission proposed, and whether this is not the best compensation we are able to make the poor Africans, for the injuries they are constantly receiving by this unrighteous practice . . . and may it not be hoped that all who are heartily praying, *Thy Kingdom Come*, will liberally contribute to forward this attempt to send the glorious gospel of the blessed God to the nations who now worship false gods, and dwell in the habitations of cruelty, and the land of the shadow of death; especially, since the king of Zion has promised that whosoever parts with anything in this world, *for the Kingdom of God's sake*, shall receive manifold

⁴² Printed in Park, *Memoir of Samuel Hopkins*, 131, 132. See also Ezra Stiles, *Literary diary of Ezra Stiles* (New York, 1901), 1: 363 ff.

more in this present time, and in the world to come life everlasting." ⁴³

The dominant consideration in this plea was religious, and since Hopkins was not strictly orthodox in his theological views some feared that it was an attempt to spread his peculiar doctrine. Stiles, however, removed this suspicion with assurances that the prospective missionaries were to be taught only the plain and most important principles of religion.⁴⁴ The advisability of having white missionaries accompany the colored ones was suggested, but Hopkins was of the opinion that none were available who were qualified for the work.⁴⁵ The plan as announced in the joint letter was approved by the presbytery of New York, by the associated ministers of several counties in Connecticut, by the ministers in Berkshire county, the North Association in Hartford county, and by the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Contributions were received from England, Scotland, and the New England states which totaled over five hundred dollars.⁴⁶ Hopkins and Stiles formed a society in Newport to look after the education and maintenance of the two African missionaries.⁴⁷ The negroes were put under the instruction of Professor John Witherspoon,⁴⁸ of Yale, a Scotchman who had come over in 1763 to accept the presidency of that institution.⁴⁹

On April 10, 1776, Hopkins and Stiles issued a second circular letter,⁵⁰ in which they related the success their undertaking had met with so far, and asked for further aid. They reported Yamma and Quamine ready to enter upon their work as soon as an opportunity should come to send them, and as an addi-

⁴³ A negro minister, Quaque by name, had already been sent to Africa under the auspices of the Episcopalians. Phillis Wheatley, the negro poetess, wrote Hopkins in 1774 that he was not very successful. Samuel Hopkins, *Works* (Park ed. — Boston, 1854), 1: 137, 138.

⁴⁴ Stiles, *Literary diary*, 1: 365.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 1: 414; Park, *Memoir of Samuel Hopkins*, 136.

⁴⁶ Stiles, *Literary diary*, 1: 450, 489; 2: 283, 284; 3: 327.

⁴⁷ Park, *Memoir of Samuel Hopkins*, 138. Hopkins himself later contributed two hundred dollars.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁴⁹ Isaac V. Brown, *Biography of the Reverend Robert Finley of Basking Ridge, N. J.* (Philadelphia, 1857), 2, 3.

⁵⁰ Printed in Park, *Memoir of Samuel Hopkins*, 134 ff.

tional item in the project they proposed to establish schools in Africa for the instruction of the natives. The revolutionary war in America frustrated their plans; not only did it make impossible the transportation of the missionaries, but it cut off contributions for their further education as well, and for the time being the scheme had to be dropped. Quamine took service on board a privateer and was killed in battle in 1779; Yamma worked as a laborer and died in North Carolina about 1794.

Nevertheless, Hopkins did not slacken his zeal in the cause. The war was over in 1783; other individuals were willing to go as missionaries; and in the meantime other considerations were embraced in the project, all of which stimulated his activity and produced in 1793 a well defined scheme for African colonization. Interest in negro deportation was manifested in England at this time by a number of philanthropic men, and the cause was strengthened in America by the support of William Thornton. Hopkins was in correspondence with some of the Englishmen and came in direct contact with Thornton, facts which without doubt added zest to his zeal and confirmed his belief in the practicability of the movement.⁵¹

The plan of Hopkins, which in its initial stage grew out of local conditions, embraced from time to time additional motives. To the projects, announced in 1773, for spreading Christianity and checking the slave trade, there was added, in 1776, a plan for the establishment of schools. In another connection, in this same year, he had expressed the opinion that all slaves in America might be deported to Africa or "removed into those places in this land, where they may have profitable business and are wanted."⁵² Since the English plan was announced in 1783, ten years before Hopkins matured his scheme, it was possible for him to have been materially influenced by the colonizationists on the other side of the Atlantic.

The chief promoter of the English plan was Henry Smeath-

⁵¹ Denmark, Sweden, and France were interested in the African movement at this time; Hopkins knew of Denmark's activity, and corresponded with Granville Sharp and Zachary Macaulay about the Sierra Leone settlement. By 1787, he knew of Dr. Fothergill's proposition. Hopkins, *Works* (Park ed.), 1: 139.

⁵² Samuel Hopkins, *A dialogue concerning the slavery of the Africans* (Norwich, Conn., 1776), 54. This treatise is a zealous appeal for emancipation and is dedicated to the continental congress.

man, who was born in 1742, the son of a distiller and brandy merchant of Yorkshire. When Henry was quite young, his father died and the boy had to shift for himself as best he could. He worked at different times as an upholsterer and insurance broker, became a merchant, tutored, and finally took service with Doctor John Fothergill, a fellow of the Royal Society who was interested in making collections in African natural history. After spending four years in Africa, Smeathman started home but was captured by a vessel belonging to the American revolutionists and carried to the West Indies. Here he formed a plan "to return to Africa . . . with the sanguine hope of relieving a hitherto oppressed race of beings, and abolishing that, to him most detestable of all traffic — the slave trade."⁵³ He was an author, had an inventive and a philosophic cast of mind, and after his connection with Fothergill, was known as Doctor Smeathman. Doctor Fothergill believed that the establishment of a free settlement on the coast of Africa for honorable trade would be the most effective means of destroying the traffic in slaves for it would show European powers a source of commerce much more worthy of their merchants than human flesh.⁵⁴ This idea suggested⁵⁵ to Smeathman the scheme which he outlined in a letter to Doctor Knowles of London in 1783, and three years later published under the title: "Plan of a settlement, to be made near Sierra Leone, and intended more particularly for the service and happy establishment of blacks and people of color, to be shipped as freemen, under the direction of the committee for relieving the black poor, under the protection of the British government."⁵⁶ Granville Sharp, Doctor John Coakley Lettsom, a native of the West Indies resident in England, the Quakers and missionary societies in general all espoused the cause of the negro settlement and by their persistent efforts,

⁵³ Thomas J. Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the life and writings of the late John Coakley Lettsom* (London, 1817), 2: 253.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 2: 236, 237, 520.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 2: 499, 500; see also Brissot de Warville, *New travels in the United States of America*, 1: 138, 139. Fothergill died in 1782 and Smeathman naturally inherited his employer's proposition.

⁵⁶ Carl B. Wadström, *An essay on colonization particularly applied to the western coast of Africa* (London, 1794), part 2, 3-6, appendix, 198, 210; Prince Hoare, *Memoirs of Granville Sharp, esquire* (London, 1820 and 1828), 2: ch. 1; Pettigrew, *Memoirs of John Coakley Lettsom*, 1: 132-136; 2: 237-242.

aided by the British government, were able to plant a permanent colony on the Guinea coast.⁵⁷ The promoters of this settlement hoped it would help destroy the slave-trade, build up a commerce in the products of tropical Africa, spread Christianity among the natives, and relieve the British dominions of the free negro element.

The promoter of negro deportation in America with whom Hopkins came in touch was William Thornton, a native of Antigua,⁵⁸ who was educated as a physician, and who lived for many years in Philadelphia and Washington. He was the author of *Cadmus, or the elements of unwritten language*, the designer of the Philadelphia library and of the first United States capitol, a member of the American Philosophical Society,⁵⁹ and one of the board of commissioners of the District of Columbia; upon the discontinuance of the latter body he was appointed by Jefferson head of the patent office, a position he held till his death in 1827. He claimed to have saved the books and papers of the patent office from destruction, when the British burned the capitol building,⁶⁰ by previously removing them to his country place.

Doctor Thornton was thoroughly convinced that slavery should be abolished, and determined to free the seventy or eighty slaves on his own plantation in Tortola. His parents objected to this emancipation, fearing the effect that the presence of the liberated negroes would have on the remaining slaves of the family estate, and they recommended that the blacks, if freed, be deported. Thornton proposed to buy land and settle them in Africa, and make the settlement a seat of commerce, arts, and manufacture. He would inaugurate a government and establish schools and churches. Slaves brought down to ships in the neighborhood of this colony would be bought, induced to

⁵⁷ The charter of the Sierra Leone company is in the *Statutes at large*, 31, George III, c. 55. The writer thinks there is not sufficient evidence to warrant the statement of McPherson that "the colony founded at Sierra Leone by English philanthropists drew in part its inspiration from Hopkins' idea." John H. T. McPherson, *History of Liberia* (Johns Hopkins University, *Studies in historical and political science*, ninth series, 10 — Baltimore, 1891), 493.

⁵⁸ Brissot de Warville, *New travels in the United States*, 1: 38.

⁵⁹ Thwaites, *Early western travels*, 12: 122. See also Gaillard Hunt, "William Thornton and John Fitch" in the *Nation*, May 21, 1914.

⁶⁰ Thornton manuscripts, Library of Congress.

take an assignment of land in the settlement and to repay their purchase money, which would then be used to liberate other captured blacks. By this means, he would stamp out the slave trade and light the torch of civilization in Africa. Thornton thought the project the "most important which certainly ever engaged the attention of one man."⁶¹ He planned to accompany his slaves, stock their farms from his own plantation, and sacrifice eight or ten thousand pounds on his medical practice if it was necessary to carry out this venture.

He was no less eager to help American negroes go to Africa. Due to his energies, societies of blacks had been formed in Newport and Boston, and had been addressed by a Mr. Roach, a Friend who had recently come from England and France, and by Thornton himself on the subject of Sierra Leone. Two thousand were willing to go from Rhode Island alone,⁶² when Thornton told them they would be formed into an independent nation—he hated the word colony. Thornton wrote a dissertation for publication showing the method by which the blacks might be "rendered useful members of society, a commercial nation, and a happy people"⁶³—a dissertation which was examined and approved by Samuel Adams, with whom Thornton was intimate.

From 1786 to 1790, Thornton was continually working at this project. He wrote to Doctor Lettsom, Granville Sharp, Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society of London,⁶⁴ and to the society of Les Amis des Noirs in France,⁶⁵ offering his services and fortune and asking for information about Sierra Leone; at the same time he labored in conjunction with Hopkins

⁶¹ Pettigrew, *Memoirs of John Coakley Lettsom*, 2: 497-504.

⁶² He does not state the number offering to go from Massachusetts. A petition from some slaves was received by the Massachusetts general court in June, 1774, praying for freedom and the assignment of some unimproved land in the province where each of them might "there quietly set down under his own fig tree [and enjoy] the fruits of his labor." Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, fifth series, 3: 435.

⁶³ Pettigrew, *Memoirs of John Coakley Lettsom*, 2: 516-518.

⁶⁴ American Colonization Society, *Twelfth annual report* (Washington, 1829), 48.

⁶⁵ Pettigrew, *Memoirs of John Coakley Lettsom*, 2: 538. The Philanthropic Society of the Friends of the Blacks was formed in 1788 to help America and Britain stop the slave trade and liberate the blacks. Lafayette and Brissot de Warville were members. Jefferson was invited to join the society but declined. William F. Poole, *Anti-slavery opinions before 1800* (Cincinnati, 1873), 32.

in America.⁶⁶ He believed that the negro could be returned to his own country and be taught the cultivation of coffee, sugar, and cotton, and the methods of manufacture. The spirit of his zeal and philanthropy is well indicated by the following letter to Doctor Lettsom sent from Boston May 20, 1787:

“I know of no other person who will make the same sacrifice of family, friends, fortune, and an expensive education, with the most precious years in the prime of life, to live with the rejected and despised part of mankind, and in an unhealthy climate. When done, where are my dependencies at my return? My lands in the West Indies, when I have taken off the Blacks that fall to my share, which are more than seventy in number, I mean to give to my mother, and the Blacks their liberty. My estate in England, to which I became heir, I have given some years the rents of to my aged grandmother, and aunts, during their lives, for their kind and affectionate care of my brother and myself, during our infancy. They were like mothers, and I would treat them as such.

“Where now is the tie that will prevent me from attempting to execute this grand affair? What have I to do but to live usefully, and to die happily? If you can find anyone who is more calculated to execute it, I will submit to your proposals; but if you cannot, I claim attention; and with the men I can raise here, am willing to attempt what I know many would startle at. My profession and knowledge of many of the arts and sciences will not meet with a more likely opportunity of proving their utility to the world. I have lately written France on this subject, and mean soon to open my plans to the friends of America and England, etc. Liberal subscriptions have been offered me but I refused them, until I should be empowered to act, by *Your Committee on African Affairs*. Please to send a letter to *the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, Newport, Rhode Island*, giving, *as a body, my character*, as I wish them to be fully assured that I am not unworthy of their confidence.”⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Park, *Memoir of Samuel Hopkins*, 139.

⁶⁷ Pettigrew, *Memoirs of John Coakley Lettsom*, 2: 519, 520. Thornton was in Newport in March, 1787, and called on Hopkins, who gave him a letter to carry to Moses Brown of Providence, in which he said he thought him an honest man but “too flighty and unsteady” to lead a settlement of American blacks to Africa. Hopkins, *Works* (Park ed.), 1: 139.

Thornton communicated his plan to the Massachusetts general court, "whose members did not relish it"⁶⁸ although on application for aid from the negroes themselves, the assembly promised vessels, instruments, and provisions as soon as a suitable location for a settlement could be found.⁶⁹ The blacks were willing to go and Thornton was willing to take them but sufficient funds, a place for settlement, and authority to make it he had not. America would wait; England would not recommend, for "Thornton," said Lettsom, "the excellent Thornton, . . . is too good a man to be sacrificed to an uncertain experiment,"⁷⁰ and he had to wait until the organization of the American Colonization Society in 1817 to serve the cause of negro deportation in an official way.

The next formal statement of Hopkins's ideas on negro deportation was made in 1793; it contained all the features of the plans of his contemporaries and was circulated all over New England.⁷¹ He hoped to benefit both Africa and America as well as civilization in general by the colonization of the American negroes beyond the Atlantic. Africa would receive the gospel and the blessings of Christianity; it would become the home of schools and churches. To this end, the prospective emigrants, guided by the wise hands of the superior whites, were to be instructed in the Bible and in the arts and sciences. America would be benefited because its negro population would be gradually drawn away, first the existing free blacks, and later the emancipated slaves. In this way slavery would be abolished in America and the negro would be given an opportunity to develop mind and muscle in a free and happy land. The world at large, and especially the United States, would reap large commercial returns. When the trade heretofore carried on with the West Indies dwindled away because of the use of slave labor there, Africa, rich in natural resources and intelligently culti-

⁶⁸ Brissot de Warville, *New travels in the United States of America*, 1: 139.

⁶⁹ At one time the Rhode Island blacks sent an agent to Africa to search for a suitable place, but he betrayed his mission. American Colonization Society, *Third annual report*, 25.

⁷⁰ Pettigrew, *Memoirs of John Coakley Lettsom*, 1: 135.

⁷¹ Hopkins, *Discourse upon the slave trade and the slavery of the Africans*; Park, *Memoir of Samuel Hopkins*, 145-147. This discourse was delivered in Providence, May 17, 1793, before the Proficience Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade, and was later put in pamphlet form.

vated by free blacks, would furnish the commodities to take its place. The establishment of an independent nation of free negroes on the shores of Africa would render a district immune from the slave trade and the conversion of African natives would further diminish this iniquitous traffic in human beings. These undertakings were so praiseworthy and so conducive to the public good that congress would make grants to help bear the expense. The general court of Massachusetts had already promised aid and in case congress refused to make appropriations the other states might be induced to join with Massachusetts; if not, a society must be organized to solicit funds from the general public. Since there were many blacks already anxious to go, the first step in the execution of the project would be to secure a place for the settlement, then gather the negroes together, organize them into a civil society, equip them with implements of husbandry, cooking utensils, and such things, and under competent leadership transport them to Africa.

Hopkins was never able to send out any emigrants to Africa, although he was advised by Granville Sharp that Sierra Leone would receive twelve American families of good habits and discipline. In 1828, however, after Liberia had been founded by the American Colonization Society as a direct result of Hopkins's efforts, a Newport congregation of colored people sailed for the African settlement of American negroes. It consisted of thirty-two persons among whom was Salmar Nubia and Newport Gardiner, aged seventy and eighty respectively, spiritual followers of Hopkins who had for a long time cherished the hope of going.⁷²

As a result of an intimate friendship⁷³ between Hopkins and the father of Samuel J. Mills, the young Mills learned of the plans for the salvation of Africa and during a life intensely devoted to missionary work, he became identified in an important way with the formation of the American Colonization Society. In a second and more far-reaching way, therefore, the spirit of Hopkins influenced later efforts to colonize the American negroes in Africa.

The death of Hopkins in 1803 marks the close of a period of

⁷² Park, *Memoir of Samuel Hopkins*, 155, 156.

⁷³ Thomas C. Richards, *Samuel J. Mills, missionary, pathfinder, pioneer, and promoter* (Boston, 1906), 195, 196.

individual effort in negro deportation.⁷⁴ The men identified with the movement were of a high order and had for their purpose the emancipation of a race and the civilization of a continent.⁷⁵ "For the Blacks of Africa would gradually civilize (themselves) by the assistance of those from America; and the Whites, whom they ought to execrate, would never mingle with them. By this civilization, Europe would open a vast market to her manufactures and obtain, at a cheap rate, and without the effusion of blood, those productions which cost her at the islands so much money and so many crimes." If all this had been true, patriotic whites and blacks should have cried with the author of the quotation, "God grant that this idea may soon be realized,"⁷⁶

In concluding this study several observations should be made. First, at this early time anti-slavery men were known as abolitionists. Their organizations were "abolition" societies. A general convention met as early as 1794. Moreover, the abolitionists were favorable to colonization and constituted some of its strongest advocates. Hopkins belonged to the Connecticut

⁷⁴ Walter L. Fleming, "Historic attempts to deport the negro," in *Journal of American history*, 4: no. 2, 198, says that colonization of free negroes was first publicly mentioned in 1770 by Samuel Hopkins. Park, in *Hopkins' Works*, 1: 164, says that Hopkins was the first man in the world who is known to have originated a scheme for African colonization. In my judgment neither statement can be substantiated.

⁷⁵ On page 48 of the *Proceedings* of a colored national convention which met in Rochester, New York, in 1853, the statement is made that a certain Lieutenant Stout of the United States navy, wrote to President Adams from the Cape of Good Hope in 1798 urging the colonization of the American negro in South Africa as a counter movement to British settlement there. He is said to have argued that the exodus of American slaves would divert the flow of British immigrants from Africa to the United States, and in this way the United States could rival Great Britain in population. Attempts have been made to corroborate the statement of the negro convention by searching the records of the department of state at Washington, where Stout's letter was reported to be, and the Adams papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society as well; both were failures. All that could be learned about Stout was gathered from the records of the department of the navy. He was a lieutenant in the United States navy from July 3, 1798, to July 6, 1801, and was on the gunship *Herald*, a vessel which did service along the New York coast and the West Indies. Stout, therefore, could not have been at the Cape of Good Hope at the time the letter was said to have been written, and since no such communication was found in the Adams papers, further efforts to locate the letter have been regarded as useless. But even should the letter have been written, the facts set forth in this paper show that Stout was not the author of negro colonization.

⁷⁶ Brissot de Warville, *New travels in the United States of America*, 1: 264.

Abolition Society. Benezet was in favor of sending the negroes to the West. This relationship between abolitionists and colonizationists is interesting in view of their heated controversy during a later period. Again, the colonization sentiment was manifested in the South. Citizens of Virginia especially advocated colonization, and in 1800, 1804, and 1816, the Virginia assembly passed resolutions with a view to the deportation of the negro. Furthermore, at this time the North and the South seem to have been united in their opinion as to what was the best means of solving the negro question. It should also be emphasized that deportation was treated as a factor in the abolition of slavery. The movement was for emancipation with colonization; it was never advocated as a means of removing only the free negroes. Finally, these early precursors in the field of negro deportation prepared the way for the formation of the American Colonization Society in 1816 and 1817, Fairfax and Thornton being present at its organization. Both signed the constitution and Thornton became a member of the board of managers.

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PIONEER ANTI-SLAVERY PRESS

While the history of the anti-slavery movement after 1830 is well known to every student of American history, the movement during the three decades preceding that date is much less familiar and deserves critical investigation. This period has been characterized frequently by anti-slavery writers as the "neglected interval" or the "period of stagnation," but it may be regarded more properly as a transition epoch, when the scattered forces were being organized and when issues were being defined and plans of operation adopted.

The center of this activity lay in the border states, particularly the great Appalachian plateau, where the system of slavery was poorly adapted to the economic, social, political, and religious life of the people. As slavery was a real problem with them, it is not surprising to see them putting forth special efforts to rid themselves of it. In this work, naturally, the way was led by the Quakers, whose antagonism to slavery is proverbial, ably assisted by the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and the Baptists. The minutes of the American convention of abolition societies during the years immediately preceding the inauguration of the modern abolition movement by Garrison and his followers show in the border states an unusually large number of anti-slavery societies, which at times greatly exceeded in membership those in the free states. This is especially pronounced in 1827 when 106 of the 130 societies and 5,125 of the 6,625 members were located in that section.¹ Western North

¹ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, October 13, 1827. The figures for the entire country are as follows:

FREE STATES	SOCIETIES	MEMBERS
Massachusetts		
New York	4	300
Rhode Island		
Pennsylvania	16	900
Ohio	4	300
TOTAL	24	1500

Carolina and eastern Tennessee were generally regarded as better fields for anti-slavery labor than either Ohio or New England. John Rankin, a native of Tennessee and for many years one of the leading abolitionists in the country, declared that in his boyhood "a majority of the people of East Tennessee were abolitionists"² and that "it was safer to make an anti-slavery speech in the South than it became during the thirties to make the same speech in the North."³

The one important feature of anti-slavery work with which this study is concerned is the establishment and the development of the anti-slavery press, which had its origin in this region during this period. One of the greatest difficulties before the anti-slavery workers in these early years was the small number of periodicals through which they could place before the people their arguments against the system of slavery, since the columns of the regular newspapers were, as a rule, closed to their discussions. The press has always been, as it is today, a powerful agency in determining the final result of any great movement. Horace Greeley wisely stated, "A History which takes no account of what was said by the press in memorable emergencies befits an earlier age than this." And Napoleon Bonaparte is credited with saying, "Four hostile newspapers are more to be dreaded than one hundred thousand bayonets." The steady and persistent opposition of the slave interests of

SLAVE STATES

Delaware	2	75
Maryland	11	500
District of Columbia.....	2	100
Virginia	8	250
Kentucky	8	200
Tennessee	25	1000
North Carolina.....	50	3000
TOTAL	106	5125
GRAND TOTAL	130	6625

See also the American convention for 1823, *Minutes* (Philadelphia, 1823), 18; *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, 5: 364, 414; Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and slavery* (Baltimore, 1896), 240-241, and "Anti-slavery sentiment in the South," in Southern History Association, *Publications* (Washington, 1898), vol. 2.

² Henry Wilson, *History of the rise and fall of the slave power in America* (Boston, 1874-1877), 1:178.

³ Address delivered by J. C. Leggett at Ripley, Ohio, May 5, 1892, on the occasion of the dedication of a large bust to the memory of John Rankin (pamphlet, n. d.).

the South to anti-slavery publications indicated their appreciation of the dangers of such propaganda.

The editor of the first periodical established primarily for the discussion of slavery was Charles Osborn. Born in North Carolina of Quaker parentage on the twenty-first of August, 1775, he removed at the age of nineteen with his parents to East Tennessee, where he entered the ministry about ten years later. On his frequent ministerial visits among the numerous Quaker settlements in that region,⁴ he assisted in every way possible in the organization and the activities of the anti-slavery societies. His time during the three years from 1814 to 1816 was devoted almost exclusively to this work. In 1815 he was one of the eight charter members of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, an organization that developed rapidly in numbers and influence. As a result of his aversion to the institution of slavery, he removed, in the latter part of 1816, to Mount Pleasant in southeastern Ohio, where he became the minister of a Quaker congregation.⁵ Soon after his arrival, he issued the prospectus of a paper that he proposed to establish under the name of the *Philanthropist*, the first number of which appeared August 29, 1817. This undertaking not prospering as he had hoped, he sold the paper in October of the following year to Elisha Bates⁶ and a few months later removed to Indiana, where he spent the remainder of his long and eventful life.⁷

The *Philanthropist* was a weekly newspaper of religious tone intended, as was set forth clearly and forcefully in the prospectus, to aid in the campaign then being waged by the reformers against three great national evils: war, slavery, and intemperance. In its pages the subject of slavery was discussed nearly

⁴ Weeks, *Southern Quakers and slavery*, 400, map.

⁵ Charles Osborn, *Journal of that faithful servant of Christ, Charles Osborn* (Cincinnati, 1854), 1-147; George W. Julian, "The genesis of modern abolitionism," in the *International review*, 12: 533-555; Weeks, *Southern Quakers and slavery*, 235-238; and "Anti-slavery sentiment in the South," in Southern History Association, *Publications*, 2: 106; William Birney, *James G. Birney and his times; the genesis of the republican party with some account of abolition movements in the South before 1828* (New York, 1890), 76, 390.

⁶ Osborn, *Journal*, 155-164; Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, the reputed president of the underground railroad* (Cincinnati, 1880), 266; Thomas Earle, *Life of Benjamin Lundy* (Philadelphia, 1847), 16-17; Julian, "The genesis of modern abolitionism," in the *International review*, 12: 534.

⁷ Osborn, *Journal*, 164.

ninety times, or on an average about twice in each number. Benjamin Lundy, then residing at Saint Clairsville, Ohio, was from the first an agent and a regular correspondent of the paper and during the last few months of its existence was an associate editor.⁸

The *Philanthropist* is regarded by many not only as the first anti-slavery paper published in the United States but as the "first journal in America to advocate immediate, unconditional emancipation." While Osborn is said to have been from his earliest years a "thoroughgoing abolitionist,"⁹ there is nothing in the *Philanthropist* to confirm or disprove this contention, although in one issue it is distinctly stated that emancipation must be gradual.¹⁰ In his first number the editor declares hopefully that the time "is fast approaching when the United States shall no longer be stained with this foul pollution of slavery."¹¹ The fact has been well established that Charles Osborn advocated immediate, uncompensated emancipation as early as 1816,¹² yet an examination of the *Philanthropist* indicates that he did not use this paper to any considerable extent as a medium through which to express such sentiments. In fact, the strongest words against slavery are found in the selections from other papers and in communications from Saint Clairsville, in all probability from the pen of Lundy. That the paper exhibited a moderate anti-slavery spirit may be attributed in part to Osborn's being so much occupied with his ministerial duties that he was forced to depend for most of the articles, including even many of the editorials, upon his co-workers, men as a rule more tolerant than he.

He had little faith in the colonization movement started in

⁸ Practically a complete file of the *Philanthropist* is in the Johns Hopkins University library.

⁹ Julian, "The genesis of modern abolitionism," in the *International review*, 12: 533-555, and "The truth of anti-slavery history," *ibid.*, 13: 437-454; Weeks, *Southern Quakers and slavery*, 235-236; Coffin, *Reminiscences*, introduction, xi-xv. See also Oliver Johnson, "Charles Osborn's place in anti-slavery history," in the *International review*, 13: 191-206, for the other side.

¹⁰ *Philanthropist*, 1: no. 13.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, no. 1.

¹² Birney, *James G. Birney and his times*, 390; Weeks, *Southern Quakers and slavery*, 236; Alice D. Adams, *The neglected period of anti-slavery in America*, 1808-1831 (Boston, 1908), 60; Osborn, *Journal*, 1-147; Julian, "The genesis of modern abolitionism," in the *International review*, 12: 543.

1816 and emphatically opposed it in the *Philanthropist*, notwithstanding the fact that the projectors of the scheme were men of high character. In the sixth number he makes the following comment upon the colonization society: "The editor has great doubts of the justice of the plans proposed. It appears to him calculated to rivet closer the chains that already gall the sons of Africa and to insure to the miserable objects of American cruelty a perpetuity of bondage."¹³

During a large portion of his life, Osborn carefully abstained from using the productions of slave labor and forcefully advocated the practice in the *Philanthropist*¹⁴ and wherever else the occasion permitted. His views on the subject are clearly set forth in the following quotation: "A merchant that loads his vessel in the West Indies with the proceeds of slavery does nearly as much at helping forward the slave trade as he that loads his vessel in Africa with slaves. They are both twisting the rope at different ends. — It is paradoxical that a man will refuse to buy a stolen sheep, or eat a piece of one that is stolen and should not have the same scruples respecting a stolen man."¹⁵ Since articles on this subject were quoted by him from other papers, the statement frequently made that he was the first to advocate this practice can not be regarded as sound; yet, if not the originator, he must be recognized as one of the pioneers in the movement.

Since the *Philanthropist* discussed other subjects, it can not justly be regarded as an anti-slavery periodical of the extreme type that was later developed. Many newspapers in various parts of the country occasionally published articles in which slavery was condemned as an evil and plans of emancipation were proposed, yet they were not established with that object in view. The *Philanthropist* might properly be assigned a position midway between these and the anti-slavery papers of a later date.

Although not all that has been claimed for it can be granted to the *Philanthropist*, it did, nevertheless, perform a most valuable service. It not only demonstrated the usefulness of anti-slavery papers in forming and organizing public sentiment, but,

¹³ *Philanthropist*, 1: no. 6.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1: nos. 10, 17, 24.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1: p. 176.

as we shall see, proved to be the germ out of which was developed Lundy's *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

The second anti-slavery paper established in point of time and the first devoted wholly to anti-slavery is notable as being produced in a slave state and in connection with one of the early organizations looking toward the betterment of the slave, the Manumission Society of Tennessee, founded in 1814. Among the charter members of this society were Charles Osborn and John Rankin, men destined to occupy a position of national importance in the anti-slavery movement.¹⁶ So rapid was the growth of the society that by the latter part of 1816 there were twenty branches and a membership of nearly five hundred.¹⁷ Osborn and Rankin removed to Ohio and Kentucky, respectively, and the leadership in this work passed into the hands of other able and worthy men, among whom the most notable was Elihu Embree.¹⁸

Elihu Embree, born November 11, 1782, was the son of a Quaker minister, who moved from Pennsylvania to Washington county in East Tennessee about 1790. During his early life, Elihu was associated in the iron manufacturing business with his brother, Elijah, who possessed "uncommon intelligence, a great love of enterprise and commanding executive ability." Elijah married the granddaughter of the famous Governor John Sevier of Tennessee and at the time of his death in 1846 was the owner of seventy thousand acres of mineral land valued at nearly one million dollars. Elihu, being somewhat visionary and impractical in his plans, was a poor business manager. During his early life he owned slaves, having purchased several and having come into possession of a number of others through his wife. About 1812, however, he freed all of them at a considerable financial sacrifice; soon afterward he became an ardent

¹⁶ Birney, *James G. Birney and his times*, 76; Adams, *The neglected period of anti-slavery in America*, 131; Elijah E. Hoss, *Elihu Embree, abolitionist* (Vanderbilt Southern History Society, *Publications*, no. 2 — Nashville, 1897), 11; Oliver P. Temple, *East Tennessee and the civil war* (Cincinnati, 1899), 87.

¹⁷ *Niles' Weekly Register* (Washington, 1817), 14: 321.

¹⁸ Hoss, *Elihu Embree, abolitionist*, 11. As stated above, Osborn moved to Mount Pleasant, Ohio, where he published the *Philanthropist*. After residing four years in Kentucky, Rankin moved to Ripley, Ohio, where he spent the remainder of his long life. In 1825 he published his *Letters on American slavery*, which went through many editions, being one of the most important of the abolition pamphlets.

anti-slavery worker, and remained so until his death.¹⁹ In 1819, after securing the approval and coöperation of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, of which he was an active member, he began the publication of a weekly anti-slavery paper at Jonesborough (Jonesboro) in East Tennessee under the name of the *Manumission Intelligencer*, the first number of which appeared in March.²⁰

Very little is known concerning this paper. It is mentioned by few historians and then only briefly and vaguely. So far as we are able to learn, no library contains even a partial file of the fifty or more numbers that were issued. Some eight or ten copies, however, are in the possession of various individuals of Washington county, Tennessee.²¹

In April, 1820, the weekly issue was replaced by an octavo monthly and the name of the paper was changed to the *Emancipator*, though the publication continued under the same editorship. No explanation has been found for these changes. Unfortunately, the *Emancipator* had an existence of only eight months because of the untimely death of the editor, December 12, 1820.²² A full file of this remarkable journal, comprising some one hundred and twelve pages, has been preserved and is now the property of Elihu Embree Hoss of Nashville, Tennessee, bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church, South. The ob-

¹⁹ Hoss, *Elihu Embree, abolitionist*, 6, 7; Temple, *East Tennessee and the civil war*, 91, 93; A. D. Smith, *History of East Tennessee* (Chattanooga, 1893), 159.

²⁰ Moses White, "East Tennessee journalism," from a clipping from the *Nashville American*; the date is not given. Jonesboro is located in the mountains of East Tennessee and is the oldest town in the state. It is a very strong Quaker community. See Weeks, *Southern Quakers and slavery*, 400, map.

²¹ Temple in his *East Tennessee and the civil war*, 91, says that eight or nine copies are owned by various people in Washington county. The writer has corresponded with some of these people. Colonel Moses White of Knoxville, lately deceased, who for many years was regarded as one of the best authorities on Tennessee history in the country, delivered an elaborate address at Knoxville in 1878, on "East Tennessee journalism," which was published in the *Nashville American*. The exact date is not given in the clipping from which the above information was secured. He had in his possession at least one copy of the *Manumission Intelligencer* and had seen other copies, so that he could speak intelligently on the subject. The data here given is drawn largely from this source.

²² Weeks, "Anti-slavery sentiment in the South," in *Southern History Association, Publications*, 2: 1031; Hoss, *Elihu Embree, abolitionist*, 7; Smith, *History of East Tennessee*, 159.

jects of the paper as set forth in an address to the general public in the first number are as follows:

“This paper is especially designed by the editor to advocate the abolition of slavery, and to be a repository of tracts on that interesting and important subject. It will contain all the necessary information that the editor can obtain of the progress of the abolition of slavery of the descendants of Africa, together with a concise history of their introduction into slavery, collected from the best authorities.

“The constitutions and proceedings of the several benevolent societies in the United States and elsewhere who have had this grand object in view will be carefully selected and published in *The Emancipator*.

“A correspondence between those societies, and between individuals in different parts of the nation on the subject of emancipation, will be kept up through the medium of this paper by inserting in its pages all interesting communications, letters and so forth, that may come to the Knowledge of the editor.

“The speeches of those who have been and are eminently advocating this glorious cause, either in the Congress of the United States, the state legislatures, or in the parliaments and courts of the nations, will be strictly attended to.

“Biographical sketches of the lives of those who have been eminent in this cause will also occasionally find a place in this work.

“A portion of this paper is intended to be devoted to a history of the abolition of the African Slave Trade, in every part of the world, from its first dawn, down to the present time. . . .

“The Manumission Society of Tennessee in particular, it is expected, will afford many tracts on the subject of slavery, which the editor assures them he will feel inclined to respect; and where his judgment should not otherwise dictate, will give them an early and gratuitous insertion. They will find *The Emancipator* a true chronicle of the proceedings of that benevolent society, as far as the editor is enabled. . . .

“Those who have had, or may have law suits on hand for the freedom of such as are unlawfully held in bondage, are desired to forward the true history of the facts, their progress, final decision, &, with the places of residence and the names of plain-

tiffs and defendants, with every interesting particular, and they shall find in *The Emancipator* a true repository.

"Although the editor is as far from being a man of leisure as any in his acquaintance, and not the owner of the office where the paper will be printed, and therefore shall have to hire the printing of it; and although he has spent several thousand dollars already in some small degree abolishing and in endeavoring to facilitate the general abolition of slavery, — yet he feels not satisfied without continuing to throw in his mite, hoping that if the weight of it should not at present be felt that when the scale comes nearly to a preponderancy, it will be more sensibly perceived and in some small degree hasten an even balance of equal rights to the now neglected sons of Africa.

"And since it will be at considerable trouble and expense that the work will be published, agreeably to the editor's intention, it is hoped that none who have any love for African liberty will think hard of paying \$1. annually to the support of the only paper of this kind in the United States." ²³

In this paper, slavery and slaveholders, upon one occasion characterized as "monsters in human flesh," were condemned in the strongest terms; and the evils of the system were forcefully pointed out. In a memorial to the Tennessee legislature in 1820, which was printed in the *Emancipator*, Embree said: "Your memorialist conceives that it would be offering an indignity to the understanding of your honorable body, to offer to prove that the laws which first sanctioned slavery were passed in a dark and barbarous age: and that were they yet to be passed, there is not a civilized legislature now upon the earth that would do it; but would humbly ask, Are these the only laws which the representative of a free and enlightened republic can not modify or repeal? Or are they to stand as lasting monuments of depravity?" ²⁴

When he was confronted with the practical difficulties of emancipation, Embree coolly replied that "as slavery is a moral evil, it ought to be removed as speedily as possible, and trust the con-

²³ *Emancipator*, April 4, 1820. Quoted by Hoss, *Elihu Embree, abolitionist*, 7-10. The information concerning the *Emancipator* is drawn largely from this article, which quotes extensively from the periodical named.

²⁴ Hoss, *Elihu Embree, abolitionist*, 15.

sequences of such duty in the hands of unerring Providence.”²⁵ In a reply to the suggestion that abolition would lead to miscegenation he said that he would have less fear of a mixture in consequence of freedom than in continued bondage, and attempted to prove this assertion by a comparison of the conditions in the free and in the slave states. In respect to the dreaded equality of the blacks with the whites he declared that he had never been able to discover “that the Author of Nature intended that one complexion of the human skin should stand higher in the scale of being than another.”²⁶ He denounced the states North and South that had passed laws prohibiting the incoming of free negroes into their bounds. And, as one would naturally expect, he opposed the Missouri compromise with all his might. “Not another foot of slave territory” was his war cry.²⁷

The *Emancipator*, though a pronounced abolition paper, was well received by the public. At the time of Embree’s death it could boast of a paying list of 2,000 subscribers, which was in all probability as large as that of any newspaper in either Tennessee or Kentucky.²⁸ In speaking of the change of opinion on the subject of slavery and of the unexpected success of his paper, Embree himself said: “I have no hesitation in believing that less than twenty years ago a man would have been mobbed and the printing office torn down for printing and publishing anything like ‘The Emancipator,’ whereas it now meets the approbation of thousands, and is patronized perhaps at least equal to any other in the state. — But little by little, times are much changed here, until societies of respectable citizens have arisen to plead the cause of abolition; and instead of it being a disgrace to a man to be a member of these societies, it is rather a

²⁵ Hoss, *Elihu Embree, abolitionist*, 16.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 19.

²⁸ The *Argus of Western America* (Frankfort), May 30, 1817, estimates the average circulation of the nineteen Kentucky papers at eight hundred. Two or three papers were believed to have between one and three thousand subscribers but the majority had less than five hundred. As late as 1831 (November 4), the *Lexington Observer* says: “We can now boast of a subscription which if it does not equal all, is surpassed by but few in Kentucky. Our circulation at present is nearly 1,100; and the number of subscribers is but little short of 1,000.” Smith in his *History of East Tennessee*, p. 159, says that between 1816 and 1820 there were but two newspapers in East Tennessee, a condition which doubtless accounted in part for the large circulation of the *Emancipator*.

mark of the goodness of his heart, and redounds to his honor.”²⁹

On the other hand, the paper naturally encountered considerable opposition, based upon various grounds, which are succinctly set forth in a letter to Embree from Governor Poindexter of Mississippi, to whom, as well as to the governors of all the other states, sample copies of the *Emancipator* had been sent for inspection.³⁰ The letter, representing at this early date the sentiment that prevailed in the South during the thirties, and that resulted in a decided attempt to suppress all anti-slavery agitation in that region, follows:³¹

“ASHWOOD PLACE (MISS.), July 31, 1820

“SIR:

“You have thought proper to address to me several numbers of ‘The Emancipator,’ edited and published by you, at Jonesborough, in Tennessee; an honor, which was both unsolicited and unexpected.

“The price demanded for your sheet annually, being one dollar, is to my mind, conclusive evidence, that you represent an association of individuals, in another section of the United States, who bear the expense of the work you have undertaken and reward your labors; and that your position in the Western country, has been selected with a view to economy. I regard it as an effort, mischievous in its tendency: designed to sever the bonds of social harmony, which ought to be cherished, and strengthened in every part of the Union, and totally unworthy of public patronage. I cannot, therefore, subscribe even one cent for your paper, and have no wish to receive it on any terms.

“The same Providence, which has permitted African Slavery in the new world, will point to the period of its happy termination. Every real Christian and patriot, will look with patient hope, for the consumation devoutly to be wished, of that event, without resorting to means calculated, if not intended, to excite passions and prejudices the most unfavorable to domestic tranquility, and national prosperity.

“Your fellow citizen,

“GEORGE POINDEXTER”

²⁹ Hoss, *Elihu Embree, abolitionist*, 17, 18.

³⁰ The governors of Georgia, Alabama, and North Carolina all returned the sample copies, thus signifying their disapproval of the publication.

³¹ Hoss, *Elihu Embree, abolitionist*, 24.

Although, as indicated, there prevailed in East Tennessee a strong anti-slavery sentiment, which was in part responsible for the unusual success of Embree's paper during its short existence, yet the ability and the standing of the editor contributed very largely to that end. Stephen B. Weeks gives this estimate of him: "He removed to Tennessee at an early age and had in him the stuff of which enthusiasts and martyrs are made, for he was a radical, outspoken and aggressive abolitionist. . . . Had he lived a decade longer he would have made a name for himself."³² And Niles³³ in a brief announcement of his death speaks of him as "a man of a very strong mind and one of the most enterprising citizens of the state." It is his unique distinction that, though resident in a southern state, he was a radical, outspoken abolitionist at a time when New England had only a nascent conscience on the subject of slavery. Speculation as to the probable outcome of his work, if he had lived to be an old man, is at least interesting if not conclusive. The name of Embree might well have outlived that of Lundy or Garrison.

The next anti-slavery paper to be established and the first to have an existence of more than two years was the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, edited and published by Benjamin Lundy, who like Osborn and Embree before him, was the son of a Quaker. Like his predecessors, also, he had a varied career before he entered newspaper work.

He was born in the state of New Jersey in 1789. When nineteen he went to Wheeling, Virginia, where he took up the saddler's trade, which he followed for four years in Wheeling and three years in Mount Pleasant, Ohio. After his marriage in 1815, he moved to Saint Clairsville, Ohio, where he went into the saddlery business for himself. Though he had no capital to begin with, he was so successful that at the end of the first four years of work he possessed more than three thousand dollars' worth of property.³⁴

During the first year of his residence at Saint Clairsville, he

³² Weeks, "Anti-slavery sentiment in the South," in Southern History Association, *Publications*, 2: 103.

³³ Niles' *Weekly Register*, 19: 384.

³⁴ Earle, *Life of Benjamin Lundy*, 13-16; William C. Armstrong, *The Lundy family and their descendants of whatsoever surname, with a biographical sketch of Ben-*

was instrumental in organizing an anti-slavery society in that place and the following year he published an address to the philanthropists of the United States recommending the formation of anti-slavery societies under a common title and constitution with a general convention for important business, a plan which was later adopted by the abolitionists. At the close of this address he stated that he had considered the subject for a long time and that he had now taken it up never to lay it down while he breathed or until the end should be obtained.³⁵ Soon after this, proposals were issued by Charles Osborn for the publication of the *Philanthropist* at Mount Pleasant. From the beginning Lundy was very much interested in the undertaking and began at once to secure subscribers for the paper and to select material for publication in it. After it had been in existence for a few months, Osborn asked Lundy, much to his surprise, to assist in editing it. After some hesitation the latter decided to do so, though he continued his residence at Saint Clairsville.³⁶ Osborn found in Lundy a kindred spirit and a thoroughly trustworthy man. In 1818 he proposed a partnership in the business, offering to him the superintendence of the office. Lundy agreed to the proposition on the condition that he be given time in which to dispose of his business. To effect this end he made two trips to Saint Louis, Missouri, thus consuming the greater part of the next two years.³⁷ Concerning his consequent plans Lundy makes this comment: "Before I left Saint Louis, I heard that, as I had staid from home so much longer than had been anticipated, Charles Osborn had become quite tired of the employment of editor, and had sold out his printing establishment to Elisha Bates, and also that Elihu Embree had commenced the publication of an anti-slavery paper called 'The Emancipator' at Jonesborough in Tennessee. I therefore made up my mind to settle my family in Illinois. But on my way home I was informed of the death of Embree and as Elisha Bates did not come up to my standard of anti-slavery I determined immediately to establish a periodical of my own. I

jamin Lundy (New Brunswick, N. J., 1902), 352-354; Birney, *James G. Birney and his times*, 390; Adams, *The neglected period of anti-slavery in America*, 24, 25.

³⁵ Earle, *Life of Benjamin Lundy*, 16-17; Armstrong, *The Lundy family*, 354.

³⁶ Earle, *Life of Benjamin Lundy*; Armstrong, *The Lundy family*.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 356; Earle, *Life of Benjamin Lundy*, 18.

therefore removed to Mount Pleasant, Ohio, and commenced the publication of the 'Genius of Universal Emancipation.' ' ' ³⁸

The first number of the new paper was issued in July, 1821.³⁹ Lundy spent much time traveling from place to place securing subscribers and endeavoring to excite an interest in the subject by conversation and lectures. Notices were sent to papers in different sections of the country setting forth the nature and the purpose of the publication. One of these reads: "This work is intended to be devoted exclusively to the discussion of African Slavery, and will be an active instrument in the attempt to abolish that cruel and disgraceful system in the American Republic. The proposed editor believes that the time has come when advocates of African emancipation should speak out, that they may be heard, and use their utmost exertions to arouse and awaken the American people to a sense of the inconsistency, the hypocrisy and the iniquity of which many of them are chargeable in suffering this foul blot to remain upon their national escutcheon and as he considers it almost criminal to be lukewarm in a cause so important as this the public may be assured that his best endeavors shall be used, consistent with justice and propriety to draw the attention of his countrymen toward this subject, and to induce them to think more upon it." ⁴⁰

The fame of the paper soon reached East Tennessee, where the friends of Elihu Embree were lamenting the loss of the *Emancipator* and its editor. They at once urged Lundy to publish his paper in that section.⁴¹ Accordingly, after having issued eight monthly numbers in Ohio, he removed to Greeneville, East Tennessee, where volume one, number ten appeared in April, 1822.⁴² In this number he stated that if the paper met

³⁸ Earle, *Life of Benjamin Lundy*, 19, 20.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 20; Temple, *East Tennessee and the civil war*, 92; Adams, *The neglected period of anti-slavery in America*, 45; and Birney, *James G. Birney and his times*, all say that the first issue appeared in January, 1821, but the files of the paper show that these statements are not correct. Until quite recent times the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* was regarded by the accepted histories and manuals as the first anti-slavery paper published in the United States.

⁴⁰ *Indiana Gazette* (Corydon), November 29, 1821.

⁴¹ Earle, *Life of Benjamin Lundy*, 20. Temple, *East Tennessee and the civil war*, 92, says that the subscription list of the *Emancipator* was sold to Lundy before he left Ohio.

⁴² *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, 1: 150. Probably the most complete file of the paper in existence is in the Cornell University library.

with sufficient encouragement it would continue to be published in that place. The circulation of the paper increased in that locality beyond all expectation.⁴³

During the winter of 1823-1824, Lundy attended the biennial meeting of the American convention of abolition societies at Philadelphia as a delegate of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, with which he had been closely associated during his residence in that state.⁴⁴ As a result of his becoming personally acquainted for the first time with the leading abolitionists east of the Allegheny mountains, he decided to transfer his publication to one of the Atlantic cities in the hope of increasing its circulation and influence. Accordingly in August of 1824 he set out for Baltimore, his chosen location.⁴⁵ He continued his work there until October, 1830, when, owing to certain difficulties which confronted him, he moved his paper to Washington, D. C., and remained there until 1834, when he went to Philadelphia, in which city he died in 1839.

The *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, during the greater part of its existence, was a monthly periodical containing usually twelve to sixteen pages, though from March until September, 1823, it was issued as a semi-monthly. The monthly numbers continued from that time with no material alterations until July, 1825, when a complete change was made by issuing along with the monthly a weekly paper on larger sheets. This practically replaced the monthly except for a lapse of several months during the partnership of Garrison and Lundy in 1829 and 1830, after which the monthly edition was resumed. During 1837, 1838 and 1839, Lundy published in addition to the monthly numbers a quarterly magazine under the title *The genius of universal emancipation and anti-slavery review*.

It is not easy to be sure of the exact position Lundy held on the anti-slavery question, or, more particularly, on the question of how to abolish slavery. It is generally claimed that he was not in any degree an advocate of immediate or general emancipation; yet he was willing to allow arguments for immediate

⁴³ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, 1: no. 10; Armstrong, *The Lundy family*, 357; Earle, *Life of Benjamin Lundy*, 21.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 21; American convention, 1823, *Minutes*, 5.

⁴⁵ Earle, *Life of Benjamin Lundy*, 22; Temple, *East Tennessee and the civil war*, 94.

emancipation to be inserted in his paper, even before the time of Garrison. So far as we can judge from his writings, it would seem that he was uncompromisingly opposed to slavery, on all grounds; that he relied on gradual emancipation as the only means which would commend itself to a sufficient number of people to insure its success; that he believed in a constant discussion of slavery and in a constant denunciation by its opponents; that he favored the immediate abandonment of the slave trade and the immediate passage of all possible laws for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves, as tending towards ultimate emancipation. Later he became an advocate of the colonization scheme, preferring, however, to send the negroes to Haiti rather than to Africa.

Lundy's words in denunciation of slavery are as strong in many instances as any of Garrison's, and sometimes possibly stronger. The difference seems to lie in the application of the words. Lundy denounced slavery as a system, the slave trade as a business, the desire for new slave territory as chicanery; and he pleaded for the negro as a race. Garrison, on the other hand, not only condemned slavery, but assailed slave traders and slave owners as individuals and consequently incited greater and more determined opposition than did Lundy.

In the first volume of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* Lundy presented a plan of emancipation announced as distinctly his own. It is in seven articles. 1. The national government should totally abolish slavery in all districts over which congress has exclusive control, and receive no new state without constitutional prohibition of slavery. 2. The transportation of slaves from one state to another should be prohibited under the severest penalties. 3. Blacks should be received into the free states on the same footing as whites. 4. Aid should be given to all blacks who are willing to leave the country. 5. All slaveholding states should make simultaneous arrangements for gradual but certain emancipation, and repeal their laws against the blacks. 6. The regulation concerning slave representation should be immediately abolished. 7. The details of a regular system of operation should be settled by annual conventions called for that purpose.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, 1: 33, 65, 87, 118, 133.

In an editorial in 1823 Lundy said, "Nobody urges an immediate liberation of the slave,"⁴⁷ and again in 1824, "in short, the end and aim of this publication is the gradual, though total, abolition of slavery in the United States of America."⁴⁸ In 1825 he presented another plan for gradual emancipation, quite different from that given in 1821, perhaps because his readers were not ready for even so moderate a plan as the first proposed. This second plan consisted of a system of coöperative labor, on land purchased for the purpose, until the negroes had worked out their purchase money, when they were to be colonized. Thus he advocated compulsory colonization.⁴⁹ Whether Lundy favored gradual or immediate emancipation, he most certainly believed in abolition, not in the mere amelioration of the condition of the slaves.⁵⁰

In the *Indiana Gazette* of Thursday, November 29, 1821, and in Lundy's *Genius of Universal Emancipation* for March, 1822, proposals were issued for the publication of a semi-monthly paper at Shelbyville, Kentucky, by John Finley Crowe, a Presbyterian minister, under the patronage and control of the Kentucky Abolition Society. These proposals enumerated the principles of the society, quoting extracts from the constitution declaring that the publication would be devoted entirely to its interests.⁵¹

The first number of the paper appeared as a monthly, instead of a semi-monthly as stated in the proposals, in May, 1822, under the name of the *Abolition intelligencer and missionary magazine*.⁵² It gave a more full and explicit enumeration of the

⁴⁷ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, 2: 50.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 4: 2.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 5: 58.

⁵⁰ Lundy strenuously opposed the annexation of Texas. In 1829 he used the following strong language: "We can no longer disguise the fact that the advocates of slavery are resolved, at all hazards, to obtain the territory in question (Texas), if possible, for the avowed purpose of adding five or six more slaveholding states to this Union. . . . It is now time for the people of the United States who are opposed to the further extension of this horrible evil . . . to arouse from their lethargy . . . (Texas) is now a free state. But the avowed design of Senator Benton and others of his political clan is to change . . . and introduce the slave system with all its barbarities, again." *Ibid.*, 10: 14.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 1: 150. *Indiana Gazette*, November 29, 1821.

⁵² Only twelve numbers of this paper were issued, nine of which are in the library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society.

designs of the society and the paper than had been set forth previously. It declared the great object to be to aid suffering humanity so far as was within their power; to meliorate the situation of the free people of color by giving them aid and encouragement in the discharge of the great duties of morality and religion; to aid those unlawfully kept in bondage; to prepare the public mind for the gradual constitutional abolition of slavery, and to convince the people that the institution was a national, an individual and a moral evil, hostile to the spirit of government, ruinous to the prosperity of the nation, destructive to social happiness and subversive to the great principles of morality.⁵³

Each monthly number of the *Abolition intelligencer and missionary magazine* contained sixteen pages, the first eight of which were devoted wholly to a discussion of slavery and the last eight to missions. Since the undertaking was not supported as well as had been anticipated and the state society, which had less than two hundred members at that time, was unable to give any substantial aid to the paper, it had to be discontinued. The twelfth and last number was issued in April, 1823, when the paid subscribers numbered less than five hundred.⁵⁴ The anti-slavery forces seem to have been very inactive in Kentucky during the early twenties. Could the paper have been continued till after Lundy's removal to Baltimore in 1824, it doubtless would have received enough supporters from the anti-slavery strongholds of East Tennessee and Ohio to have made the publication profitable or at least self-supporting. The *Abolition intelligencer and missionary magazine* displayed a determined and aggressive though not a radical spirit. The doctrine of immediate emancipation was condemned and that of gradual emancipation, with which the colonization idea was usually as-

⁵³ *Abolition Intelligencer and Missionary Magazine*, 1: no. 1. The constitution of the society is published in full in *ibid.*, 1: no. 6, 81.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1: no. 11. With the exception of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* no one of the five early anti-slavery papers had an existence of more than two years. But in this respect they are like the majority of pioneer newspapers. See Reuben G. Thwaites, *The Ohio valley press before the war of 1812-1815* (Worcester, Mass., 1909); and William H. Perrin, *The pioneer press of Kentucky, from the printing of the first paper west of the Alleghanies, August 11, 1787, to the establishment of the daily press in 1830* (Filson Club Publications, no. 3 — Louisville, 1888).

sociated, was repeatedly declared to be the object for which it was working.⁵⁵

In 1824 proposals were made before the annual convention of the Manumission Society of Tennessee for the publication of a paper designed to assist the society in accomplishing the objects of the organization, but no definite decision was reached on the subject. The convention, however, resolved, the following year, to establish at Greeneville a quarterly anti-slavery magazine under the name of the *Manumission journal*.⁵⁶ No further information has been found concerning this publication and the probabilities are that it was never issued.

After 1825 anti-slavery papers appeared in rapid succession. The *African Observer* was established in Philadelphia in 1826, *Freedom's Journal* in New York city in 1827, the *National Philanthropist* in Boston in 1827, the *Investigator* in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1827, the *Free Press* in Bennington, Vermont, in 1828, and the *Liberalist* in New Orleans in the same year. The new impetus given the anti-slavery movement by the appearance of the *Liberator* in 1831 encouraged the establishment of similar papers throughout the free states. James G. Birney in 1838 estimated the number of such papers actually being published at that time as upward of one hundred.⁵⁷

In an examination of the five anti-slavery papers that were established before 1826, two facts are especially noticeable. First, all were published in the region west of the Allegheny mountains and in slave states, with the exception of the *Philanthropist*, whose editor was a native of North Carolina; and second, four of the five papers were edited by Quakers.

The historical value of these early anti-slavery papers can hardly be overestimated. They serve as a repository for all plans for the abolition of slavery, for all laws, arguments, opinions, essays, speeches, reviews, statistics, congressional proceedings, notices of books and pamphlets, colonization ef-

⁵⁵ *Abolition intelligencer and missionary magazine*, 1: 43, 84.

⁵⁶ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, September, 1825. The minutes of the eleventh annual convention of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, held in August, 1825, are given in this number.

⁵⁷ James G. Birney, *Correspondence between the Honorable F. H. Elmore, one of the South Carolina delegation in congress, and James G. Birney, one of the secretaries of the American anti-slavery society* (New York, 1838), 19.

forts, political movements, in short, for everything relating to slavery. They kept alive the anti-slavery sentiment, organized it and formulated definite plans of operation. In so doing they paved the way for the coming of Garrison and the modern abolitionists. They were the pioneers of the movement, struggling almost single-handed against the numerous difficulties that threatened to overwhelm them; yet out of chaos they brought an organization, a well defined purpose and a unity of action that made possible the success of the efforts of those who were to follow them.⁵⁸

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PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE
STATE COLLEGE

⁵⁸ Following is a list of the anti-slavery journals published in the United States before 1829 which avowed the extinction of slavery as one if not the chief of their objects: *Philanthropist*, Ohio, 1817-1818; *Manumission Intelligencer*, Tennessee, 1819-1820; *Emancipator*, Tennessee, 1820; *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Ohio, 1821-1822; Tennessee, 1822-1824; Maryland, 1824-1830; Washington, 1830-1834; Pennsylvania, 1834-1839; *Abolition Intelligencer*, Kentucky, 1822-1823; *Manumission Journal*, Tennessee, 1825(?); *African Observer*, Pennsylvania, 1826-; *Freedom's Journal*, New York City, 1827-; *Investigator*, Rhode Island, 1827-; *National Philanthropist*, Massachusetts, 1827-; *Free Press*, Vermont, 1828-; and *Liberalist*, Louisiana, 1828-. The *African Repository*, which was established in Philadelphia in 1826, and other distinctly colonization papers are not included in this list.

RECENT HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE TRANS- MISSISSIPPI SOUTHWEST

The states of the Southwest covered in this review of historical activities are: Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. The period under survey is roughly that from 1913-1915, but some reference is made to material of earlier date which was late in coming from the press. The difficulties in the way of obtaining complete and accurate information are such that a satisfactory account of historical activities throughout this region must be expected only at a later date.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES, GUIDES, INDEXES, AND CALENDARS

Many of the publications which serve as guides to the material relating to the history of the Southwest have already been mentioned in other reports of this series such as the periodical indexes, the *Cumulative book index*, the *Book review digest*, and the several guides to material in foreign archives published by the Carnegie Institution. In addition to these may be mentioned the various indexes to the public documents of the United States which are published by the government printing office and sold through the superintendent of documents or distributed by the several departments and bureaus of the American government, such as the bureau of education, the bureau of American ethnology, the Library of Congress, the war department, the land office, etc.

Several other works of a bibliographical nature have some interest to the worker in the history of these states. The most valuable single publication is probably Grace Gardner Griffin's *Writings on American history* now published by the Yale University Press. The volume for 1913 has just been distributed. A useful list of historical publications appears in each issue of the *History teacher's magazine*. Mention should be made also of Mr. F. J. Turner's *List of references on the history of the West* (Harvard University Press, 1913. 129 p.). That very few newspapers were published in the Southwest before 1820

can be ascertained from Clarence S. Brigham's "Bibliography of American newspapers, 1690-1820," printed in the *Proceedings* for 1913 of the American Antiquarian Society. The list of all the newspapers reaches a length of more than one hundred and fifty pages.

The long series of the Southern Historical Society papers can now be worked out through Mrs. Kate Minor Pleasant's *An author and subject index to the Southern Historical Society papers* (*Bulletin* No. 314, Virginia State Library, Richmond, 1913, 139 p.). Two extensive historical works each containing a considerable amount of information in regard to social and economic conditions in the Southwest have recently been thoroughly indexed: one, *The South in the building of the nation*, by J. Walker McSpadden in a thirteenth volume (Richmond, 1913, 454 p.); the other work, *The United States*, in ten volumes, edited by Edwin Wiley and Irving E. Rimes, has an index as an extra volume (New York, American Educational Alliance, 1913. 389 p.). A good list of books concerning Mexico and the war between United States and Mexico is contained in Henry E. Haferdorn's *The war with Mexico, 1846-1848* (Washington Barracks, 1914). In the *Twelfth annual report* of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, the director, Mr. Dunbar Rowland, publishes "An official guide to the historical material in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History"¹ which contains many references to historical material of general southwestern interest. Of cartographical value is Woodbury Lowery's *A descriptive list of maps of the Spanish possessions within the present limits of the United States, 1502-1820* (Washington, 1912. 567 p.), edited by P. Lee Phillips. The useful list of "Doctoral dissertations in progress" prepared by Mr. J. Franklin Jameson is now published annually in the January issue of the *American historical review*.

All of the guides to historical material and foreign archives which have been published by the department of historical research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington contain more or less material relating to the history of the Southwest. Each of those listed below is of considerable value to a student working in southwestern history; they have all been published or are

¹ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 597.

in press: Van Tyne and Leland, *Guide to the archives of the government of the United States*; L. M. Perez, *Guide to the materials for American history in Cuban archives*; W. R. Shepherd, *Guide to the materials for the history of the United States in Spanish archives*; J. A. Robertson, *List of documents in Spanish archives relating to the history of the United States, which have been printed or of which transcripts are preserved in American libraries*; C. R. Fish, *Guide to materials for American history in Roman and other Italian archives*; H. E. Bolton, *Guide to materials for the history of the United States in the principal archives of Mexico*; ² A. B. Faust, *Guide to materials for American history in Swiss and Austrian archives*; R. R. Hill, *Descriptive catalogue of documents relating to the history of the United States in the papeles procedentes de la isla de Cuba deposited in the archivo general de Indias at Seville*.

The department of historical research in the Carnegie Institution has also two sets of some fifty thousand slips listing all the documents in one hundred and forty-three *legajos* of the same section of the archives of the Indies, which were made under Mr. R. R. Hill's supervision, in connection with the preparation of his *Guide* named above. Another similar collection consists of some forty thousand slips of notes of about that number of documents in the Public Record Office of Great Britain and other foreign archives which have been published in printed volumes or of which manuscript copies exist in American libraries or other repositories; a small portion of these relate to the Southwest.

While few of the states in this region possess adequate local bibliography, it may be said that good progress is being made in some states and some progress is being made in each of the states toward listing local historical materials. An important list of publications relating to Arizona is contained in Joseph A. Munk's *Bibliography of Arizona* (Southwestern Museum, Los Angeles, 1915. 431 p.).³ The University of Arizona publishes Estelle Luttrell's *Bibliographical list of books, pamphlets and articles on Arizona in the University of Arizona library* (Tucson, 1913. 60 p.). The *Report* of the Arizona historian for the years 1909-1911, which was published in 1912, contains a list of

² Reviewed *ante*, 1: 146.

³ Reviewed in this number.

manuscripts, maps, books, and other publications in the custody of the historian.

The Arkansas History Commission, through its secretary, Dallas T. Herndon, has issued five *Bulletins of information*, each one containing lists, catalogues, and calendars of manuscript and published matter concerning the history of Arkansas. The Louisiana State Museum in New Orleans, located in the old Spanish government building called the *Cabildo*, has issued its *Fourth biennial report* (New Orleans, 1914), which contains a description of the ten or twelve thousand historical documents recently deposited in the museum building by the Louisiana Historical Society. During the past year Mr. William Price, an expert translator who assisted Reuben Gold Thwaites with the *Jesuit relations*, has been calendaring the papers of the superior council for the Louisiana Historical Society; this work has covered the years 1719-1743 and 1766-1769. The *Report* of the American Historical Association for 1912 (Washington, 1914) contains the report of Mr. William O. Scroggs on the archives of the state of Louisiana. The archives of Louisiana are located partly in New Orleans and partly in Baton Rouge. The report of Mr. Scroggs covers the following archives in New Orleans: those of the city hall, the supreme court, the attorney general, the state library, the state board of engineers, the state highway department, the state fire marshal, the state conservation commission, the state board of health, the custodian of notarial records, the immigration division of the state board of agriculture and immigration. The report also covers the files of the following officers in Baton Rouge: the governor, secretary of state, auditor, treasurer, the superintendent of education, the railroad commissioners, adjutant general, the commissioner of agriculture and immigration, the register of the land office. According to the report the archives in Louisiana are not in good condition nor are they well arranged.

Mr. T. P. Thompson, of New Orleans has published an *Index to a collection of Americana (relating principally to Louisiana), art and miscellanea* (New Orleans, 1912. 203 p.). This index covers about six thousand volumes in the private library of Mr. Thompson, who has spent about twenty years in collecting pamphlets, maps, and prints relating to the history of the state.

In a prefatory note Mr. Thompson states: "I am now nearly convinced that I have brought together every source book that may be needed to shed light on the past history of Louisiana." He further says — and this will delight the heart of every historical student — "Any student who desires to refer to my books is welcome as I look upon myself rather as a custodian than an owner."

Recent bibliographical publications relating to New Mexico seem to be scarce. B. M. Read's *Chronological digest of the documentos ineditos de archivo de las Indias* (Albuquerque, 1914. 161 p.) is a calendar of considerable importance not only for New Mexico but for the entire Spanish Southwest. Ralph E. Twitchell, *The Spanish archives of New Mexico* (Cedar Rapids, 1914. 2 v., 525, 683 p.)⁴ is a calendar of documents in the office of the surveyor general at Santa Fé and in the Library of Congress.

For Texas there are several local bibliographies; among them Davis F. Eagleton's *Writers and writings of Texas* (New York, 1913. 390 p.) and *Publications of the University of Texas, 1882-1914* (Austin, 1914. 103 p.). The *Second biennial report* of the Texas Library and Historical Commission contains a list of transcripts from the British Public Record Office and from the archives of Mexico secured through the coöperation of the state library, the University of Texas, and the University of California. The same report also contains a calendar of the Mirabeau B. Lamar papers.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND HISTORICAL COMMISSIONS

Each of the states in the Trans-Mississippi Southwest has one or more historical societies, state or local. Very little information is available in regard to the local societies. In Oklahoma, Arizona, and Arkansas the state societies receive some financial assistance from the state legislatures. In Louisiana the Louisiana Historical Association, which was organized for the purpose of collecting and preserving civil war records, is supported by the state and so is the Louisiana State Museum, which is also a collecting agency. The Louisiana Historical Society and the state historical societies of Texas and New Mexico receive

⁴ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 605.

no state aid. The states of Arkansas, Texas, and Arizona have each a state supported office which does the work of a department of archives and history.

The Arkansas Historical Association was organized in January, 1903, at Fayetteville, under the direction of Mr. J. H. Reynolds, of the department of history in the University of Arkansas. Several hundred members were quickly enrolled in different parts of the state. The most important work of the association was the creating of public sentiment in favor of the preservation of the state's historical records. Legislation was secured in 1907, in 1909, and 1911, culminating in the formation of a permanent commission to act as state trustee for the collection and preservation of historical material relating to Arkansas. Mr. Reynolds, who laid the foundation of the association, and through its work prepared the way for the creation of the Arkansas History Commission, is now, as he has been since the beginning, the secretary of the association. The latter is now incorporated by law as an auxiliary of the historical commission. It has published four volumes of *Reports* consisting of proceedings of the association and of articles based on the researches of members in the various phases of local and state history. The last volume contains, among other matter, the correspondence of Governor James S. Conway, some papers relating to the Brooks-Baxter war, the papers of David O. Dodd, and a paper on the history of the constitutional convention of 1874 by J. W. House. The printing of the society is paid for out of appropriations by the legislature.

The Arkansas History Commission, a permanent commission consisting of nine members with a paid secretary, was created by an act of the legislature of 1909 and was more completely organized by an act of the legislature of 1911. Mr. Dallas T. Herndon was elected secretary in September, 1911. The commission is required by law to perform the functions of a department of archives and history, that is, to act as custodian of state and county archives, to collect historical material and to build up a state museum and art gallery.

The commission has recently removed to good quarters in the new state capitol. The equipment is adequate to meet all requirements for the present. During the past four years the

secretary, Mr. Herndon, has succeeded in making marked progress along the lines of activity contemplated by the founders of the commission. A library of original and secondary material relating to Arkansas history has been collected and organized in conformity with up-to-date methods. Several thousand archaeological and historical specimens have been installed in the museum. The collections include, among other things, nearly all the writings of Arkansas authors, files of newspapers, fairly complete files of all state reports, and several notable collections of papers of public men of Arkansas. Very recently Mr. Herndon secured tax records of the counties covering the period 1819-1870. He is compiling from these records a catalogue of the residents of the state to 1865.

Secretary Herndon issues a quarterly *Bulletin of information*, of which five numbers have appeared. It serves as a guide for students and investigators to the material stored in the collections of the commission. In this *Bulletin* have been published: "A bibliography of historical and literary works of Arkansans;" "An index to the Kie Oldham papers" relating to Arkansas history, 1860-1875; "The calendar of political and military documents of Arkansas, 1861-1865;" and lists of the state papers and private collections of L. C. Gulley, S. W. Williams, R. G. Jennings, and J. E. Knight, which cover the period 1814-1882.

The Oklahoma Historical Society was established under the auspices of the Oklahoma Press Association in May, 1893, largely through the efforts of Mr. S. E. Amos, now editor of a paper at Vanita, Oklahoma. It was made a state institution and given state support by statute in 1895 and since that time it has been supported by appropriations made biennially by the legislature. It is governed by a board of directors elected by the members. The funds of the society are in the hands of the state treasurer. For about two years after its organization it was operated as a kind of adjunct to the history department of the University of Oklahoma, its principal work being to collect and file the newspaper publications of the state. After it was made a state institution its headquarters were maintained at the University of Oklahoma until 1901 when it was transferred to Oklahoma City. The collection consists of books, pamphlets, and miscellaneous material relating to the history of the state and of the West in

general. About six hundred periodicals are received each week and the society now possesses eight thousand bound volumes of newspapers. In the museum are several thousand Indian relics and photographs and pictures of important personages in territorial and state history. Quarters for the collections of the society are furnished by the city in the Carnegie library building. Mr. W. P. Campbell, the present custodian, has been in charge since the organization of the society. The annual income from the state is at present three thousand dollars per year.

The society issues annual reports and a quarterly magazine called *Historia* which is devoted to the interests of the society and which is sent free to members. Each issue of the quarterly contains a list of accessions to the collections made during the previous three months.

The Louisiana Historical Society was first organized in 1836 with Judge Henry A. Bullard as president. After a few years of activity it declined and was reorganized in 1846 through the efforts of J. D. B. Debow, Charles Etienne Gayarré and François X. Martin. The moving spirit behind the organization was Mr. Gayarré, the historian, who was at the time secretary of state and who was engaged in the preparation of his monumental *Histoire de la Louisiane*. In 1860 the society was incorporated by legislative act and quarters were set aside in the state capitol, where Gayarré as secretary of state had collected a very good state library. During the civil war the collections of the society were scattered and the capitol was burned. In 1877 the society was reincorporated and its headquarters were removed to New Orleans. For a time it was housed with the remains of the state library. Later it was practically homeless for some years and the Tulane University library cared for its collections. Recently it has been given quarters in the historic *Casa Capitular*, or *Cabildo*, where it occupies the *sala capitular* in which the transfer of Louisiana to the United States took place in 1803.

The society possesses numerous valuable collections. Some of them were secured by Gayarré from France in 1846-1847. Since 1900 many additional transcripts have been secured from French archives and a number of important loan collections have been received. Among the valuable collections recently

located in the *Cabildo* are: the official acts of the superior council, 1719-1783; Spanish official documents from 1769-1803; a few early documents from Mobile and Biloxi as far back as 1717; municipal documents, 1805-1814; the *Cabildo* proceedings, 1782-1795; the mayor's messages, 1805-1810; and a fairly complete set of local newspapers from 1837 to the present time. It is estimated that the collections of the society contain nearly two hundred thousand papers. During the past year Mr. William Price has been calendaring the papers of the superior council. He completed the papers from the periods 1719-1743 and 1766-1769; having examined about eight of the one hundred and thirty-two boxes of French and Spanish documents which are in the possession of the society.

Since 1895 the Louisiana Historical Society has issued six volumes of *Publications*. The contents of the more recent issues include the following important titles: "The West Florida revolution," "Pierre Margry," "Pierre Soulé," "New Orleans," "The Ursuline nuns," "Charles Gayarré," "J. J. Audubon," "The mounds of Louisiana," "Moniteur de la Louisiane," "The boundaries of Louisiana," "Reports on Louisiana historical material," calendars of collections of the society, "The *code noir*," "The Marigny family," "The title to the Jesuits' plantation." The most important single publication of the society is the reprint of the *code noir* in volume five. Volume six consists of papers relating to the centennial celebration of the admission of Louisiana to statehood.

For many years after the death of Charles Gayarré the president of the society was Mr. Alcée Fortier. Mr. Gaspar Cusachs is now president and Miss Grace King is secretary. The society receives no support from the state, and therefore depends for its entire income upon the dues of the membership of about four hundred.

The Louisiana Historical Association, of New Orleans, is an organization formed for the purpose of collecting and preserving material relating to the civil war. It is housed in a very good building next door to the Howard Memorial library and is supported by small state appropriations. The collections are of great value but are not easily accessible to the student. The state has secured photographic copies of the civil war records

of Louisiana troops which are in the possession of the war department. These transcripts have been or will be deposited with the Louisiana Historical Association.

The historical records of the state of Louisiana are very badly scattered, as one may readily ascertain by examining Mr. Scroggs' report on the state archives. In addition to the collections in the state offices and those under control of the Louisiana Historical Society and the Louisiana Historical Association, the Louisiana State Museum possesses a large collection which is now available along with that of the Louisiana Historical Society. The libraries of Tulane University and of Louisiana State University contain some collections. The state library in New Orleans has a nearly complete collection of state documents and the city archives office in New Orleans has, in addition to the municipal records, a very good file of the New Orleans newspapers published during the nineteenth century.

The Texas Historical Association was established in 1897 at Austin. It has no connection with the state government and receives no state support. A valuable collection of historical material made by the association was presented several years ago to the University of Texas. From the beginning in 1897 the association published the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* until 1912 when the name of the publication was changed to the *Southwestern historical quarterly*, of which three volumes have been published, making nineteen in all. The quality of the *Quarterly* has always been good and during its nineteen years of existence it has furnished a medium of expression for a most active historical society. The managing editor is Mr. E. C. Barker of the University of Texas. Mrs. A. B. Looscan is the president of the association.

The Texas State Library and Historical Commission, which corresponds in some ways to the departments of archives and history in other states, was established in 1907 by the state legislature. The commission consists of the senior professor of history in the University of Texas, the state superintendent of education, and three other members appointed by the governor. It has coöperated with the University of Texas, the University of California, and the Library of Congress in securing transcripts from the Mexican and Spanish archives and has

published two biennial reports. The first *Report* (Austin, 1912) contains the "Secret journals of the senate, Republic of Texas, 1836-1845," edited by E. W. Winkler, secretary of the commission. The *Second biennial report* (Austin, 1914) contains in addition to other matter "A calendar of the Lamar papers" prepared by Miss Elizabeth H. West, and a list of transcripts from the archives of Mexico and from the British Public Record Office which have secured through the coöperation of the commission, the University of Texas and the University of California. Mr. E. W. Winkler has also edited and published through the commission *The journal of the secession convention of Texas* (Austin, 1912).

There are no local historical societies of note in Texas. The Texas Historical Society of Galveston, Texas, which has made small collections of material, is now inactive.

The Historical Society of New Mexico was founded in 1859 and was reorganized in 1880. Since the latter date it has been steadily at work in preserving material of historic interest connected with New Mexico. The collections of the society find an appropriate home in the ancient Palace at Santa Fé, one of the historic buildings of the United States. It is estimated that nearly 10,000 persons visit the society's quarters in the Palace every year. Among the important collections are those of antique pottery and stone implements representing the aboriginal civilizations, collections illustrating the long period of Spanish and Mexican sovereignty from 1598 to 1846, and a collection of historical manuscripts, which is now the only important collection of original documents in New Mexico. Former Governor L. Bradford Prince is president of the society.

The office of Arizona historian was created in 1909 under the territorial régime. It was first held by Mulford Windsor, who was succeeded by Miss Sharlott Hall. When Arizona was admitted as a state, Mr. Thomas Edwin Farrish was appointed historian, the office being supported by appropriations made by the state. It possesses a small but good library of Arizoniana and many manuscripts, photographs, pictures, maps, and recorded interviews with pioneers. During the year 1915 the historian issued two volumes of the *History of Arizona under Spanish, Mexican and American rule*,⁵ bringing the account down to

the organization of the territory in 1863. During the present year Mr. Farrish expects to publish two additional volumes of the history, bringing the story to about 1873. These volumes include an account of the organization of the territory, its Indian wars and massacres, and the various legislative proceedings.

The membership of the Pioneers' Historical Society, located at Tucson, Arizona, consists entirely of pioneers and their descendants. This society is supported by a small state appropriation but it does not do active historical work. It has a fair library, and a collection of many old papers published in Arizona.

The most noted collection of Arizoniana is that of Dr. Joseph A. Munk in the Southwestern Museum, Los Angeles, California. Dr. Munk has published a calendar of this collection.

The most important recent historical society meeting in the Southwest was that of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in New Orleans, April 22-24, 1915; this was attended by representative historians from many regions of the middle West. The following papers on the Trans-Mississippi Southwest were read and will either be published in the next volume of the *Proceedings* of the Association or will appear in the *MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW*: "A note on the organization of the oldest school for girls in the Mississippi valley," by Miss Caroline Francis Richardson; "History of the black code," by J. J. McLoughlin; "New Orleans and the first years of the American revolution," by James Alton James; "Rural life in the lower Mississippi valley about 1803," by William O. Scroggs; "Louisiana and the secession movement in the early fifties," by M. J. White; "Collections of historical material in Louisiana," by William Beer; "Looking backward to La Salle," by John Lee Webster; "Some geographic influences in Mississippi valley history," by Frederick V. Emerson; "Spanish reaction against the French advance toward New Mexico," by William E. Dunn; "The Indian policy of Bernardo de Galvez," by Miss Elizabeth West; "Loyalists in West Florida and the Natchez district," by W. H. Siebert; "The African apprentice bill," by Miss Stella Herron; "Early Louisiana justice," by Henry L. Griffin; "Attitude of the newspapers

of the United States toward the Texas revolution," by James E. Winston.

The program of the thirty-first annual meeting of the American Historical Association held in Washington, D.C., December 27-31, 1915, contains the following titles relating to southwestern history: "Early Pueblo missions in New Mexico," by Mr. L. Bradford Prince; "The archives of the Indies: their history and suggestions for their exploitation," by Mr. R. R. Hill, of the University of New Mexico; "Organization internationale pour l'étude des archives des Indes à Seville," by Mr. Rafael Altamira, of the University of Madrid.

PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY

Published studies of prehistoric antiquity in the Trans-Mississippi Southwest have not been numerous during recent years and such as have appeared deal principally with the extreme Southwest. In this field the work is done, to a large extent, by non-residents of the regions. Local collections of antiquities, however, have been made and these are being added to by the historical societies and museums of each state. Among the first publications which should be mentioned is H. Buchat's *Manuel d'archaeologie Americaine* (Paris, p. 773), which includes valuable studies of the Pueblo civilization of Arizona and New Mexico and of the mounds of the Mississippi valley. Clement L. Webster has published a series of three papers on "Archaeological and ethnological researches in southwestern New Mexico," in the *Archaeological bulletin* (October, 1912, January and March, 1913). Among other publications dealing with antiquities of the Southwest may be mentioned the following: Hector Alliot, "Fouilles de Tyuonyi, village prehistorique des Tewa, Nouveau Mexique," in *Journal de la Société Americaine de Paris*, volume ix; T. L. Eyerly, "The buried city of the Panhandle," in Ochiltree county, Texas, in the *Archaeological bulletin*, 1912; Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Casa Grande, Arizona" and "Antiquities of the upper Verde river, Arizona," in the *Twenty-eighth report* of the bureau of American ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution (Washington, 1912); Ellsworth Huntington, "American archaeology," in *Harper's magazine* (January, 1912), dealing with the cliff dwellers of New Mexico; E.

Dana Johnson, "Prehistoric Indian ruins" which were found in New Mexico, in *Overland* (December, 1913); Felix J. Koch, "Dawn of architecture," *American antiquarian* (January, 1912), a study of prehistoric ruins in New Mexico; Charles B. Moore, "Some aboriginal sites on Red river" in the *Journal of the Academy of Natural Science of Philadelphia* (volume xiv, 1912), and "Some aboriginal sites in Louisiana and Arkansas," in volume xvi of the same publication (Philadelphia, 1913); Nels E. Nelson, "Ruins of prehistoric New Mexico" in the *American Museum journal* (Feb., 1913), a study of ruins in the Rio Grande valley; Grace Ellis Taft, "An Arizona pictograph" in the *American Antiquarian* (July, 1913), the description of a rock near Phoenix, Arizona, bearing pictographs; H. Newell Wardle, "The people of the flints; recent archaeological discoveries along the Red river, Arkansas" in *Harper's magazine* (January, 1913); *Bulletin* number 54, United States bureau of American ethnology, on *Physiography of the Rio Grande valley, New Mexico, in relation to Pueblo culture*, containing three papers by Edgar L. Hewett, Julius Henderson, and W. W. Robbins.

BIOGRAPHY, DIARIES, AND MEMOIRS

The Southwest is perhaps behind nearly all other regions of the United States in regard to the quantity as well as the quality of biographical studies. Southwestern biography offers to the worker in history a fruitful field for research. In recent years some interesting volumes of memoirs have been published and it is likely that the supply of this sort of historical literature will increase in the future. Of general biographical interest is *A biographical congressional directory* (Washington, 1913. 1136 p.), which covers the period 1774-1911. It is issued as *Senate document* no. 654, 61 congress, 2 session. Another work of a general nature is Mamie Yeary's *Reminiscences of the boys in gray, 1861-1865* (Dallas, 1912. 904 p.). This book contains biographical sketches of several hundred confederate veterans who now reside in Texas. A book of less importance is Katie Daffan's *Texas heroes* (Boston, 1912. 165 p.), which is designed as a historical reader for schools.

Michael Ackerman's "After the battle of Pleasant Hill, Louis-

iana," published in the *Annals of Iowa* for July, 1913, is a story of civil war service by a federal soldier who was captured at the battle of Pleasant Hill. Two brief studies of General Beauregard have recently appeared: Beatrice Van C. Meagan's *P. G. T. Beauregard* (Washington, 1915. 16 p.) and Gamaliel Bradford's "P. G. T. Beauregard" in *Neale's monthly* for March, 1913. Bradford has also a study of "Judah P. Benjamin," the confederate cabinet officer, in the *Atlantic monthly*, June, 1913. Thomas F. Berry's *Four years with Morgan and Forrest* (Oklahoma City, 1914. 476 p.) is a book of recollections by a confederate soldier. Major Thomas L. Broun's *Doctor William LeRoy Broun* (New York, 1912. 247 p.) is a collection of biographical papers relating to his brother, the college president. Dr. Broun was perhaps the foremost leader in the field of technical education in the Southwest after the civil war. His work was done in Georgia, Tennessee, Texas, and Alabama. Trinity College, North Carolina, has published *The military reminiscences of General William R. Boggs, C. S. A.* (1913. 115 p.)⁶ edited by Mr. W. K. Boyd, of the department of history in Trinity College. General Boggs served in the Trans-Mississippi department during the last two years of the war and these memoirs contain sharp criticisms of the policy of the confederate government. W. C. Sprague's *Davy Crockett* (New York, 1915. 189 p.)⁷ is a popular biography for general reading and for use in schools. The biography of a Texas negro leader is to be found in Mrs. Maude C. Hare's *Norris Wright Cuney: a tribune of the black people* (New York, 1914. 230 p.).

The most valuable diaries and books of recollections about the civil war from the southern viewpoint have been those of the southern women. Among the very best of these is Sarah Morgan Dawson's *A confederate girl's diary* (Boston, 1913. 439 p.)⁸. The writer describes life in New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and adjacent country, during the years 1862-1865. Mr. E. W. Winkler, of the Texas state library, has edited the *Diary of Ephraim Shelby Dodd*, a confederate soldier from Texas. The beginnings of the Episcopal church in Texas are described in Wil-

⁶ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 131.

⁷ To be reviewed later.

⁸ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 150.

son Gregg's *Alexander Gregg, first bishop of Texas* (Sewanee, Tennessee, 1912. 138 p.). Mr. W. O. Hart, of New Orleans, has described his own experiences in "A boy's recollections of the civil war," which appeared in the Mississippi Historical Society, *Publications*, volume xii. William E. Hughes, a Texas confederate soldier, has printed for private circulation his *Journal of a grandfather* (St. Louis, 1912). Its principal interest lies in its description of civil war conditions and of the confederate artillery service. The Catholic Historical Society has recently published in its *Historical records and studies* (1914), Reverend Thomas J. Campbell's "Le Moyne d'Iberville."

An intensely interesting autobiography of a reformed or reclaimed western outlaw is Al J. Jennings' *Beating back* (New York, 1914. 351 p.). Jennings was assisted by Will Irwin, who put the account into literary form. Presumably it is a fairly accurate account of frontier conditions in Oklahoma and the Indian Territory nearly a generation ago. Mr. James W. Nicholson, of Louisiana State University, has published in the *Stories of Dixie* (New York, 1915. 241 p.) the memoirs of his boyhood days in northern Louisiana and in the confederate army. Soldier life in Louisiana on the federal side is described in several chapters of George Haven Putnam's *Memoirs of my youth, 1844-1865* (New York, 1914. 447 p.).⁹

The ablest leader of the Cherokee Indians has secured adequate appreciation in Rachael Caroline Eaton's *John Ross and the Cherokee Indians*.¹⁰ A note by the late Lyman C. Draper on "John Peter Salling," who made a trip from Virginia to New Orleans before the middle of the eighteenth century, is published in the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW for September, 1914. Political, social, and educational conditions in Louisiana on the eve of the civil war are illustrated by the documents published in *W. T. Sherman as college president* (Cleveland, 1912. 339 p.), edited by Walter L. Fleming. An account of "William Walker's designs on Cuba," by William O. Scroggs, is published in the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW for September, 1914. In the *American historical review*, July, 1914, I. J. Cox has a paper on "General Wilkinson and his later

⁹ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 144.

¹⁰ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 293.

intrigues with the Spaniard." John Carl Parish, *The man with the iron hand* (Boston, 1913. 288 p.)¹¹ is an account of Henri de Tonty and the coming of the French into the Mississippi valley. Mrs. Mabel Washburn Anderson, of Pryor, Oklahoma, has recently published a brief sketch of the life of Stand Watie, a Cherokee Indian who reached the rank of brigadier-general in the confederate army. Of considerable value is J. W. Cromwell's *Negro in American history* (Washington, 1914), which is mainly biographical.

MONOGRAPHS AND GENERAL TREATISES

In addition to the works of biography and antiquities which have been mentioned elsewhere there have been numerous publications and books bearing more or less directly on the Trans-Mississippi Southwest. Among the general treatises which contain some material of interest relating to this field are: McLaughlin and Hart, *Cyclopedia of American government* (New York, 1914. 3 v.),¹² Seymour Dunbar, *The history of travel in America* (Indianapolis, 1915. 4 v.),¹³ which is very useful for the pictures it contains; George Lockhart Rives, *United States and Mexico, 1821-1848* (New York, 1913. 2 v., 1446 p.);¹⁴ Abbé D. M. A. Magnan, *Histoire de la race française aux Etats-Unis* (Paris, 1913. 361 p.); John Finley, *The French in the heart of America* (New York, 1915. 431 p.);¹⁵ Robert McNutt McElroy, *The winning of the far West* (New York, 1914. 384 p.);¹⁶ Glenn D. Bradley, *Winning the Southwest: a story of conquest* (Chicago, 1912. 225 p.); Paul Chrisler Phillips, *The West in the diplomacy of the American revolution* (University of Illinois, *Studies in the social sciences*, II, nos. 2 and 3, 1914. 247 p.);¹⁷ Catherine Coman, *Industrial beginnings of the far West* (New York, 1912. 2 vol.); Gaillard Hunt, *Life in America one hundred years ago* (New York, 1914. 298 p.),¹⁸ containing some matter relating to Louis-

¹¹ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 156.

¹² Reviewed *ante*, 1: 450.

¹³ Reviewed in this number.

¹⁴ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 147.

¹⁵ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 286.

¹⁶ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 598.

¹⁷ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 302.

¹⁸ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 579.

iana; A. C. Cole, *Whig party in the South* (Washington, 1913);¹⁹ W. W. Sweet, *The Methodist Episcopal church and the civil war* (Cincinnati, 1912. 225 p.).²⁰

Of more immediately local interest are: P. J. Hamilton, *Mobile of the five flags* (Mobile, 1913. 408 p.),²¹ containing much material relating to Louisiana; Ralph J. Smith, *Reminiscences of the civil war* (San Marcos, Texas, 1912); J. M. Polk "The reminiscences of a confederate soldier" in *North and South American review* (Austin, 1912); M. L. B. Bankston, *Campfire stories of the Mississippi valley campaign* (New Orleans, 1914); Donald E. Smith, *Viceroy of New Spain* (University of California, 1912. 293 p.);²² Frank Bond, *Historical sketch of Louisiana and the Louisiana purchase* (Washington, 1912).

Several important publications relating to the American Indians in the Southwest have recently appeared. By far the most comprehensive and valuable of these is Miss Annie Heloise Abel's *The American Indian as slaveholder and secessionist*, of which volume 1 (Cleveland, 1913. 394 p.)²³ has been published. This volume is devoted to a study of Indian territory conditions on the eve of the civil war. Two other volumes now in preparation will bring the story of the civilized tribes through the civil war and the period of the reconstruction. Miss Abel has also edited for publication by the Indian office (1914), *The official correspondence of James S. Calhoun while Indian agent at Santa Fé and superintendent of Indian affairs in New Mexico*. The papers cover the years 1849-1852. W. H. Ryus in his *Second William Penn* (1914) tells of his life among the Indians of Oklahoma and elsewhere in the West. Two other publications on Indians must be mentioned: Anselm Weber, *The Navajo Indians* (St. Michaels, Ariz., 1914. 290 p.), and Warren K. Moorehead, *The American Indian in the United States, 1850-1914* (Andover, Mass., 1915. 440 p.).²⁴

In the field of state and local history there are numerous publications, the more important of which are named below. Many

¹⁹ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 471.

²⁰ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 460.

²¹ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 319.

²² Reviewed *ante*, 1: 144.

²³ Reviewed in this number.

²⁴ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 292.

publications in local history are somewhat inaccessible on account of the fact that they are printed privately.

The student of educational history will be interested in Stephen B. Weeks' *History of public education in Arkansas* (Washington, 1912. 131 p.),²⁵ a bulletin of the United States bureau of education. General Powell Clayton, the reconstruction governor of Arkansas, in *Aftermath of the civil war in Arkansas* (New York, 1915), undertakes to explain the ins and outs of reconstruction politics in Arkansas.

Starr's *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma* (1913), appears to be a publication of much the same character as Fortier's *Louisiana* mentioned elsewhere. Other publications relating to Oklahoma are: A. Cantonwine, *Star forty-six, Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1912. 334 p.); Rebecca L. Finch, *Oklahoma book* (Oklahoma City, 1915) containing material in regard to the history, industries, and institutions of the state; Robert Park, *History of the Oklahoma state penitentiary* (McAlester, 1914. 144 p.).

Publications relating to Louisiana history contain several titles of interest, among them: Alcée Fortier, *Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1914. 2100 p.), a three-volume publication in the form of a cyclopedia. Of some historical value is Fortier's *Louisiana folk tales in French dialect and English translation* (American Folklore Society, 1914. 122 p.). A documentary publication relating to Louisiana is *Documentos historicos de la Florida y la Luisiana, siglos XVI al XVIII* (Madrid, 1912. 466 p.), edited by Manuel Serrana y Sanz. Eliza Ripley's *Social life in old New Orleans* (New York, 1912. 331 p.), is a book of reminiscences of life in New Orleans and East Baton Rouge parish during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Two recent legal publications will be of interest to students of the civil law and of state constitutional law: Theodore Cotonio, *Reference table to the amendments of the constitutions of 1898, revised civil code, revised code of practice, revised statutes and the acts of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1912. 97 p.); W. O. Hart, *Comparison of the constitutions of 1898 and 1913 and other articles relating to former constitutions* (New Orleans, 1914. 60 p.).

Two publications resulting from studies at the University of Texas and the University of California which deal with the

²⁵ To be reviewed later.

boundaries and frontier history of Louisiana and Texas are: Herbert E. Bolton, *Athanase de Mézierès and the Louisiana-Texas frontier, 1768-1780* (Cleveland, 1914. 2 v.);²⁶ Thomas M. Marshall, *History of the western boundary of the Louisiana purchase, 1819-1841* (University of California, 1915. 266 p.).²⁷ Local publications dealing with the history of Texas are numerous. On the Spanish period we have the following titles: Anne E. Hughes, *Beginnings of Spanish settlement in the El Paso district* (University of California, 1914);²⁸ Herbert E. Bolton, *Spanish activities on the lower Trinity river, 1776-1821* (Austin, 1914), *Spanish occupation of Texas, 1519-1690* (Austin, 1914), and *Texas in the middle of the eighteenth century* (University of California, 1915. 458 p.).²⁹ Following are titles of general works on a more recent period: Justin H. Smith, *The annexation of Texas* (New York, 1912), a comprehensive account based on careful research; J. H. Wheeler, *Historical facts of the state of Texas* (Bryan, Texas, 1914); D. W. Roberts, *Rangers and sovereignty* (San Antonio, 1914. 190 p.); James T. De Shields, *The border wars of Texas* (Tioga, Texas, 1912. 400 p.), an account of the wars between the pioneer settlers and the Indian tribes. Of more local interest are the following: S. O. Young, *A thumbnail history of the city of Houston* (Houston, 1912. 184 p.); B. H. Carroll, *Standard history of Houston* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1912. 499 p.); B. B. Paddock, *History of central and western Texas* (Chicago, 1912. 2 v.); M. P. G. Tiling, *History of the German element in Texas from 1820 to 1850* (Houston, 1913. 225 p.). The economic historian will welcome *Studies in farm tenancy*, published by the University of Texas department of extension (Austin, 1915. 151 p.).

Additions are rapidly being made to the historical literature relating to Arizona and New Mexico. Among recent titles are the following: John T. Hughes, *Doniphan's expedition, an account of the conquest of New Mexico* (Washington, 1915, 202 p.), a reprint; L. B. Prince, *A concise history of New Mexico* (Cedar Rapids, 1912. 272 p.), a revision and condensation of an earlier book by the same author; L. B. Prince, *Spanish mission*

²⁶ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 324.

²⁷ Reviewed *ante*, 2: 149.

²⁸ Reviewed *ante*, 1: 474.

²⁹ To be reviewed later.

churches of New Mexico (Cedar Rapids, 1915); ³⁰ B. M. Read, *Illustrated history of New Mexico* (Santa Fe, 1912. 812 p.); Ralph E. Twitchell, *The leading facts of New Mexican history* (Cedar Rapids, 1912. 631 p.); A. B. Reagan, *Don Diego, or the Pueblo uprising of 1680* (New York, 1914. 352 p.); T. E. Farish, *History of Arizona* (Phoenix, 1915. 2 v.).

PERIODICALS

Papers relating to the history of the Southwest have recently appeared in all of the principal historical journals. In the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW the following papers which relate more or less directly to the Trans-Mississippi Southwest have been published: James A. James, "Louisiana as a factor in American diplomacy, 1795-1800" (June, 1914); Eugene C. Barker, "The United States and Mexico, 1835-1837" (June, 1914); M. M. Quaife, "Critical evaluation of the sources of western history" (September, 1914); I. J. Cox, "Pan-American relations of Jefferson and Wilkinson" (September, 1914); Clarence E. Carter, "Some aspects of the British administration in West Florida" (December, 1914); William R. Manning, "Diplomacy concerning the Santa Fé road" (March, 1915); Herbert E. Bolton, "Location of La Salle's colony on the gulf of Mexico" (September, 1915); Susan M. Reed, "British cartography of the Mississippi valley in the eighteenth century" (September, 1915); William E. Dunn, "Spanish reaction against the French advance toward New Mexico, 1717-1727" (December, 1915).

In recent years the *American historical review* has given considerable space to articles on southwestern history, among which are: I. J. Cox, "American intervention in West Florida" (January, 1912); George L. Rives, "Mexican diplomacy on the eve of war with the United States" (January, 1913); a letter of George Rogers Clark to Genet in 1794 in regard to a proposed French expedition against Louisiana (July, 1913); Alfred H. Stone, "The cotton factorage system of the southern states" (April, 1915); W. S. Robertson, "The United States and Spain, 1822" (July, 1915). In the issue for July, 1915, appears an important document edited by Clarence E. Carter entitled, "Observations of Superintendent John Stuart and Governor James

³⁰ To be reviewed later.

Grant of East Florida on the proposed plan of 1764 for the future management of Indian affairs." This paper, which is from the British Public Record Office, contains some interesting material in regard to Indian affairs of the Southwest.

Noteworthy articles in other periodicals are: G. Foreman, "Plight of the full blood Indians," in the *Outlook* (January 17, 1914); Ruth McEnery Stuart, "American backgrounds for fiction: Arkansas, Louisiana and the Gulf country," in the *Bookman* (August, 1914); a letter of E. C. Barker on historical study and research in the South, in the *Nation* (July 2, 1914); David Y. Thomas, "Direct legislation in Arkansas," in *Political science quarterly* (March, 1914); C. B. Galbreath, "Provision for state wide initiative and referendum in Oklahoma" in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (May, 1912); George C. Lay, "Interstate controversies arising from injury to commerce, navigation and public health" in *Journal of American history*, volume vi, relating to Louisiana; Alexander Franz, "Die erste deutsche Einwanderung in das Mississippital" in *Deutsch-amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, volume xii; Adrien Loie, "Comment on lancit une affaire coloniale il y a cent ans" in *Bulletin géographique historique et descriptive* (1912); in regard to Louisiana; "Ursulines of New Orleans" in American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, *Records* (1912); Grace King, "Old Louisiana" in *Country life in America* (November, 1912); "Old creole courtyards" in the *Craftsman* (May, 1912); William O. Scroggs, "Parish government in Louisiana" in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (May, 1913); Lincoln S. Cornish, "Colonial New Orleans" in the *Pan-American magazine* (November, 1913); Edgar S. Maclay, "The battle of New Orleans half won at sea" in the *Magazine of history* (January, 1913); in the same issue, W. C. Gaynor, "Acadians and Acadians," a comparison of Acadians in Louisiana with Acadians in Canada; Louis Pelzer, "Spanish land grants of upper Louisiana" in the *Iowa journal of history and politics* (January, 1913); Henri Gravier, "Law et la Louisiane en 1717," in *Nouvelle revue* (December, 1913), and "La colonization de la Louisiane" in the same magazine for April, 1914; L. D. Scisco, "The track of Ponce de Leon in 1513" in the American Geographical and Sta-

tistical Society, *Bulletin* (October, 1913); J. Muller, "Creole beauties and some passionate pilgrims" in the *Century* (1914); Frederick Trevor Hill, "Adventures in American diplomacy: inside history of the Louisiana purchase" in the *Atlantic monthly* (May, 1914).

Material relating to Texas in periodicals is abundant. The *Southwestern historical quarterly*, formerly the *Texas Historical Association quarterly*, during the past two years has printed the following noteworthy titles: "Early settlements for the annexation of California," "The beginnings of the association movement in Texas;" "Southern opposition to the annexation of Texas;" "British correspondence concerning Texas;" "The association convention in Texas;" "Harris county, 1822-1845;" "Allan's reminiscences of Texas;" "Texas versus White;" "New York and the independence of Texas;" "The constitution of Texas, 1845;" "A letter from Vera Cruz in 1847."

Among other articles in periodicals relating to Texas may be mentioned: Frederic William Simonds, "Geographic influences in the development of Texas" in *Journal of geography* (1912); Lincoln S. Cornish, "The brave tale of Texas" in *Pan-American magazine* (1912); Mrs. Andrew Rose, "Old Spanish missions in Texas" in the *American monthly* (1912); Bennett H. Young, "Texas cavalry expedition, 1861-1862, into New Mexico," in the *Confederate veteran* (March, 1913); Lieutenant Colonel J. K. Mizner, "A long march," from Texas to North Dakota, in the *Journal of United States Cavalry Association* (March, 1913); "Texas rangers" in the *Independent* (May 8, 1913); S. Lanier, "A Texas trail in the 70's" in the *Outlook* (November, 1913).

In New Mexico, *Old Santa Fé: a magazine of history, archaeology, genealogy and biography* has been published quarterly beginning with July, 1913. The contents relate mainly to the history of New Mexico. Among noteworthy articles printed in this magazine are: W. H. H. Allison, "Colonel Francisco Perea" (October, 1913); L. B. Bloom, "New Mexico under Mexican administration, 1821-1846;" E. B. Burton, "Taos rebellion" (October, 1913).

In the American Historical Association, *Annual report for 1911* (Washington, 1913), E. C. Barker has a paper on "Public

opinion in Texas preceding the revolution" and I. J. Cox has one on "Monroe and the early Mexican revolutionary agents." The same association's *Report* for 1912 (Washington, 1914) contains a study by U. B. Phillips on "The economics of slavery, 1815-1860." James E. Winston's "Kentucky volunteers in the Texas revolution" appeared in the Kentucky Historical Society *Register* for May, 1913. An article of wider scope is Louis Pelzer's "Economic factors in the acquisition of Louisiana" in the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, volume vi. The Arkansas Bar Association has printed in volume xv of its *Proceedings* (1912) "The constitutional convention of 1874 and its reminiscences," by J. W. House.

SCHOOL AND COLLEGE WORK

In the Southwest the future of historical research depends very largely upon the character of the work in schools and colleges, which must be relied on to create an interest in and prepare students for historical studies in later years. In each state of the region covered in this survey there are local organizations of history teachers in the larger cities and a state organization which is usually a section of the State Teachers' Association. One of the best local organizations is the New Orleans High School History Teachers' Association, of which Miss Eleanor Riggs of the Sophie B. Wright high school is president, and Miss Sophie Hanson of the Esplanade Avenue high school, is secretary. The object of the association is to promote better teaching of history in the city high schools. The history teachers' section of the Texas State Teachers' Association is an example of the best type of the state-wide historical organization. It holds one meeting a year and a considerable interest has been developed. The history faculty of the University of Texas publishes for this history teachers' section, the *Texas history teachers' bulletin*, which appears three times a year and has just completed its third volume. The *Bulletin* contains brief practical articles, suggestions, descriptions, news notes, and reprints of articles from educational journals, and recently a department of source readings in local history has been added. Among the papers published in the *Bulletin* are: "Local history in the Cleburne schools;" "History teaching in Texas;" "History in

the San Marcos high school;" and once a year is published the *Proceedings of the history section of the State Teachers' Association*. The history teachers' section of the Oklahoma State Teachers' Association is considering a proposition to organize a separate Oklahoma History Teachers' Association.

In very few high schools of this region is state or local history taught consistently. Most of the high schools follow the recommendations of the Committee of Seven and offer four years of work in history of which, as a rule, two years are compulsory. State history is, however, taught in the lower grades in all the states, usually in the fifth or sixth grades.

The following list of text-books in state history recently published will indicate to a certain extent the importance of the subject in the grades: Charles H. Roberts, *Essential facts of Oklahoma history and civics* (Chicago, 1914. 258 p.); Evans and Bunn, *Oklahoma civics and history* (second edition, Oklahoma City, 1913. 244 p.); S. M. Barrett, *Government in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1913). The publishers of several popular text-books in United States history have added supplements of state history; such as, *A history of Oklahoma for schools* (Scribner's New York, 1913. 44 p.) issued as a supplement to Gordy's *History of the United States*.

Among other new texts for elementary schools may be mentioned: Barker, Potts and Ramsdell, *A school history of Texas* (Chicago, 1912. 384 p.); Pennybacker, *History of Texas for schools* (revised edition, Austin, 1912. 412 p.), and Read, *Popular elementary history of New Mexico* (Santa Fé, 1914. 186 p.). For several years the adopted texts in Louisiana graded schools have been King and Ficklen, *Stories from Louisiana history* and Magruder, *History of Louisiana*. In Arkansas Reynold's *Makers of Arkansas history* has had wide use. The city of New Orleans has recently adopted a text-book for the eighth grade, *The New Orleans book* (New Orleans, 1915. 177 p.), by Emma C. Richey and Evalina Prescott Kean; it is a volume dealing with the history, geography, and industries of the city and its tributary territory.

The college work in local and western history is of course of more importance, since it has a more direct bearing upon later research work. In the University of Arkansas the department

of history is making a collection of southern, southwestern, and state history, and, following a general course on the "Civil war and reconstruction," it offers a course of a seminary nature on "Reconstruction in Arkansas." The students are expected during the summer to consult the files of county papers, county records, and similar sources for material, and upon their return to the university to prepare monographs under the direction of the instructor.

The University of Oklahoma offers a wealth of instruction in local and western history. Among the courses listed are: "The West;" "History of Oklahoma;" "Territorial expansion;" "Spain in North America, with special attention to the territory now within the United States;" and two seminary courses in southwestern history and in Oklahoma history. An instructor who for three years spent his time in the field collecting historical materials is in charge of research work and collections in local and western history. Henry Kendall College, one of the smaller institutions of Oklahoma, offers a course in "The history of Oklahoma" which is treated as a phase of the western expansion of the United States.

At the Louisiana State University courses are offered in "Louisiana history," and "The Southwest," and, by the department of political science, a course in "The development of the Louisiana constitution." In connection with these courses advanced students prepare brief monographs as part of the work required for the M. A. degree. The university has fairly good collections in state history.

The University of Texas is a leader among the southwestern institutions in developing the field of local history. The late Mr. Garrison began the work years ago and it is now well carried on by a very competent staff. Among the courses offered are: "Spanish and French colonization in the United States;" "History of Latin America;" "The Spanish Southwest;" "The Anglo-American Southwest, 1803-1850," and "Later United States history." In connection with the three last named courses graduate students prepare master's essays, using in their research the ample collections of local material in the University of Texas library. Among the courses in political science should be mentioned one on "State and local government in

Texas." In quantity and in quality the published results of work begun at the University of Texas far surpass that done by any other college or university in the region under survey.

At the New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts the library is fairly well supplied with material bearing upon local history and a thesis course is offered in the "History and government of New Mexico." At the University of New Mexico Mr. R. R. Hill has recently been engaged for the purpose of developing work in Spanish-American history and institutions.

In the graduate departments of some of the larger northern universities considerable attention is given to work in southwestern history, notably in the Latin-American field. Leading in this work perhaps is the University of California, but important studies have also been inaugurated at Columbia University, Harvard University, University of Illinois, and University of Missouri. The candidate for the doctor's degree must still go outside of the Southwest for more advanced instruction and better facilities in research.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

Of much value in the field of southwestern history, is the work of instructors and graduate students in the larger universities, especially the work done in dissertations for the doctor's degree. Nearly all of the universities which offer graduate work leading to the doctor's degree are situated outside of this region. But their students are finding in the history of the Southwest a fruitful field for research. The following titles are taken from the lists of doctoral dissertations in progress which were published by Mr. Jameson in the *American historical review* during the past two years; the name of the university at which the work is being done is in parenthesis after the title of the dissertation: Reuben McKittrick, "Legislative disposition of public lands in Texas" (Wisconsin); Lucia Von L. Becker, "History of the admission of new states into the union" (Chicago); V. W. Crane, "The southern frontier of the English colonies in America, 1670-1763: relations with the Indians, French and Spanish" (Pennsylvania); Jane M. Berry, "Relations between the United States and Spain in the Southwest, 1793-1795" (Chicago); N. M. Surrey, "Commerce and industry in Louisiana during the

French régime" (Columbia); C. B. Goodykoontz, "The province of Louisiana under Spain" (California); E. P. Puckett, "The free negro in Louisiana" (Harvard); T. B. Martin, "The confirmation of foreign land titles in the acquired territories of the United States" (Harvard); W. E. Dunn, "Spanish and French relations in the United States, 1675-1763" (Columbia); V. A. Moody, "Plantations in Louisiana" (Michigan); E. S. Brown, "The constitutional history of the Louisiana purchase" (California); T. S. Staples, "Reconstruction in Arkansas" (Columbia); Roy Gittinger, "The evolution of the state of Oklahoma" (California); Louise F. Perring, "The policy of imperial defense in the southern colonies during the French and Indian war" (Pennsylvania); Charles Roll, "The frontier of the thirties" (Wisconsin).

MISCELLANEOUS

Among miscellaneous publications may be mentioned: *Studies in southern history and politics* (New York, 1914), which contains one paper by C. W. Ramsdell on the "Frontier and secession" and other papers of general southern interest; Eliza Hungerford's "Old French lady of the river bank," a description of New Orleans in *Personality of American cities* (New York, 1913); William Beer, "Some points in Louisiana cartography" in the *Proceedings* of the International Congress of Americanists (Mexico City, 1912); *The celebration of the centenary of the supreme court of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1913), a publication of interest to the legal historian.

Mr. Charles H. Ambler has edited for the *John P. Branch historical papers* of Randolph-Macon College a series of letters written to Thomas Ritchie in regard to the attitude of Virginians toward the annexation of Texas. The publication is entitled, *Virginia and Texas, 1844*. The adjutant general's office, war department, has published the *Claim of the state of Texas*, an investigation made by the adjutant general's office to ascertain the expenses of the state of Texas for the support of state troops on the frontier from 1855 to 1860 (*House document* no. 551, 62 congress, 2 session). The publication is of some value in illustrating border conditions before the civil war. A publication relating to the civil war is *Cotton sold to the Confederate States* (*Senate document* no. 987, 62 congress, 3 session, Wash-

ington, 1913). It contains a report of the secretary of the treasury on sales of confederate cotton, a matter of considerable interest in the history of confiscation of property during and after the civil war. *A history of the guaranty of bank deposits in Oklahoma and other states from 1908 to 1914* is printed as Senate document no. 522, 63 congress, 2 session (Washington, 1914).

The Library of Congress has obtained through gift the miscellaneous papers of Mr. Alfred Roman of Louisiana, biographer of General Beauregard. These papers relate principally to General Beauregard and consist of war telegrams and correspondence during the period 1861-1890. The papers of Edward Lee Plumb, recently acquired by the Library of Congress, contain papers relating to the Mexican war and Mexican affairs (1846-1866 and 1876-1877) and letters from New Orleans in 1867 about political conditions. Seven volumes of West Florida records have been transferred to the Library of Congress from the general land office. These records extend over the years 1764-1781 when a portion of Louisiana was contained in West Florida. The Library of Congress now has several volumes of transcripts of documents in Parisian archives relating to the history of the Mississippi valley made under the supervision of Mr. W. G. Leland, of the department of historical research in the Carnegie Institution. This work is being continued.

While preparing for the Carnegie Institution a descriptive catalogue of documents in the archives of the Indies at Seville, Mr. R. R. Hill selected for photographic reproduction two hundred and thirty-three documents of importance for American history. Sets of these photographs are now accessible in the following places: University of California; Harvard University; Howard Memorial library, New Orleans; John Carter Brown library, Providence; the Newberry library, Chicago; and the University of Illinois. The department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution has secured also a series of about two thousand five hundred photographs made in the archives of the Indies in the section called *Papeles procedentes de la isla de Cuba*. These photographs represent the regular series of civil dispatches from the governors of Louisiana to the

captain general of Cuba, extending from the beginning of 1768 to the end of 1791. Ten sets of the photographs were made and these will be sold at cost to libraries and historical societies. It will be possible before long to obtain photographic copies of a calendar of these papers from the department of historical research at a cost of three or four dollars. The photographs of the documents will probably cost about ten cents each.

The Newberry library of Chicago has acquired a large number of transcripts from the archives of the Indies at Seville, among which are many papers relating to the exploration, conquest, and settlement of New Mexico. One of the documents is a four hundred and thirty-six page chronicle, hitherto unknown, by Baltasar Obregon (1584).

Miss Elizabeth H. West, archivist of the Texas State library, made a search during the summer months of 1914 in the archives of Cuba for matter relating to Spanish, colonial, and Indian trade during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Among the principal acquisitions were transcripts of two letter books of Governor Galvez of Louisiana. Mr. William E. Dunn, of the University of Texas, has supervised the transcription of about three thousand pages of documents in the archives at Seville concerning the French and Spanish in Texas, natives in Texas and New Mexico, English trade, etc. The work of Miss West and Mr. Dunn was made possible through the coöperation of the Texas State library, the Library of Congress, the University of Texas, the University of California, and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

At the meeting in April, 1914, of the board of regents of the University of Texas, Major George W. Littlefield established a fund of twenty-five thousand dollars for the collection of material relating to southern history. The income from this sum now amounts to six per cent and after twenty-five years the principal sum will be used for the purchase of books. The *Message* of Governor O. B. Colquitt to the thirty-third legislature of Texas relates to the Alamo property (Austin, 1913. 147 p.). It contains photographs and other information of historical interest. The letter-book of William Tecumseh Sherman, which he kept while superintendent (1859-1861) of the Louisiana State Seminary (now Louisiana State University) has been donated

to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The letter-book was taken along with other property from the seminary during one of the expeditions of General Banks up the Red river valley. Much of the property then taken from the seminary has been returned to the university and it would seem that the latter institution would be the most fitting depository for this letter book.

HISTORICAL WORK IN PROGRESS

The next volume in the *Original narratives of early American history* will be Professor H. E. Bolton's *Spanish explorations in the Southwest, 1542-1691*. The documents will be printed in English and will cover much of the Trans-Mississippi Southwest. Mr. Benjamin M. Read, the New Mexico historian, has nearly ready for publication two volumes which will be entitled: *Hernando Cortez and the conquest of Mexico* and *Sidelights on New Mexican history*.

Dr. Emmett Starr, of the library of the state normal school at Talequah, who is himself a Cherokee Indian, is writing a *History of the Cherokees*. He has been engaged upon this work for a number of years and has made a rather extensive collection of Cherokee history. Mr. Thoburn, of the University of Oklahoma, who for several years was engaged in collecting historical material for the university is at work on a comprehensive history of Oklahoma. Mr. Dunbar Rowland, director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, is editing for publication the official letter-books of William C. C. Claiborne, which cover the period from 1801 to 1816 and contain much material relating to the lower Mississippi valley. W. L. Fleming's *History of the Louisiana State University*, publication of which was stopped temporarily four years ago, will probably appear toward the close of 1916. The work will embrace the history of higher education in Louisiana.

Mr. E. E. Dale, of the University of Oklahoma, is making a collection of local Indian myths and legends and of cowboy songs and stories which will throw some light on early conditions in what is now the state of Oklahoma. There is a movement on foot in Oklahoma to have a commission appointed by the governor to mark with stone pillars such historic places as the old forts, old missions, old trails, etc.

George Bent, of Colony, Oklahoma, and George E. Hyde, of Omaha, are collaborating in the preparation of a *History of the Cheyenne Indians*. William O. Scroggs, of Louisiana State University, has in press a study of William Walker and other filibusters entitled *Filibusters and financiers*. Mr. M. L. Bonham, of Louisiana State University, is preparing a life of his grandfather, who was a colonel during the Mexican war, a confederate brigadier general in the civil war, and who served in both the United States and in the Confederate States congresses.

The Texas State Library and Historical Commission has in press *The messages of the governors, 1876-1906*. The publication will appear unedited.

The work of Mr. R. R. Hill in transcribing documents in the archives of the Indies has been continued by Mr. F. S. Philbrick who has been securing photograph copies of the correspondence between the Spanish authorities of Louisiana and those of Cuba.

Mr. W. G. Leland has in preparation for the press a *Guide to the materials relating to the history of the United States in Parisian archives*. A card list has been made from these materials of those documents which relate to Texas, for the Texas State library, and will soon be in the possession of that library.

WALTER L. FLEMING

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
BATON ROUGE

N. B. By a misunderstanding this article has been confined to the Trans-Mississippi Southwest instead of being a survey of the historical activities of the whole South as was intended when the region of these "survey articles" was redivided at the beginning of the year. — MANAGING EDITOR.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE CONSULAR SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES IN LATIN AMERICA, WITH INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The history of the American consular service begins with the epoch-making treaty of amity and commerce between the United States and France which was signed on February 6, 1778. In that treaty these two powers declared that they were anxious to fix "in an equitable and permanent manner the rules which ought to be followed relative to the correspondence and commerce which the two parties desire to establish between their respective countries, States, and subjects. . . ." By article twenty-nine of the treaty the two contracting parties mutually granted "the liberty of having each in the ports of the other Consuls, Vice-Consuls, Agents, and Commissaries" whose functions should be regulated by a special agreement.¹ On November 4, 1780, the continental congress appointed William Palfrey consul to France with a salary of fifteen hundred dollars per annum.² Before the constitution of the United States was adopted, commissioners of that nation in Europe had negotiated treaties of amity and commerce with Holland,³ Sweden,⁴ and Prussia,⁵ which contained provisions concerning consuls similar to those in the treaty of 1778 with France. On October 28, 1785, the congress of the confederation adopted a joint resolution declaring that the ministers and chargés of the United States in European countries should "exercise the powers of a consul general" in the countries where they respectively resided.⁶ The first agreement between the United States and a foreign power

¹ W. M. Malloy, *Treaties, conventions, international acts, protocols and agreements between the United States of America and other powers* (Washington, 1910), 1: 468, 478.

² *Journals of the continental congress* (Washington, 1904-), 18: 1009, 1018.

³ Malloy, *Treaties*, 2: 1240.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1733.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1495.

⁶ *Secret journals of the acts and proceedings of congress* (Boston, 1821), 3: 595.

regulating the functions and privileges of American consuls and vice-consuls was a convention concluded between the United States and France on November 14, 1788.⁷ Under President Washington consuls, vice-consuls, and commercial agents of the United States were appointed to various countries.⁸ From time to time Secretary of State Jefferson addressed circulars of instruction to these agents. In a circular dated August 26, 1790, Secretary Jefferson undertook to describe the duties of consuls: he declared that one of their functions was to supply their government with "political and commercial information of interest to the United States. . . ." ⁹ On April 14, 1792, a law was enacted which aimed to carry into "full effect" the convention between the United States and France. The duties of American consuls, as specified by the act, were mainly concerned with the protection of the interests of citizens of the United States, especially seamen.¹⁰ That act recognized the system established by Washington by which consular appointments were made separate and distinct from diplomatic appointments.

A wide extension was given to the American consular service during the protracted insurrection against Spanish rule in America. That revolution had scarcely begun when the United States initiated the policy of selecting commercial agents to various Spanish colonies in North and South America. The first agent who was selected by the United States for such service in Spanish America was William Shaler. On June 16, 1810, Secretary Smith addressed a letter to Shaler informing him of his appointment as "agent for commerce and seamen" at Vera Cruz. Although Shaler apparently did not serve in that post, yet the letter informing him of his appointment is of interest, as it was evidently used as a model for similar notifications.¹¹ In the midsummer of 1810 Robert K. Lowry was directed to pro-

⁷ Malloy, *Treaties*, 1: 490-496.

⁸ *Journal of the executive proceedings of the senate of the United States* (Washington, 1828-), 1: 37, 40, *passim*.

⁹ Wilbur J. Carr, "The American consular service," in *American journal of international law*, 1: part 2, p. 895.

¹⁰ *United States statutes at large* (Boston, 1850), 1: 254-256. This act is discussed by Carr in the article cited above and by C. L. Jones in *The consular service of the United States* (University of Pennsylvania, *Publications*, series in political economy and public law, no. 18 — Philadelphia, 1906), 4, 5.

¹¹ It is printed page 566 following.

ceed to La Guaira, Venezuela, as agent for commerce and seamen.¹² On June 28, 1810, Joel R. Poinsett was made "Agent for Seamen and Commerce" at the port of Buenos Aires:¹³ on November 18, 1811, he was appointed consul general of the United States for "the Spanish provinces of Buenos Aires, Chile, and Peru."¹⁴ The first person nominated to the senate of the United States for consul in Spanish America was Luis Goddefroy of Montevideo. On April 30, 1811, Secretary of State James Monroe addressed a letter to Goddefroy informing him of his selection as consul of the United States at Buenos Aires, where he was to serve under Poinsett's directions;¹⁵ on November 13, President Jefferson sent to the senate Goddefroy's nomination to that post, but the appointment was not ratified.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the letter from Secretary Monroe to Goddefroy is of interest; for this letter contains the earliest statement made by the government of the United States concerning the duties of a consul in Spanish America. It was apparently to serve instead of Goddefroy that in November, 1811, Poinsett selected William G. Miller to act as vice-consul.¹⁷ During the following years — before President Monroe had signed the act of May 4, 1822, which made an appropriation for diplomatic missions to the independent nations of Spanish America¹⁸ — consuls, or consular agents, of the United States were also stationed at Angostura and Montevideo.¹⁹ In December, 1823,

¹² Lowry's instructions were evidently modeled on Shaler's; on Lowry see W. S. Robertson, "The beginnings of Spanish American diplomacy" in F. J. Turner, *Essays in American history* (New York, 1910), 250-252, 260.

¹³ F. L. Paxson, *The independence of the South American republics* (Philadelphia, 1903), 106, 109.

¹⁴ *Senate executive journal*, 2: 188, 190.

¹⁵ This is printed page 567 following.

¹⁶ *Senate executive journal*, 2: 188, 190.

¹⁷ *Registro oficial de la república Argentina*, 1: 127.

¹⁸ On the recognition of the independence of the Spanish American states, see W. S. Robertson, "The United States and Spain in 1822" in *American historical review*, 20: especially 781-783; and also "The first legations of the United States in Latin America" in *Mississippi valley historical review*, 2: especially 185-189.

¹⁹ At least a draft of a letter from the state department to S. D. Forsyth, August 1, 1820, informing him of his appointment as agent to Angostura, is found in state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Despatches to consuls, 2. In 1824, a consulate was located there; on June 14, 1824, Daniel Brent wrote a letter to Alfred Seaton informing him of his appointment as consul to Angostura, *ibid.* With regard to the consulate at Montevideo, on July 28, 1817, Richard Rush, who

Pedro Gual, the secretary of foreign affairs for Colombia, issued an *exequator* to Robert K. Lowry, who after being absent from La Guaira for several years, had returned as consul.²⁰

After the passage of the act of May 4, 1822, by which the United States announced her intention to recognize the independence of the Spanish American republics, consular agents or consuls were sent to other cities in the rising states. The first consul of the United States to serve in Mexico was James Smith Wilcocks, who in November, 1822, was informed of his appointment as "commercial agent" of the United States at Mexico City:²¹ on January 28, 1823, this title was changed to that of consul general, and in the following July the Mexican government granted him an *exequator*.²² On April 19, 1824, Charles Savage was commissioned consul of the United States to Guatemala "and the adjacent places under the same allegiance."²³ David S. Craig was notified of his appointment as "consular commercial agent" to Panama on April 3, 1823.²⁴ About the

was acting as secretary of state, addressed a circular to certain consuls of the United States in South America concerning the trip of the American commissioners Messrs. Rodney and Graham to that continent; among the consuls to whom this circular was sent was William G. Miller, Montevideo, *ibid*.

²⁰ On Lowry's appointment as consul in 1823, see *Senate executive journal*, 3: 337, 338. On December 22, 1823, Secretary Gual sent to R. C. Anderson, the American minister at Bogotá, an *exequator* for Consul Lowry, state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Despatches from Colombia, 3.

²¹ A draft of a letter from the state department to Wilcocks, November 21, 1822, informing him of his duties, is found in state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Manuscripts to consuls, 2.

²² *Senate executive journal*, 3: 318, 328; *La diplomacia mexicana*, 2: 93. From 1823 to 1828 consuls of the United States were also stationed at Aguatulco, Vera Cruz, Acapulco, Tampico, Saltillo, Chihuahua, Santa Fé, Refugio, San Antonio, Mazatlan, Campeche, and Guazaculco, *List of the ministers, consuls, and other diplomatic and commercial agents of the United States in foreign countries, December 15, 1828* (bureau of indexes and archives, department of state), 6-8; the drafts of the letters from the department of state to these consuls notifying them of their appointments are found in state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Despatches to consuls, 2 and 3. In March, 1822, William Taylor was made consular commercial agent of the United States at Vera Cruz: the Mexican government granted him an *exequator* as consul in May following, see *La diplomacia mexicana*, 2: 343; but he was not appointed as consul until January 28, 1823, *Senate executive journal*, 3: 318, 328.

²³ *Senate executive journal*, 3: 318, 328.

²⁴ A draft of a letter from the state department to Craig, April 3, 1823, informing him of his appointment, is found in state department manuscripts, bureau of in-

same time, consular agents were appointed to various ports in South America. On August 17, 1822, John M. Macpherson was appointed "consular commercial agent" to Carthagena,²⁵ a title which on April 19, 1824, was changed to that of consul.²⁶ On June 16, 1824, William Wheelright was commissioned consul at Guayaquil;²⁷ his appointment was confirmed by the senate on January 10, 1825.²⁸ The first consul of the United States in Peru was William Tudor, who was appointed in that capacity to Lima on December 9, 1823; on December 20, 1824, the Peruvian government granted him an *exequator*.²⁹ On February 16, 1825, Daniel Wynne was appointed consul to Santiago de Chile.³⁰

After the invasion of Portugal by Napoleon compelled the House of Braganza to flee from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro, the government of the United States appointed consuls to San Salvador, Maranhao, Pernambuco, and Rio de Janeiro.³¹ Soon after the United States recognized the independence of Brazil from Portugal,³² Leonard Corning was appointed consul to Maranham,³³ while Phineas Bond was appointed consul to Montevideo,³⁴ in the *Banda Oriental del Uruguay*. As the *Banda Ori-*

dexes and archives, Despatches to consuls, 2. On December 27, 1827, William Radcliffe was appointed consul to Panama, *Senate executive journal*, 3: 520, 583.

²⁵ State department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Despatches to consuls, 2.

²⁶ *Senate executive journal*, 3: 360, 372.

²⁷ A draft of a letter to Wheelright, June 16, 1824, informing him of his appointment, is found in state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Despatches to consuls, 2.

²⁸ *Senate executive journal*, 3: 399, 404.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 342, 344; J. F. Blanco, *Documentos para la historia de la vida pública del libertador de Colombia, Perú, y Bolivia* (Caracas, 1875-1877), 9:469. About two years after the appointment of Tudor, W. F. Taylor was appointed consul to Quilca and Arica, *Senate executive journal*, 3: 460, 469.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 413, 415.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 2: 119, 120; 3: 61, 68, 143, 150, 337, 338.

³² On the recognition of the independence of Portugal by the United States see W. S. Robertson, "The first legations of the United States in Latin America," in *Mississippi valley historical review*, 2: 206-210.

³³ Corning was appointed March 7, 1825, *Senate executive Journal*, 3: 437, 443.

³⁴ Bond was appointed February 16, 1825, *ibid.*, 413, 415. Soon after Bond's appointment consulates were established at Para and Rio Grande, *ibid.*, 560, 567. On September 15, 1825, Condé Raguét, chargé d'affaires of the United States to the Brazilian empire, wrote to Secretary of State Henry Clay stating that he had transmitted Corning's commission to the Brazilian minister of foreign affairs, who had told him that an *exequator* would be at once issued to Corning, see state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Despatches from ministers, Brazil 4.

ental was recognized as an independent and sovereign state by the United Provinces of la Plata and Brazil according to a treaty dated August 27, 1828,³⁵ Phineas Bond consequently became consul to Uruguay. A special circular addressed to the consuls of the United States in Latin American states by Secretary of State Martin Van Buren furnishes a suggestive commentary upon the conduct of the consular agents of the United States in Latin America.³⁶ More nearly than any other diplomatic document of the period from 1810 to 1830 does this circular partake of the nature of special instructions to Latin American consuls.³⁷

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON

R. SMITH, SECRETARY OF STATE, to WILLIAM SHALER, June 16, 1810³⁸

“SIR,

“The Commerce between the United States of America and the Province of Mexico rendering the Establishment of a Consul there of considerable importance and as the authorities thereof may possibly refuse to give a public recognition and character to a Consul of the United States, it has been thought proper and suitable under present circumstances to vest you and you are accordingly invested with the character of Agent for Seamen and Commerce in the Port of Vera Cruz and all other ports in the said Province. Your own regard to the public service will induce you to attend to the commercial and other concerns of our Citizens in all the cases where they would fall under the patronage of a Consul, and you may appoint deputies wheresoever it may be found necessary in your district being yourself responsible for their acts. A copy of the standing consular instructions is enclosed, and also copies of several circular letters to Consuls, containing directions for the execution of the consular office, all of which you will attend to as far as they can be a useful guide.”

³⁵ *Registro oficial de la república Argentina*, 2: 226-229.

³⁶ The sympathy which Van Buren showed in the reform of the consular service in 1830 is shown in *Senate executive document no. 57*, 21 Cong., 2 sess., 1-3. See further *Calendar of the papers of Martin Van Buren* (Washington, 1910), 171, and the circular which he addressed to consuls June 23, 1829, in regard to smuggling, state department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Despatches to consuls, 3.

³⁷ This circular is printed page 567-568 following.

³⁸ State department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Despatches to consuls, 1.

JAMES MONROE, SECRETARY OF STATE, TO LUIS GODDEFROY, "CONSUL FOR BUENOS AYRES AND THE PORTS BELOW IT ON THE RIVER PLATE,"

April 30, 1811³⁹

"SIR,

"You will receive herewith a Commission from the President of the United States appointing you consul for Buenos Ayres and the ports below it on the River Plate, a copy of the standing consular instructions accompanies it, and of several circular letters to consuls containing directions for the execution of the consular duties, all of which you will attend to, as far as they can be a useful guide.

"The President having already appointed Mr. Poinsett Agent for Seamen and Commerce for Buenos Ayres, and for several other ports in South America, it is not intended to interfere by the Commission given you with his powers or duties. I enclose to you for him a Commission of Consul General which you will be so good as to deliver or forward to him on your arrival at Buenos Ayres. You will readily perceive the relation which is thus formed between you in the district to which your authority extends, and you will observe it. The President entertains full confidence that in the discharge of your respective duties, the utmost harmony will prevail between you, and a zealous co-operation to promote the interests of the United States.

"It will be highly satisfactory to me to hear from you often and to receive a detail of such events in Buenos Ayres, and other parts of South America as the United States cannot fail to take a deep interest in."

"CIRCULAR TO THE CONSULS OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE SOUTH AMERICAN, AND UNITED MEXICAN STATES"⁴⁰

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, 26th. May, 1830.

"SIR,

"It is at all times the duties of Consuls in Foreign States, exercising the functions and enjoying the privileges attached to their offices, scrupulously to abstain from all participation whatever, direct or indirect,

³⁹ State department manuscripts, bureau of indexes and archives, Despatches to consuls, 1.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 3, following is a list of the consuls to whom it was addressed, namely: in Mexico: J. S. Wilcocks, Mexico City; G. R. Robertson, Tampico; T. Reiley, Aguatuleo; H. Gregg, Acapulco; W. Taylor, Vera Cruz and Alvarado; D. W. Smith, Refugio; J. W. Laugham, Chihuahua; J. Davis, Santa Fé; J. W. McGoffin, Saltillo; H. Perrine, Campeche; J. L. Kennedy, Mazatlan; J. W. E. Wallace, San Antonio; W. Keith, Guayamas; in Central America: C. Savage; in Colombia: T. F. Knox, Angostura; J. M. Macpherson, Carthagena; J. G. A. Williamson, La Guaira; W. I. Seaver, Santa Marta; A. B. Nones, Maracaibo; F. Litchfield, Porto Cabello; S. K. Everett, Panama; in Peru: W. F. Taylor, Quileca and Arica; A. Worthington, Lima; in Chile: M. Hogan, Valparaiso; D. Wynne, Santiago; in Brazil: W. H. D. C.

in the political concerns of the Countries to which they are appointed, and by whose Governments they are severally acknowledged and recognized in their publick characters; but it is at the same time no less their duty to report freely and seasonably to their own Governments all important *facts* which may come to their knowledge, thro' authentic channels, touching the political condition of these countries, especially if their communications can be made subservient to, or may affect the interests and well being of their own.

“From the disturbed and unsettled condition of the Republics of the South American and United Mexican States, and the excitement there prevailing, it is especially desirable that the Consuls of the United States in those States should forbear intermeddling with their political or local affairs in the smallest degree whatever, and that they should be equally on their guard against the enlistment of their feelings or sympathies upon the side of any of the political or sectional parties which divide them at the present time. In their letters, even to this Department upon such subjects they will confine themselves to the communication of important or interesting public events, as they occur, in as concise and succinet a form as may be convenient, avoiding all unnecessary reflections or Criticism upon the characters or conduct of Individuals; and they will on no occasion give publicity, thro' the press, to opinions or speculations injurious to the public institutions of those Countries or the persons concerned in the administration of them.

“These Instructions are suggested, as much by the nature and style of the communications, themselves, which are occasionally received at this Department from some of the Consuls of the United States, in the regions and upon the topics referred to, which communications abound in epithets of unqualified obloquy and disapprobation, and to the character and views of distinguished public men in those Countries, as by the general propriety and utility of the rules prescribed by them, for the observance of yourself and of your Colleagues in the South American and United Mexican States.”

(Signed) M. VAN BUREN.

Wright, Rio de Janeiro; W. Odlin, San Salvador; J. T. Mansfield, Pernambuco; A. R. Smith, Para; C. B. Allen, Maranham; I. A. Hayes, Rio Grande; G. Black, Santos; in Uruguay: J. Bond, Montevideo.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A history of England and the British empire. By Arthur D. Innes, sometime scholar of Oriel College, Oxford. Volume IV (1802-1914). (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915. 604 p. \$1.60)

It was Mr. Innes' plan to write a history which should not be limited to English affairs in the narrower sense but should trace the development of the kingdom and the empire of which England is the central fact. Accordingly he has, especially in his second and third volumes, dealt largely with the affairs of the British Isles outside England, particularly with those of Scotland. In the present volume which concludes the series, the author does not find much to say about Scotland but gives considerable space to Irish and imperial problems. Mr. Innes virtually closes his history with the end of the Boer war in 1902, but he has added a fairly adequate summary of events to 1911 and an "epilogue" which carries the narrative down to the outbreak of the present European war. On these recent subjects the author has striven to write objectively and to suppress what personal opinions he may have as to the wisdom or unwisdom of policies and measures; he makes an exception, however, of the present war, which he characterizes as "the most tremendous, the most critical, and the most righteous in the annals of mankind." The work is almost wholly a compilation and professes to be little else; but it is written by a historian of fame and merit, and though it shows traces of having been somewhat hurriedly composed, it will prove a useful addition to the literature of English history.

L. M. LARSON

The British empire. Six lectures. By Sir Charles P. Lucas, K. C. B., K. C. M. G. (London: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1915. 250 p. \$.80)

This volume consists of a set of lectures addressed to the workingmen of England with the expectation of inducing them to give a more hearty support to the empire in the present crisis. An introductory chapter deals with the earliest beginnings of British sea power; then follows a series of surveys on English imperial growth from the seventeenth century to the present, with a concluding chapter on "The meaning and use of the empire." In the latter, Mr. Lucas makes a fair analysis of

the motives that have entered into the building of the empire, in order to show that it is not a creation of force and fraud, but an achievement born of varied motives, many of them of unquestioned nobility; and that it confers tangible benefits upon the workingmen as well as upon the richer classes of England, upon the non-British elements that are embraced within the empire as well as upon Englishmen.

A. C. C.

George the Third and Charles Fox: the concluding part of the American revolution. By the Right Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart., O. M. Volume II. (New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1914. 433 p. \$2.25 net)

The volume maintains the high standard of scholarship and of literary ability of those which preceded it. Readers will search in vain for a history of the American revolution which will equal this work of Sir George Trevelyan in sustaining interest or one from which a better perspective of the civil war between Great Britain and her colonies can be obtained. The interpretation is governed throughout by an imperial viewpoint rather than by the usual narrow colonial outlook.

This volume covers the period of the closing years of the war. The principal military events described in detail are connected with the southern campaign which ended in the surrender of Cornwallis. In spite of a few minor errors the narrative is most satisfactory both in its treatment of military affairs and in its description of economic and social conditions. Great praise is given to General Greene, though the final estimate is that he was not "a general of the first order." In this part of his story the author is particularly happy in his account of the partisan warfare; he deserves credit for not having exaggerated its cruelties.

Sir George is at his best, however, in his discussion of British politics during the period, in spite of a very noticeable partiality for old whigs. He has studied his contemporary sources so carefully and thoroughly that the politicians of the circle of George III have become intimate acquaintances, whose portraits he depicts with rare literary skill. He understands the conditions of the time and realizes fully that the policies of the cabinet "were settled for it by an inner Cabinet of Bedfords, sitting over their burgundy in Lord Sandwich's parlour." Some of the pictures of these worthies are most excellent. Here is an example. "Throughout the American war, and the seven years that preceded it, Rigby was a power of the first order in Parliament. With the skill of a born actor he made himself up for the part of an independent English gentleman of the old school,—a conspicuous and most characteristic figure in his close-buttoned suit of purple cloth, unrelieved by lace or

embroidery, with his sword thrust carelessly through his pocket. He showed a bluff and resolute visage, with a complexion, ripened by the pick of fifty vintages, which matched the colour of his costume, and had earned him an ironical compliment from the pen of Junius." The treatment of British politics is by no means confined to the parties in parliament. A considerable part of the volume is devoted to an analysis of the social and economic conditions in Great Britain with an attempt to show their effect upon political opinion.

From the foregoing account it will be seen that the figures of George III and Charles Fox, whose relations have provided the title for the work, are greatly subordinated to events and their environment. There are scattered throughout the volume a sufficient number of notices of these two men to justify the title but they scarcely loom larger than many of their contemporaries.

Like the other volumes of the series footnotes are conspicuous by their absence, but the confidence which the writer inspires by the fulness of his details compensates in the mind of even the most exacting student for this neglect of external proofs of profound scholarship.

C. W. A.

Narrative of Johann Carl Buettner in the American revolution [Heartman's historical series, no. 1.] (New York: Chas. Fred. Heartman, 1914. 69 p. \$2.50)

This translation of the narrative of Johann Carl Buettner is valuable to the student of the American revolution for its picture of social conditions in Europe during that period, its account of the temptations that drew ignorant foreigners to ship for America with greedy sea captains, its picture of the fearful condition on transport ships, and finally as a detailed account of the experience of an indentured servant in America during those troubled times. Buettner was born in Germany. At an early age he was apprenticed to learn "to trim beards and other accomplishments of the surgical skill." He hoped that this trade would enable him to go into the wide world to America or the West Indies. Having learned his art he wandered far in Europe suffering many strange mishaps, not the least of which was being arrested in Prague because he was in the company of some runaway soldiers. He piously saw in this the justice "meted out to me by God's providence for my passion for card playing." Escaping from this detention he went to Hamburg where pretended countrymen urged him to go to the West Indies, and persuaded him to accompany them to Amsterdam where he was introduced to many young men and women wishing to go to America in search of a fortune. Some "shippers of human freight" took them in charge, and Buettner was induced to indenture himself for

America "where gold and pearl fisheries abound," and where easy tasks at three dollars a day would enable him to pay for his passage. He sailed with three hundred persons, "land crafts, men and young women clothed in blue striped linen dresses." He pictures the promiscuous herding of men and women, but closes the shocking details with the exclamation, "but the hands of the angel of innocence cover his face." A storm added to the sufferings of the crowded passengers; the sick endured "the tortures of the damned." Those who died were wrapped in sail cloth and thrown into the water; if big fish swam near the ship in the morning it was a sure sign that there had been a sea-burial the previous night. When the coast was sighted a storm arose, driving back the pilots, and prolonging the voyage several weeks. The waves piled up by the storm were "like black forbidding chains of mountains." The drinking water became scarce, smelling unpleasantly, and tasting like ink, yet for food they had only salted meat which increased their thirst. The bread was hard, gray and yellow inside, the peas half cooked and hard to digest. After taking eight days to sail from the mouth of Delaware bay to Philadelphia, the indentured servants were landed, stripped naked and examined by prospective buyers. Buettner fell into the hands of a New Jersey planter who treated him well but who had a bad temper. The description of his life with the planter is entertaining, but leaves the impression that eating, drinking, and dancing interested Buettner more than work. He escaped and entered the continental army, where he foraged for loyalists' cattle more than he fought. At last he took part in a battle from which he and his fellows fled "like hares" into the forest. He surrendered and was later taken into the Hessian part of the British army, which he complains was worked harder than the British part. He was taken to Savannah, was captured, and reëntered the American ranks where he became a surgeon. At last he succeeded in getting aboard an American boat sailing for the West Indies, but was put on a prize which was captured, and he again fell into British hands. He was taken to Europe by the British, and returned to his native land. The original of this narrative was printed in 1828, and is now very rare. We are not told who was the translator.

C. H. VAN TYNE

Letters written by Ebenezer Huntington during the American revolution. [Heartman's historical series, n. 2.] (New York: Chas. Fred. Heartman, 1914. 112 p. \$3.00)

The Huntington letters, seventy-one in number, printed from the recently discovered originals, give us a vivid picture of the life of the "armed citizenry" during the American revolution. They give a dismal warning of the folly of unpreparedness in a people unmilitary in char-

acter and yet having spirit enough to defend its honor and liberty. Huntington, who was a graduate of Yale, observed intelligently the army life about him, and in his position as captain and major came in constant touch with the soldiers of the continental time. Although the piety of the New England soldier made him trust that he was "fighting the Lord's battles, and rendered him ready for any infliction which God in his all wise judgment chooses to inflict," yet the neglect of the army by the non-combatants at home drove him into a "fearful passion." You "feed us with promises," he writes, and "clothe us with filthy rags" and "hold your purse strings as though you would damn the world rather than part with a dollar." The soldiers come to him daily with letters from their wives and children at home saying that they are neglected, starving, and freezing. He writes that he is in rags, and has lain for forty hours on the rain-soaked ground. He is ashamed that he was born in America. Serving with the French army where the officers live in luxury, he is invited to their tables but cannot accept because he cannot return their hospitality. On the lack of discipline and want of steadfastness in the "embattled farmers" he descants on every page. "The British regulars make headway wherever they choose, and the American militia behave like rascals." The volunteers leave when their time is out, "though their eternal salvation was to be forfeited." "The persuasion of a Cicerone would not keep them," and "the Niagara Falls would as soon kindle a fire" as their patriotism. One would think to read these letters that the colonial mother did not raise her boy to be a soldier.

C. H. VAN TYNE

The voyage of the first Hessian army from Portsmouth to New York, 1776. [Heartman's historical series, no. 3.] (New York: Charles Fred. Heartman, 1915. 31 p. \$1.00)

This translation from the German of A. Phister is a remarkably vivid account of the experiences at sea of the Hessian army brought to America by the British government. We should have more confidence in it if we knew that the translation had been the work of a properly trained scholar. We have not compared it with the original, for only a scholar would be interested in the comparison, and he would go to the original. As mere good reading the little booklet can be recommended. The description of a storm is that of a landsman, and is therefore the more appealing to us who are not nautical. England's sea power in that day is made to appear very real, when we are told that a Danish and two Swedish ships passing through the fleet lowered their flags and a sail of the middle mast as soon as they were in the distance of a shot. The sanitary measures of the eighteenth century navy are told with interest-

ing details. "The most careful cleanliness, the daily scrubbing of the decks, the frequent cleaning of the cabins and rooms, the washing and disinfecting with steaming vinegar, the pumping in of fresh air and the airing of the bedding on decks" all fail, however, to prevent disease. "Scurvey was developed as a result of tainted humors, for which the drinking of sea-water was used as a medicine, and also the chewing of tobacco." We have our doubts as to the efficiency of the British admiralty when we are told that "the water which in the whole fleet had been stored in new oaken casks became undrinkable, and became finally putrid. The beds of the soldiers were broken up in the storms; camp kettles and canteens were smashed; tents, clothing apparel, even the cartridges had been destroyed by the rats, which finally had even gnawed through the water casks." Of this kind of information about the transportation of soldiers a distance of 3,000 miles there is an abundance, and no student of the revolution can afford to neglect this work of an observer who possessed not a few literary gifts.

C. H. VAN TYNE

The diplomacy of the war of 1812. By Frank A. Updyke, Ph. D., Ira Allen Eastman professor of political science, Dartmouth College. [The Albert Shaw lectures on diplomatic history, 1914.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1915. 493 p. \$2.50)

From two points of view the publication of this volume is timely. It makes its appearance in the centennial year after the conclusion of peace between Great Britain and the United States; moreover, contemporary issues and events growing out of the world war now raging are strongly reminiscent of some of those pertaining to our second struggle with Great Britain.

The volume embodies the Albert Shaw lectures in diplomatic history delivered at Johns Hopkins University in 1914. In eleven chapters and 478 pages the author offers a comprehensive treatment of his subject, beginning with an account of the causes of the war and closing with a chapter on the settlement of the various boundary and other disputes between the two nations which were not disposed of in the treaty of Ghent. Thus the discussion of the vexed Newfoundland fisheries dispute is carried down to the arbitration award by the Hague tribunal, and the establishment of the permanent mixed fishery commission in our own day.

The fundamental cause of the war is found to be "the irreconcilable conflict of the British navigation acts with the commercial development of the United States." To the discussion of this topic two chapters, entitled "Impressment" and "Neutral trade," are devoted. A third chapter deals with the declaration of war and with the peace proposals.

The actual peace negotiations are described in four chapters. That the pathway of the neutral was far from rosy a century ago, even as it is now, is abundantly shown in the opening chapters. That the United States sincerely desired peace with Great Britain and France and patiently strove through weary years to maintain it, is also clear. Notwithstanding this fact, all the efforts of perhaps the most eminent pacifist America has produced did not suffice to preserve peaceful relations with Europe.

The author has performed for the reader, whether specialist or layman, the useful service of providing a sober and scholarly narrative of the diplomatic side of our second war for independence. In the reviewer's opinion the task has been well done. With no desire to indulge in captious criticism the regret may be expressed that more attention could not have been given to improving the literary qualities of the narrative. Such a paper as the recent one by Mr. Worthington C. Ford on "The treaty of Ghent — and after" shows that even diplomatic history may be made readable if there is sufficient determination on the part of the author to realize this end.

M. M. QUAlFE

The political science of John Adams. A study in the theory of mixed government and the bicameral system. By Correa Moylan Walsh. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915. 374 p. \$2.25)

This is a commentary on the political philosophy of Adams by a vigorous thinker whose reflections have led him to conclusions radically opposed to the "check and balance" system of the eighteenth century statesman. The book is not merely an account of what Adams thought, and how he came to think as he did, but also an exposition of the author's own political creed. The writings of Adams have been thoroughly digested and on the whole fairly interpreted, though in some instances the inferences drawn do not seem quite just. Thus (p. 111) Adams's plea for the "unrestrained liberty" of the president in appointments, because otherwise "he is not a check upon the legislature nor either branch of it," is said to prove conclusively his approval of the "corrupt ministerial patronage system which had in England grown into an immense power." This seems rather sweeping, especially in view of certain facts cited in the accompanying footnote, which are at least sufficient to leave a doubt in the reader's mind.

Three periods are distinguished in the history of Adams' political thinking. The first and most nearly democratic was that of his active leadership in the revolutionary movement and in the formation of the new state constitutions, notably the Massachusetts constitution of 1780.

In those days he was one of the "new men" who sought to break the monopoly of the old ruling class. Then came the period of conservative reaction which he shared with so many of his associates in the revolution and which found expression in his principal treatises on government. In these essays his central idea was that of a government reflecting the interests of conflicting classes, with a strong executive holding the balance between an aristocratic senate and a popular assembly. In the last period of retirement from active politics there was a certain going back to the earlier phase and a special anxiety to vindicate the purity of his republicanism, which had been questioned by his opponents.

As a preparation for his exposition and criticism of Adams' opinions, the author has fortified himself by extensive reading in the classics of political theory, both ancient and modern, and the comments offered here and there show vigorous and original thinking. The "literary sources" of the Adams philosophy are on the whole well set forth. In dealing with the changing social and economic order, so often the most important key to the thought of an individual or a period, the book is less thorough and shows less insight. The author does not always show familiarity with the best modern treatises, as for instance in the discussion of the constitution as fundamental law, where the study of such a book as McIlwain's *High court of parliament* might have proved helpful.

Keen interest in current politics is indicated throughout, as for instance in the scarcely disguised references to Bryan and Roosevelt in a footnote on page 121. On the burning question of the judiciary, the author's views present an interesting combination of faith in the principle of judicial review, with a leaning toward elected rather than appointed judges. Among the striking proposals offered at the close of the book is one for a reconstitution of the senate, giving it more the character of a council, reducing its legislative power, and leaving it only a suspensive veto. In contrast to the generally "up-to-date" aspect of the discussion is a reference (p. 168) to the possibility of the senate being "restored to the whole people, by having its members elected by the people of the states," which would seem to have been written before the passage of the recent constitutional amendment on this subject.

With all its limitations, the book is distinctly thought provoking and deserves attention, whether as a contribution to the history of political theory or as a "tract for the times."

E. B. GREENE

Ulysses S. Grant. By Franklin Spencer Edmonds. [American crisis biographies, edited by Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, Ph.D.] (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company, 1915. 376 p. \$1.25 net)

Somewhat more than half of this volume is devoted to the civil war, the remainder being divided about equally between the ante bellum and post bellum periods. In the case of one whose title to fame rests so largely upon service as a soldier, much space must necessarily be given to military achievements, but the reader has the right to expect that the story of warfare will be made to illuminate the personality of the subject. This difficult task the present biographer has performed with fair success. The military background is somewhat unevenly handled. The strategy of the Virginia campaigns is not as well treated as that of the western fighting. Physiographic factors are slighted, the influence of the mountains and valleys of western Virginia being scarcely hinted at. Moreover, one looks in vain for helpful comparisons of Grant's strategy with that of his Virginia predecessors and opponents.

In view of the large space given to the four years of war, many readers will regret to find the numerous topics of interest in the following twenty years compressed into paragraphs too concise to give the reader an adequate conception of Grant's share in events. Episodes which have no especial biographical significance, such as the diplomatic settlement with England, are treated even more fully than those which most intimately concern Grant's character and personality, such as his influence against currency inflation and continued military interference in the southern states, and his efforts in behalf of order during the contest over the election of 1876. As to the causes which brought about the numerous cabinet changes, as to the relations of the president to civil service reform, and as to the degree of his responsibility for administrative corruption, the reader is left almost wholly in the dark.

The writer's English is clear and good, and although the style is prosaic the composition is generally praiseworthy. The historical scholarship is adequate and accurate. The reviewer has noticed no serious error. Some opinions are quite debatable, as for instance the judgment that an amicable adjustment of the slavery question was not impossible in 1860 (pp. 91-93). The bibliography shows reliance in the main upon standard secondary works and personal memoirs, some recent publications of the latter class, notably the Grant and Sherman letters and the Welles *Diary*, furnishing the materials for the writer's additions to older biographies.

The portrait presented is not drawn by a hero worshiper. An honest effort to mingle praise and blame in due measure is evident throughout.

The appointment of Washburne as secretary of state (p. 295), the deposition of Sumner from the chairmanship of the senate committee on foreign relations (p. 303), and other errors, are criticised. Yet the portrayal is sympathetic enough. The virtual shielding of Belknap is passed without mention. The extent of Grant's intemperance is not made clear. His responsibility for the corruption which marred his administrations is minimized by the easy assertion that the times were evil, and "it may at least be questioned whether any other could have done much better" (p. 351). The informed reader is likely to feel that a man of different temperament and training might have done much better. Indeed, one might gather from other statements of Mr. Edmonds that such is his own real opinion.

On the whole, however, both critic and general reader will be satisfied with the character portrayed in the book. A simple-minded, honest, patriotic son of the early West; dominated in unusual degree by elemental human virtues — purity, love of family, friends and country; devotion to duty; bull-dog tenacity of purpose; imperturbability; ill-provided by training, experience, and temperament with that shrewd worldly wisdom which was needed to penetrate the disguise worn by the sinister influences which surrounded him in the presidency, yet able to serve in civil office where soldierly qualities availed; and preëminently able to capitalize his powers to the advantage of the country under such a test as the civil war afforded; a character best summed up perhaps in the phrase of Oliver Wendell Holmes: "I doubt if we have had any ideal so completely realized as that of the republican soldier in him" (p. 280).

HOMER C. HOCKETT

The life and letters of John Hay. By William Roscoe Thayer. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915. 456; 448. \$5.00)

There has been no more interesting American biography in years than this of John Hay, and none has recently made so large an addition to our knowledge of historic facts. Mr. Thayer has brought to his work enthusiasm and literary skill, and he has had the intimate coöperation of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Henry Adams, and others who like them have known both Hay and the inner history of recent years. He has delineated a character with a high degree of artistic success, and has established, we believe, the John Hay of the future. We had long suspected Hay of capacity and vision, but his vivid personality was less known outside the narrow circle of his intimate friends.

John Hay was, all things considered, a man of the last generation and, in the best sense of the word, a political hack. That he had no

inner driving to support the modern ideas that came into American life with his colleague, Mr. Roosevelt, is quite clear. Like Rutherford B. Hayes, whose recent biography has let us into a close view of the post bellum republicans, Hay was typical of the best of his kind. But it was a different generation, lacking the crusading zeal of the first republicans and the reforming enthusiasms of the last. To Hay the republican party was the sole road to loyalty and sanity. He could maintain warm personal friendships with the enemy, as he did with Mr. Henry Adams; but the running current of jeers and jibes that Mr. Adams had to meet marks Hay as a partisan. He saw in the protection of property the first function of government, as did the best of his contemporaries. His *Breadwinners*, as Mr. Thayer points out, is the *Uncle Tom's cabin* of capital. But he missed a full consciousness of the newer functions entailed upon government by the changing order of the eighties.

Hay had no political mission and was no political organizer; hence he was never able to command a job. He promoted no cause, save the general cause of party victory. When a job was offered him he generally took it, the notable exception being his refusal of the post of private secretary under Garfield. When a political task was assigned him he performed it completely and without enthusiasm. He drifted into and through his political career. Perhaps if he had married poverty instead of wealth, and had possessed robust health instead of frail, he might have turned his great intellectual powers into a course more definitely his own, and might less often have "asked, with the immortal Flanagan, — 'Why am I here?' and got no satisfactory answer" (2:89). For his powers were never driven to the uttermost, and he always plunged into new and intricate duties as though they were commonplaces of every man's experience.

Largely because of this lack of independent motive power, Hay's career lacks continuity, and its episodes are severally detached. The luck that placed him at Lincoln's elbow during the civil war led to nothing that was premeditated except the great biography; but upon this he and Nicolay worked with passion and then with weariness for many years. He did not sense the fact that its vogue was the central feature of an historical renaissance that was to change the trend of American consciousness; it was to him a labor of love and duty.

Mr. Thayer as biographer arouses our admiration as he brings out the facts of Hay's character, and points them with precisely the right extracts from his correspondence. But as historian he is open to serious criticism. He is not at home in the field of history in which Hay flourished, his knowledge of it being chiefly the sort retained by a man of strong character and acute prejudices after reading daily papers for a

generation. Hay believed in his party and in his friends. "If anybody wants a better pair of candidates than Tilden and Blaine . . . he must wait till he gets to Heaven. . . Better men than these are not given to Republics" (1:428). His biographer is far from joining in this enthusiasm, and indulges in long summaries (1:419, 2:135), and constant dicta that have no structural connection with Hay, and which, if taken seriously, would lead to the belief that Hay was either blind to obvious facts or else hypocritical in his acceptance of them. Under ideal conditions the biographer is an historian filling in a background with judgment and balance. He may be pardoned if he takes the rôle of frank admirer or open critic of his subject. But Hay has a real grievance against Mr. Thayer in that the latter continually obtrudes irrelevant opinions drawn from conviction rather than from historic research.

More conspicuous as a defect is the anti-German spirit that Mr. Thayer repeatedly displays. Hay did not like Germans, and in his unofficial moments he relieved his soul by blowing off steam to his intimates. As secretary of state he had numerous brushes with the German emperor, more than the public knew; and some of them are now described in a way to make it clear that Mr. Roosevelt is the prompter. The extent to which ministers out of office may with propriety reveal facts which remain in process is a matter for a nice and sensitive discrimination. Mr. Thayer seems to have told either too much or too little. On the basis of scanty evidence, much of which cannot yet be documented, and in the spirit of one who is deeply affronted by the existing war, Mr. Thayer has found what he describes as a "German Menace" to the United States. A dispassionate statement of the facts would have been more impressive than it is; yet he lays aside the poise that one has a right to demand of the historian and indulges in the tactics of the pamphleteer. The evidence that he can print does not sustain an indictment in his terms. Hay was caustic against Germans. "They . . . cannot help bullying and swaggering. It is their nature" (2:281); the German government "is generally brutal but seldom silly" (2:246); "I had almost rather be the dupe of China than the chum of the Kaiser" (2:284). But he was caustic against his intimates also. He eased his mind by vituperation so often that no one has a right to assume that he was in any such cases expressing deliberate convictions.

It is a minor imperfection that Mr. Thayer is not evenly impartial in his treatment of names. As he points out in his preface, Hay lived so recently that many names mentioned in his correspondence cannot yet be printed with propriety. But it appears that many harmless allusions are obscured by substituting "X" and "Y" for names, while the an-

tipathies of Hay that coincide with those of the biographer are less often veiled in this fashion. The true attitude for the historian was stated by Mr. Hay himself when he was at work on Lincoln: "We will not fall in with the present tone of blubbering sentiment, of course. But we ought to write the history of those times like two everlasting angels who know everything, judge everything, tell the truth about everything, and don't care a twang of their harps about one side or the other" (2:33).

Yet with all its defects in temper and sympathy this is a biography of unusual merit. No library can omit it from its list, and no historian can ignore it.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

The democracy of the constitution, and other addresses and essays. By Henry Cabot Lodge. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915. 297 p. \$1.50 net)

This work consists, as is indicated by the title, of a number of essays on miscellaneous subjects. The general title is undoubtedly derived from the material presented in the five chapters included in the first one hundred and sixty pages. The thesis which the author defends through these chapters may be summed up in his claim that the new movements for reform, the initiative, referendum, and recall are at fundamental variance with the principles of our federal constitution and are subversive of our representative system of government. There is nothing original or novel in this position nor are the arguments he presents different from those that have appeared elsewhere in defense of the *status quo*. The really significant thing is that a public man of the author's standing and attainments is willing to rest his case upon mere personal opinion.

The serious nature of the charges that have in the past been brought against our United States senate, many of our legislatures, and against our judicial system, to say nothing of the proved cases of graft and inefficiency in our local governments, seem to call for more than a conventional restatement, such as this, of the high purposes of our colonial forefathers and the perfection of our representative system. Our entire governmental machinery is showing the strain and stress of the new burdens and responsibilities it is at present compelled to carry. Before the civil war the complexity of modern life had barely reached us so as to affect appreciably our standard of living or our civic ideals. Since that time, from causes of which we have still but imperfect knowledge, there have come into our lives new and unexpected forces and tendencies that have forced us out of the old channels of thinking and acting and have compelled us as a nation to readjust no small part of our political and social program. Intelligent citizens are aware of the recent widespread multiplication of forms of corporate wealth with special interests

to defend, of the rise of a class of professional mercenaries trained to do the bidding of predatory wealth, of the indifference of the great mass of our best citizens, who are immersed in their own affairs, and, most menacing of all, of the increasing host of the landless, semi-criminal unemployed, who find their way to the jails, the poorhouses, and the hospitals, to be supported there by the taxpayers as a final increment of the heavy cost their ubiquitous presence imposes upon the body politic. To all appearances the author is unaware of this sinister background to the question and is, therefore, quite unable to see any special significance in the appearance at this time of the demand for the initiative, referendum, and recall in American public life or any meaning in the evident popularity these measures seem to evoke among the voters everywhere. He would make out quite a different case had he discussed these proposed reforms as symptomatic of the ingrained distrust an increasing number of our citizens are beginning to manifest openly for a system that permits the unrebuked exploitation of the poor and the weak. The time has gone by for the defenders of our present social order to deny the existence of deep seated abuses and corruption within the state and to seek to cover up the breakdown of our representative system at many vital points. There is no advantage to be derived from attempting any longer to conceal the fact that, in our central and in our local governments as well, there has appeared a striking inability on the part of our public men to keep abreast of progress and to forecast wisely what are to be the lines of reform in the near future. The present supporters of primary election and of initiative and referendum are by no means unanimous in holding that these new measures express the permanent form to be adopted for the future. As means to an end, however, these measures seem to have had an unexpected outcome in demonstrating how futile is the defense presented by opponents of reform. In addition to this purely negative result, there has been achieved the positive moral gain of forcing into the ranks of open defenders of the present system more and more of those who derive individual or class advantages from the established order. Those who have large property interests to be protected from inconvenient taxation, those in administrative and advisory positions within well intrenched organizations or at the head of the dominant social group, naturally view with some consternation the reforms that tend to level all wealth to the same incidence of taxation and to lower the prestige of the men who have shaped our legislative and judicial administration for the past half century.

Human nature is pretty much the same the world over and long immunity from public criticism has had the same effect on those in positions of power in the nineteenth century as in earliest Greek and Roman history. The American voter is fully awake at last to the imperative

need*of holding men in high position strictly responsible for the administration of their governmental duties and also as accountable for their use of accumulated fortunes and of the power this wealth gives them. Whether we recognize it or not, we are trying by various expedients to adapt our system of government to the problem of socializing our national wealth and the power which temporary control of portions of this wealth gives to certain individuals in the social group. It is vain for the class just now under fire to hope to avoid the crisis that has arrived; no appeals to past success or to the patriotic achievements of bygone generations can avail to turn the tide of reform. That there is grave danger inherent in many propositions for reform, notably in the recall of judges, every prudent voter will admit. The greatest danger, however, is to be found in a wholesale condemnation of reform measures without an impartial consideration of both sides of the argument, such as is presented in the pages of this work. At a time when we need especially the exercise of cool reason on the part of our leaders, and when we have a right to expect a firm insistence on fundamentals in the midst of a nation wide movement forward, we are too often met by a sweeping denial of the need of reform and by an attempt to discredit a genuine demand for real civic and political responsibility on the part of those now in places of power.

The remainder of the work consists of miscellaneous essays on a variety of topics presented in that happy vein so characteristic of the ripe scholarship of the author. After reading the appreciative and comprehensive sketch of Calhoun and the half humorous but generous tribute to Thomas B. Reed, one can not help regretting that more of the intimate personal experience and mature judgment of such men did not find place among these published essays. In the closing chapter, we are made aware of quite another side of the author's nature, his delight in the masterpieces of literature and his discriminating appreciation of the immortal singers of all ages. It is certainly to be deplored that as a rule our public men have neither the leisure nor the aptitude for such subjects sufficient to enable them to meet on equal terms with the gentlemen and scholars of England or France.

O. G. LIBBY

Jewish immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910. By Samuel Joseph, Ph.D., instructor, Commercial High School, Brooklyn, New York. [Studies in history, economics, and public law, edited by the faculty of political science of Columbia University, vol. lix, no. 4, whole no. 145] (New York: Columbia University, 1914. 209 p. \$1.50)

In the first part of his book Mr. Joseph considers the economic, social, and political conditions in eastern Europe in so far as they affect the

Jews. In each country, in Russia, in Roumania, in Austria-Hungary, he finds the economic functions and the social status of the Jews the same; they are an industrial and a commercial people concentrated in towns, living amidst populations preponderatingly agricultural. Mr. Joseph points out that these countries are in a transitory stage; their governments still cling to medieval conceptions of life, though the people are beginning to throw off the yoke of subservience. The work of industrialisation and of liberation is progressing; in the meantime the Jews are between the upper and the nether stones. The government persecutes them because they are a dynamic force, a disturbing element; the people object to them because they find in them established competitors in occupations in which they themselves are ready to engage. The writer discusses Jewish life in eastern Europe during the past thirty years; he gives an account of restrictive legislation, of governmental oppression, of *pogroms* instigated by authorities; of a situation finally become so intolerable as to lead to a Jewish migration *en masse* from this section of Europe.

The second part of the monograph differs in character from the first. The first is descriptive and is based upon the literature of the subject; the second is a collation and an interpretation of immigration statistics. The author confines himself to an analysis of numerical data with the object of bringing out the essential features of Jewish immigration to the United States. He considers the number of Jewish immigrants, the relation of this number to total immigration, the comparatively small effect which adverse economic conditions have upon their influx into this country, the large percentage of women and children in their midst. Theirs is essentially a family movement. Jews come here not as "birds of passage," few of them recrossing the Atlantic; they come to stay and the majority of them are skilled laborers. Thus, according to the writer, Jewish immigration from eastern Europe differs in many respects from the rest of the "new" immigration; it cannot and should not be considered in the same light; statistical comparisons reveal the fact that "its characteristics place it altogether with the 'old' immigration" (p. 153).

The third part of the volume consists largely of statistical tables; it contains also a bibliography of the works used by the author.

Mr. Joseph's book follows a recent more comprehensive and more exhaustive study of Jewish immigration by Mr. Hersch, of the University of Geneva. Mr. Joseph discusses at greater length the conditions in the native countries of the immigrants; he also makes a larger number of statistical comparisons in order to show the contrast between Jewish immigration and the immigration of other races and nationalities from eastern and southeastern Europe. Excepting this and a more definite

statement regarding the total number of Jewish immigrants, the book does not add materially to the discussion of the problem. In the method of presentation it is inferior to Mr. Hersch's work. A short monograph is broken up into small chapters with many recapitulations, summaries, and conclusions. Thus, referring to the causes of Jewish immigration, the author tells us on pages 84, 123, 153, and 156 that this immigration was largely the resultant of the expulsive and rejective forces of governmental persecution; he repeatedly advises us of the fact that the Russian Jewish immigration controls the entire movement owing to its great preponderance of numbers, etc. While insisting on more or less well-known facts, Mr. Joseph leaves unconsidered many perplexing questions which his analysis of Jewish immigration suggests. He does not penetrate sufficiently far behind his statistical data to give us an insight into the realities of this immigration; no reference is made to the struggles of the new comers amidst the conditions which they find and which they create in this country, nor to the wages they receive, nor to their industrial and other organizations. One realizes that the author intended to present only a comparative study of immigration statistics, but one is keenly disappointed that because of this, many important matters should have been so inadequately treated.

SIMON LITMAN

The political history of slavery in the United States. By James Z. George, formerly chief justice of the supreme court of Mississippi and later United States senator from that state. In two books. Book I, The political history of slavery in the United States. Book II, Legislative history of reconstruction. (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1915. 342 p. \$3.25)

The author of this book was for many years a United States senator from Mississippi and a lawyer to whose great ability Mr. John Bassett Moore testifies in a preface which he has contributed to the book. The author served through the Mexican war, was a member of the Mississippi secession convention, a brigadier general during the civil war, and chief justice of the supreme court of Mississippi; as chairman of the state executive committee of the democratic party in 1875 he greatly commended himself to the white people of the state through the services which he rendered in overthrowing the negro carpet-bag régime. It was in recognition of this service as well as of his high standing as a lawyer that the legislature of the state elected him to the United States senate. He was also the leading member of the state constitutional convention of 1890, and was the author of the educational and understanding clauses relating to suffrage. Subsequently he defended their constitutionality

with exceptional ability in a three-days' speech in the United States senate.

His history of slavery was written during his term as senator but was never completed, death overtaking him before the task had been finished. The preparation and publication of the manuscript in its incomplete form was entrusted to the late Senator Money who, owing to defective eyesight, never carried out the author's plans. An imperfect typewritten copy was finally turned over to a relative, the Rev. Wm. H. Leavell, now minister to Guatemala, by whom it was edited and arranged for publication.

The work covers the history of slavery from its introduction in the American colonies to the adoption of the fifteenth amendment. As the title indicates, it is mainly a political history and is to a large extent merely a summary of the debates in the Philadelphia convention and in congress on the various questions relating to slavery which arose from time to time. Elliot's *Debates* and the *Congressional record* are almost the only sources of information cited by the author, although in the earlier part of the work there is an occasional reference to Bancroft's history. Senator George's history is therefore somewhat dry and uninteresting, largely because of the extensive quotations from the debates.

It can hardly be said that the work adds anything to our knowledge of the political history of slavery, yet the author's reviews and summaries of the opinions of the leaders in the Philadelphia convention and in congress, to which he adds his own comment now and then, may lighten the burden of the student who wants information of this kind. Naturally, his point of view is that of a states' rights democrat, and the cause of the South is defended with considerable ability. An appendix of more than fifty pages contains the very able report which he made on behalf of the minority of the judiciary committee, on the constitutional questions involved in the bill to provide for inquests under national authority.

JAMES W. GARNER

The education of the negro prior to 1861. A history of the education of the colored people of the United States from the beginning of slavery to the civil war. By C. G. Woodson, Ph. D. (Harvard) (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915. 454 p. \$2.00 net)

The author of this book exhibits what is coming to be a common phenomenon in historical writing, a combination of modern scientific method with the bias of ancient prejudice. Thinking of slavery makes him angry; and in his anxiety to get a shot at the hateful institution, he falls into a morass of contradictions. The value of the work, however, is not greatly injured by this, for the bias and the flag-waving are confined

mainly to sweeping general statements, while the facts discovered are stated fairly and accurately.

The scope of the work is sufficiently comprehensive and the author covers his field well. His aim is to trace the development of education among the negroes from their appearance in America to 1861. He first gives a useful and comprehensive history of the education of the negro during the colonial period, followed by an adequate estimate of the influence of religion and of the "rights of man" philosophy upon negro education. Next come studies of the reactionary influences introduced by the industrial revolution, of the development of cotton production, and of the rise of abolition agitation; and finally a comparison of conditions — North and South.

The triumph of natural feeling over facts is shown in the following quotations: After the industrial revolution the "rich planters not only thought it unwise to educate men thus destined to live on a plane with beasts but considered it more profitable to work a slave to death during seven years and buy another in his stead than to teach and humanize him with a view to increasing his efficiency" (p. 8). "Reduced thus to the plane of beasts, where they remained for generations, negroes developed bad traits which, since their emancipation, have been removed only with great difficulty" (p. 12). "To prevent the slaves from co-operating to rise against their masters, they were often taught to mistreat and malign one another to keep alive a feeling of hatred. The bad traits of the American Negroes resulted then not from an instinct common to the natives of Africa, but from the institutions of the South and from the actual teachings of the slaves to be low and depraved that they might never develop sufficient strength to become a powerful element in society" (p. 200). And as a very proper conclusion we have this hoary proposition: "It was the liberated negroes themselves who during the Reconstruction gave the Southern States their first effective system of public schools" (p. 17).

But frequently there is conflict between feeling and carefully cultivated fairness as to facts which results in contradictory conclusions, such as: The masters did not want their slaves educated because they would then be less easily controlled; they wanted them educated because they were then more valuable and more firmly attached to the master; legislation against the teaching of negroes was designed to reduce them to the level of beasts; this legislation was aimed mainly at trouble-making outsiders, and there was much "winking at the teaching of negroes in defiance of the law and a better day for their education brightened in certain parts of the South about the middle of the nineteenth century." Probably these contradictions result from too frequent attempts to generalize, interpret, and explain laws, statistics, and tendencies of unlike situations and widely separated times.

There are good discussions of the reasons given by the whites for the education of negro slaves: first, it was done for the purpose of making it

possible to christianize them; next, under the influence of revolutionary doctrines, they were to be "fitted for citizenship," but later, it was rather to prepare them for colonization abroad; during the reactionary period it was believed that religious instruction only should be given; while a little later it was argued that education increased the value and attachment of the slave.

Much of the incidental discussion is of interest and also of value. It is evident, for example, that until late the views of North and South were on this matter much the same. A large migration of negroes from the South to a northern community always dampened there the ardor of the latter for the education of the negro. Only gradually was the opposition in the North relaxed enough to admit the negroes to public schools. In some places where there was an aristocratic prejudice against public schools, negro parents were found who strongly objected to being forced to send their children to the democratic free schools; they preferred the more aristocratic pay school. North as well as South, it was the lower industrial class of whites who objected to negro education; and in the North all attempts at industrial training failed because of this opposition.

Most of the work relates to the education of free negroes or of slaves who were later emancipated because only for free negroes are statistics available. But there are interesting accounts of how individual slaves secured education. Some were taught by master, mistress, or their children; some by their white fathers; some in schools; and some secretly by one another; a few by the churches which needed negro preachers, or by masters who needed them in business. The many instances mentioned show that it was not difficult for the house slaves to get the beginnings of an education.

It is not difficult to form an estimate of the number of literate free negroes. In 1850 about 345,000 free negroes were reported literate, and in 1860 about 400,000. But during the same period the number of negroes in the South regularly attending school decreased; there were 4,354 in school in 1850 and ten years later there were only 3,651. The tendency was for the educated southern negro to migrate to the North; this was especially true during the period 1850-1860. The author thinks that as late as 1840 there were more educated blacks in the South than in the North.

As to the literate slaves it is impossible to secure definite statistics. Woodson comes to the conclusion that about ten per cent of all negro adults were able to read. Other authorities have suggested that fifteen to sixteen per cent had some little learning. Therefore the slaves who could read numbered between one per cent and six per cent, not a very definite conclusion. It is certain only that at the end of the civil war

there was quite a number of negroes with more or less education even in the South, and probably a larger number in the North.

A comprehensive bibliography is appended to the work, and there is throughout evidence that Mr. Woodson has made extensive research. In spite of the defects mentioned above it will never be necessary for any one to do this work again.

W. L. F.

The American Navy. By Rear-Admiral French E. Chadwick (U. S. N., Retired). [The American books.] (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1915. 284 p. \$.60 net)

This little volume sketches the history of the American navy with special reference to its accomplishments in the wars in which the United States has been engaged. In its proportions the survey emphasizes the period from 1775 to 1815, two-thirds of the volume having been assigned to these years. In the seven chapters on the American revolution his indebtedness to Gardner W. Allen's *A naval history of the revolution* and to Oscar C. Paullin's *The navy of the American revolution* is apparent. The civil war era is covered hastily, no attempt being made to describe or even list any except the more important naval engagements. The author suggests, however, that the part of the navy in the civil war has been greatly underestimated. The reader's expectations are disappointed on finding that the period since 1882, "the birthday of our navy of today," is covered in twenty-five pages and that the discussion of present naval issues is accomplished in very little more than three pages. This is ground on which the first-hand information of Rear-Admiral Chadwick might have thrown important light.

A. C. C.

The Panama canal; comprising its history and construction, and its relation to the navy, international law and commerce. By Reuben E. Bakenhus, S.B., corps of civil engineers, United States Navy, public works officer, navy yard, Boston, formerly assistant in civil engineering, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Harry S. Knapp, captain United States Navy, formerly member Naval War College staff; Emory R. Johnson, Ph.D., Sc.D., professor of transportation and commerce, University of Pennsylvania, member of public service commission of Pennsylvania, special commissioner on Panama canal traffic and tolls, 1911-1913. (New York: John Wiley and Sons; London: Chapman and Hall, 1915. 257 p. \$2.50)

"The articles which have been gathered under one cover to form this book were originally published in the Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute." According to the authors, this assemblage of articles

is desirable in order to afford a comprehensive view of the Panama canal; otherwise "the reader who would thoroughly understand the canal, its history, where and how it was built, what it means to commerce and to the navy and where it stands in the council of nations would, perhaps, wade through many pages of picturesque and interesting descriptions more or less accurate, find a part well described here and a part there and yet, in the end, might not have a complete understanding of the mammoth enterprise." All of which is very well, if only the promises set forth in the preface were fulfilled in the body of the book.

Only twenty-three pages are devoted to a sketch of the history of the enterprise, admittedly "one of the most interesting subjects connected with . . . the canal idea." To say that this sketch is fragmentary is to accord it high praise. The pity is that in collecting the fragments a great many important ones have been omitted, and the others have been thrown together in decidedly distorted shape. Thus so sudden is the change from the Nicaragua to the Panama route, and the transfer of control from France to the United States, that the impression produced is almost grotesque.

Part two, consisting of seventy-seven pages, is devoted to "the route, the design, and construction" of the Panama canal. After a brief description of the physical characteristics of the country, the all-important question of the choice between a sea-level and a lock canal is decided forthwith according to the joint resolution of Congress, June 27, 1906, with the remark that it is not "necessary to describe the detailed processes and steps by means of which these matters were finally determined, except incidentally when studying some of the important elements of the canal." The general description of the canal itself is concise and fairly well expressed. But, like other important questions, that of the "slides" is passed over with a few inconclusive remarks, such, for example, as: "The slides as a feature of the canal operation have received, perhaps, more than their share of attention, and have been made use of by alarmist press agents"; they "are not to be minimized, however, as the amount of material involved is equivalent to the excavation for 60 of the largest dry docks and they have served to considerably prolong the time of completing the Culebra Cut"; "Careful attention has been given them by the commission, and the geologist employed by them has made a thorough examination and report on the subject"; "The serious problems of the slides will have been solved when the canal is entirely finished. No one can predict with certainty, however, that they will have been altogether eliminated by that time. New slides may develop or old ones extend. But the slides are usually slow to develop, and the material can be rapidly excavated should any occur." These, and other statements to the same effect, based upon a supposedly accu-

rate geological investigation of the situation, are not borne out by recent recurrences of the disastrous slides. Thus "the reader who would thoroughly understand the canal" may after all have to "wade through" the more accurate descriptions of the country contained in other books.

Under the caption "The Panama canal in international law," the author of this section says: "It is important to have a knowledge of the antecedent history to appreciate the full bearings of the present treaty obligations of the United States with respect to the canal." Such knowledge might easily have been acquired and presented to the reader in succinct form, since a great deal has been written by diplomatic historians on this phase of the transit question. For the lack of such a summary, these few pages devoted to the international law of the canal are of very little value. Nor is it necessary to add anything in the way of comment on the short section devoted to sanitation, costs of work, elements of success, and so forth, which contains some figures in columnar form, and a conclusion quoted from a speech of Senator Seward sixty years ago.

This book having been written for the most part by naval officers, the section which is devoted to "The navy and the Panama canal" is of the greatest interest to the general reader, more especially at this juncture when the great war is going on and the United States navy may be called into action at any time. Part four, devoted to the commercial importance of the canal, is written by a layman, but by an authority withal. Herein will be found an admirable summary of this author's contributions to the subject in other books and magazines.

The compilers of this volume should also be commended for appending a series of excellent maps, produced by the canal commission and by the engineers in charge of the work. On the whole, however, the book is nothing more nor less than a compilation, and there is not very much to say for it at that.

LINDLEY M. KEASBEY

A history of travel in America. Showing the development of travel and transportation from the crude methods of the canoe and the dog-sled to the highly organized railway systems of the present, together with a narrative of the human experiences and changing social conditions that accompanied this economic conquest of the continent. By Seymour Dunbar. In four volumes. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1915. 339; 400; 383; 404 p. \$10.00 net)

Four hundred pictures "selected and arranged to form a flowing and connected story of its own, independent of the text" constitute the most important contribution of these four volumes which have been christened

with the above imposing and comprehensive title. The collection and printing of these pictures were decidedly worth while. Here there can be followed with comparative ease and enjoyment the development of the means of transportation in the United States from the time when the pirogue and the canoe were paddled by the dusky natives over the inland waters up to the time of the building of the first transcontinental railroad. The only criticism of any moment which can be passed on this part of Mr. Dunbar's work is his failure to inform his readers in regard to the sources of his reproductions. Many of the prints reproduced are rare and the knowledge of the whereabouts of the originals would have been of the greatest advantage to historians.

It is a pity that Mr. Dunbar did not decide to cut down his account of these pictures to the pages of a modest single volume; he would then have rendered a real service. Instead of this he has buried them in fifteen hundred and twenty-nine pages, which he has attempted to fill with a history of the social life of the people of the United States, a subject about which his knowledge is very limited. He has no conception of the relation of transportation to development of commerce, which should have formed the basic thought of his book. Instead of this the whole subject, as far as it is confined to the means of travel, is treated in a purely antiquarian manner.

His method of historical interpretation is anecdotal in quality. When he comes to an explanation of the hostility of the Iroquois to the French, he is satisfied with telling the story of Champlain's engagement with them as the adequate cause. "The Indians," he writes, "could not cope with a weapon [the gun] like that, but the story of its existence and use went through the wilderness and the relationship between France and the Five Nations was fixed. For nearly a hundred and fifty years afterward the effects of that prejudice were still apparent, despite many later efforts of France to secure the Iroquois as allies." The story is hoary with age and has been sanctified by many repetitions. Still today the historian is more likely to seek an explanation of this antagonism in the development of the fur trade and other economic causes.

Much attention is paid by the author to the westward march of the settlements, and the picture of the stalwart and virtuous pioneer living in arcadian simplicity with his fellows is pictured in glowing terms. To anyone who has read the letters of Sir William Johnson or of others equally familiar with the people of the frontier the statement that "though the region was far removed from effective legal control, crime was practically non-existent" appears simply ridiculous. Contemporary sources more generally — and also incorrectly — picture the western region as peopled with "banditti" of the worst kind.

Misstatements of facts are as common as those of interpretation. Mr.

Dunbar asserts that "no army of soldiers could have made the journey on which the cabin dwellers of the southern mountains were soon to set forth." He forgets evidently the victory of General Bouquet which occurred just previously to the period he has in mind and that of General Wayne that took place shortly afterwards; he surely is not ignorant of the part played by United States troops in winning the trans-Mississippi region nor of the order which is maintained today in the extreme north-west of Canada by the mounted police.

The author places the beginnings of the westward advance in the years 1770 and 1771, though it had begun twenty years before. He glorifies Daniel Boone, as so many local historians before him have done, and calls him the instigator of James [sic] Henderson's scheme of founding the colony of Transylvania. Evidently he has not yet learned that Boone was only the agent of Henderson, in whose interests Daniel made his too greatly exalted journey to Kentucky.

The above examples have been taken from the first volume but they could be duplicated from any of the four. Still the reproductions of the pictures are good, and now and then as one turns the pages some interesting scrap of narrative catches the eye and holds the attention. So on the whole the work was worth printing; but why did the publishers permit the addition of the weird index? It is a wonderful contraption, incapable of use.

C. W. A.

Famous living Americans. With portraits. Edited by Mary Griffin Webb, and Edna Lenore Webb. (Greencastle, Indiana: Charles Webb and Company, 1915. 594 p. \$5.00)

Famous living Americans is an attractive title. It appeals to the average individual as a book that he ought to read and which he should own. It also suggests a most obvious fact, that we should have more accurate information about our notable compatriots.

The editors state in their preface that they intended the work to serve two purposes: "First, to supply the general reader in compact form the biographies of a considerable number of the most prominent present day Americans. . . Second, to provide inspirational and authoritative source material for use as the basis of papers and speeches, and to give practical directions for the composition and preparation of biographical and other addresses." Thus the book is an English text and a reference work on current biography.

Forty-three characters have been selected for the biographical sketches. In general, little fault can be found with the choice of the "famous living Americans," although it is interesting to examine the grounds for their fame. Roosevelt is the only historian with sufficient reputation

to receive recognition, and his biographer carefully refrains from any reference to that phase of Roosevelt's manifold activities.

It is gratifying to find that no one section of the nation has a monopoly of "famous Americans." Seventeen of those selected for sketches live in the West and middle West and twenty-eight of the authors of the sketches live in Illinois and Indiana. Few of the biographies can be classed as historical. They are all popular in style, generally very readable and interesting, and drawn almost wholly from popular magazine articles or from books by or about the objects of the sketches. There is nothing to indicate that personal material or public records have been used. Hence the work is in no sense critical and in most cases would have to be used very cautiously by the historical student. There is no index.

O. M. DICKERSON

American literature. By Leon Kellner, professor, University of Czernowitz. Translated from the German by Julia Franklin. With a preface by Gustav Pollak. [The American books.] (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1915. 254 p. \$.60 net)

The title of these two hundred and fifty pages of large type and generous margins is a misnomer. Instead of *American literature*, they should have been called *Snap shots at American literature*. The volume is a photograph album of a tourist, filled with scenes from American letters and with the faces of more than a hundred writers. Many of these studies are careful, accurate, and loving; the portrait of Holmes has been caught particularly well by Mr. Kellner. Some of them, however, fail to give a fair perspective and a just emphasis to the really glorious things of our literature. For example, to devote six lines to Poe's verse and six pages to Hans Breitmann's *Ballads* is one of the author's many sins in proportion which it is hard to forgive. Furthermore, to discuss Lowell's essays as if they had all been written as lectures, is to miss the charm of our greatest magazine essayist. Dr. Kellner is unusually gracious toward woman writers — to the forgotten Catherine Maria Sedgwick, to Julia Ward Howe, and to Helen Hunt Jackson; and he saves a particularly warm and comfortable seat by the literary fire for Harriet Beecher Stowe.

To the American the book is especially interesting as showing us ourselves as others see us. The author loves to study us as specimens; he loves us especially when we are red and raucous; but he is honest and widely read in our letters, and he is fresh and sincere in his impressions.

H. G. PAUL

The voyages of the Norsemen to America. By William Hovgaard, late commander in the royal Danish navy; professor of naval design and construction, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. (New York: The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1914. 304 p. \$4.00)

This handsome volume, with its fine illustrations and maps, inaugurates impressively the series of Scandinavian monographs for the promotion of the study of Scandinavian history and culture, which has been made possible by the generous bequest of Niels Poulson. Mr. Hovgaard has produced a fresh, judicious, and well-proportioned review of the character, customs, achievements, and sagas of the Norsemen of the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, as these are related to the exploration and attempted colonization of America. The volume includes two long chapters (about one-fifth of the body of the book), one on the Norse settlements and conditions of life in Iceland and Greenland; another (chapter 9) on "Eskimos or Indians," both of which are extended quite beyond the needs of an account of the voyages to America proper. The chapters on the ships of the Norsemen (3) and the navigation of the Norsemen (4) are admirably done, and when taken in connection with chapters 10 and 11, which deal with the description of the coasts of America probably discovered by the Norsemen, and with the geographical analysis of the Vinland voyages, they show the author quite at his best as a critical student of geography, navigation, and saga literature. Not all historians and critics will agree with Mr. Hovgaard in his acceptance of the saga stories as essentially historic on the ground that "in general, the simple and straightforward narrative in the sagas of the discovery of America by the Norsemen will by itself be sufficient to convince people of its essential truthfulness," but they will follow with unusual interest his analysis of these accounts as they were written between 1000 and 1400, his discussion of Vinland and its attributes (chapter 8), and his attempt to reconstruct the voyages described in the sagas.

The results of this attempt are no more final than those of its many predecessors, and to the credit of the author it must be said that he admits the certain failure of "any attempt to interpret the voyages, whether geographically or historically, strictly in accordance with the sagas," and modestly claims for his conjectures no unique authority. Using his expert knowledge of navigation, he proceeds by a process of comparison and skilful elimination to the conclusion that the Norsemen on several of their exploring expeditions touched the continent of North America at various points, some of them as far south as the coast of Massachusetts; that they probably enriched their characterization of Vinland by adding the adjective "Good," just as the rough hands of

Eric the Red deceptively christened the bleak northern country Greenland; and that they made unsuccessful efforts to plant colonies in Newfoundland where they hoped to get much-desired timber and to trade with the natives.

The reëxamination of the historical and geographical aspects of the voyages of the Norsemen combines popular and scholarly qualities in happy fashion; it brings into clear relief once more the hardihood and adventurousness of the men of the viking northwest of the tenth and eleventh centuries, qualities which have been again displayed by Scandinavian immigrants in their voyages of exploration and colonization to a New Vinland the Good in the north middle west of the United States.

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK

An abridgment of the Indian affairs contained in four folio volumes, transacted in the colony of New York, from the year 1678 to the year 1751. By Peter Wraxall. Edited with an introduction by Charles Howard McIlwain, assistant professor of history, Harvard University. [Harvard historical studies published under the direction of the department of history from the income of the Henry Warren Torrey fund, volume xxi.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1915. 251 p. \$2.00)

“To preserve the Ballance between us & the French is the great ruling Principle of the Modern Indian Politics.” “The Indians frequently repeat that Trade was the foundation of their Alliance or Connexions with us & that it is the chief Cement w^{ch} binds us together. And this should undoubtedly be the first Principle of our whole System of Indian Politics.”

These passages from the *Abridgment*, which Mr. McIlwain has placed at the beginning of his introduction, state clearly and concisely the theme of the document. Wraxall compiled the *Abridgment* in the year 1754, when he was Indian secretary for the government of New York, and town clerk of Albany. The four folio volumes upon which the *Abridgment* is based contained the records of the transactions between the Indians and the Albany magistrates who had charge of Indian affairs for the colony of New Netherland and afterwards for New York. The value of Wraxall's compilation is greatly enhanced by the fact that only two of these volumes have survived to the present day. His work, however, constitutes more than a mere summary of the history of New York Indian affairs between 1678 and 1751. It also preserves for us his views concerning the manner in which the Dutch magistrates at Albany conducted their transactions with the Five Nations. Writing at a time when the smouldering rivalry between the French and English was

about to burst into the flames of the seven years' war, and when the friendship of the Five Nations hung in the balance, Wraxall had a deep personal and political interest in the events he chronicled. Not the least interesting parts of the *Abridgment* are those passages and notes wherein he in no uncertain language expresses his views of the character of the Albany commissioners and bitterly arraigns the merchants who persisted in carrying on the trade with Canada to the detriment of the province of New York. He is firmly convinced that Indian trade and politics are inseparable and this view is emphasized again and again in the *Abridgment*. In brief, the document constitutes an arraignment of the character and conduct of the Albany commissioners, wherein Wraxall seeks to show how they played into the hands of the French, who were seeking to gain control of the West and the fur trade.

Very few editorial notes have been appended to the document itself, but in his introduction, Mr. McIlwain presents a full discussion of the New York fur trade and its regulation together with an account of the *Abridgment* and of its author which render further critical apparatus almost unnecessary. The first chapter contains an admirably suggestive general discussion of the early fur trade. Mr. McIlwain enlarges upon the theme repeatedly emphasized by Wraxall, namely, that the Indian trade governed Indian politics and was a consideration of vital importance in the long struggle between the French and English; and one cannot help feeling that he is justified when he declares that the importance of the Indian trade has not been sufficiently recognized by historians. It is interesting to note that the writer attacks the commonly accepted idea that the attachment of the Iroquois to the English depended upon a spirit of revenge aroused by Champlain's early acts of aggression. He maintains that trade considerations determined their attitude and the *Abridgment* itself certainly contains much to warrant such a contention. A reference to "the more or less disaffected Dutch" who were in control of the New York trade suggests a phase of the subject concerning which a little more might have been said in the introduction. The volume forms a distinct contribution to the primary and secondary literature of the fur trade and of the struggle between France and England in North America which no student of these closely related subjects can afford to ignore.

W. E. STEVENS

Sacred bundles of the Sac and Fox Indians. By M. R. Harrington. [University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum anthropological publications, vol. iv, no. 2.] (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1914. 262 p. \$5.00)

Mr. Harrington, the author of this scholarly and interesting work, is a member of the staff of the Heye Museum and has written a number

of valuable papers on ethnological subjects; at present he is making studies and gathering collections in the West Indies.

In the introduction, Mr. Harrington states that the use of objects supposed to have mysterious power for magically influencing the affairs and conditions of life seems to have been almost universal among the native tribes of North America. It has been most difficult to obtain the information concerning the bundles of the Sac and Fox Indians. In many cases the present owners knew little or nothing of their history, use, or ritual; in other cases, Indians would bring themselves to the point of selling their bundles to get rid of the responsibility of caring for them, but could not be induced to give any information about them, either through fear of the supernatural, or fear of what their tribesmen might say, or merely because they thought their sacred beliefs would be ridiculed by white men.

The concepts underlying the beliefs and customs connected with these "powerful" objects are usually quite obscure and involved, but the basic idea is, apparently, that such objects are endowed with a certain degree of supernatural power, by which they can directly or indirectly influence the phenomena of life in the interests of the owner. The ordinary sacred bundle contains one or more charms, amulets, or fetishes, together with paints, offerings, and ceremonial paraphernalia.

An interesting sketch of the history of the Sac and Fox culture follows Mr. Heye's introduction. Referring once more to the bundles hanging overhead from the smoke-stained rafter poles in the few remaining primitive lodges of bark or mats, it is stated: "Well may the Indian view these Bundles of mystery with reverence and respect for within them still lingers the spirit of yesterday — memories of the days he loved — the days of the freedom of forest and prairies, of the glory of war, the excitement of the chase, the days when the Indian was a power in the land, the days now gone forever."

But the most fundamental basis of the Indian's regard for these relics of the past lies in his belief that the bundles were the direct gift to his people from the Manitos, the great powers that rule the world; and that through them the creatures and the elemental forces of nature imparted their potency to mankind. Moreover, the feasts, ceremonies, and dances connected with the bundles formed a great part of the people's religious activities and provided many opportunities for social intercourse. All these factors considered, it is not surprising that the bundles were treasured and that only of late years, when the old beliefs are being rapidly forgotten by the rising generation, have the Indians begun to let the precious articles pass out of their hands.

The sacred bundles of the Sac and Fox Indians can be roughly divided, according to their functions, into three classes: (1) war bundles,

containing amulets and charms which were thought to give magical protection and help in battle; (2) medicine or charm bundles, supposed to aid their owners in various affairs of life, such as hunting, making love, gambling, and even in taking revenge on such of their own tribesmen as happened to offend the holders of the bundles; (3) naming or clan bundles, whose principal use was in the ceremonies for the naming of children.

In the old days the war bundles were especially prized; the Sac and Fox tribes even denied that they ever used shields, asserting that their bundles were more potent to protect them. Since war has become a thing of the past, they are of course of little use to them now; on the contrary, they are a source of trouble and expense, inasmuch as every bundle must have its feasts and rites at stated times each year. Neglect of these ceremonies is believed to cause misfortune to the person who, by inheritance or gift, has come into possession of the bundle. In old times every warrior of prominence had a bundle, so that as the tribes have declined in numbers, many families have by inheritance acquired two or three or more. In such cases, it is not so very difficult to induce the owner to sell one of the superfluous bundles, once he has been fully satisfied that it will not be ill-treated.

As an illustration, the method of using the war bundle may be described. When the war leader after appropriate songs and ceremonies set forth on a raid with his followers, he bore upon his back the war bundle, upon whose powers success was supposed to depend. Every precaution was taken to care for the bundle, particularly to see that it did not touch the earth. It was never opened until the enemy were actually sighted; once they came in view, even if at close range, the warriors proceeded to sing the song proper for the occasion, and to open the bundle; they then stripped themselves, and put on the "medicine" head bands and other protective amulets contained in the bundle, painted themselves with the magic paint and chewed and rubbed upon their bodies the herbs that were supposed to make them impervious to arrows or at least difficult to hit; then while the remaining contents were being wrapped up, amid the shrilling of the war whistles and the sound of the rattles taken from the bundle, the warriors joined in a short dance. Then they were ready for the foe, who in the meantime might have been firing on them. After the encounter the amulets were returned to the bundle; and the herbs were used to heal the wounded.

Medicine and charm bundles were used in nearly as many ways as there were bundles. There were definite rules connected with the handling of all bundles which must be obeyed. As sacred objects, they must always be treated with respect, and never opened except for good cause; nor must they ever be allowed to touch the ground. The grand medi-

cine bag, or Me-Shaun, was a bundle in which were recorded, by strings or stones or figures, the names of most of the Indian gods of ancient times. It had a group of ordinances peculiar to itself; it was believed that the observance of these requirements by an individual entitled him at death to go to the "happy land;" disregard of them caused the careless one to fall into the "river of death." It may be remarked in passing that those who are followers of the theory of Lieutenant Totten and others, that our North American Indians are remnants of the lost tribes of Israel, will find in this brochure much to strengthen their theory.

The naming bundles were employed in the ceremonies attending the naming of a child, which occurred when the latter had reached the age of four years. There were feasts and dances, and prayers were offered imploring prosperity and a long life for the child.

Mr. Harrington has made a scholarly contribution to the knowledge of Indian customs; his work is sure to be welcomed by all who feel an interest in the culture of the vanishing race of American aborigines. The general attractiveness of the book is enhanced by a number of well chosen illustrations.

W. T. PARKER

William Branch Giles: A study in the politics of Virginia and the nation from 1790 to 1830. By Dice Robins Anderson, B.A., M.A., Ph.D., professor and head of the department of history and political science, Richmond College, Richmond, Virginia. (Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company, 1914. 271 p. \$1.50)

William Branch Giles, the *bête noire* of Henry Adams' excellent history of the administrations of Jefferson and Madison, deserves a better rôle than Mr. Adams and his imitators have accorded him. The fact that he has not received due recognition is evidence of the dictum that the stigma of a bad name is as injurious to men as to dogs. Though he was at times unreasonably inconsistent, and was frequently actuated by prejudices and jealousies; and though he, at one time or another, made such men as Washington, Hamilton, Gallatin, Madison, Monroe, Clay, and John Quincy Adams the objects of bitter and useless assaults, William B. Giles was hardly "unparalleled in American history" as an example of "malignity of the human mind." In making this characterization of Giles, Mr. Adams seems to have overlooked the fact that comparative degrees of malignity of mind in men are difficult to determine, even in this scientific age; that maliciousness is not the product of any age or section; and that a quality bordering on this manifestation of human imperfection has crept into the vigorous debates of all ages. Indeed, sentiments closely akin to malignity have been known to creep

into memoirs, and that without fatal results to those who have thus handed themselves down to history. Had the first use of such sources fallen into unsympathetic hands, however, the honorable names of some of New England's most illustrious sons might have been at least temporarily blighted.

Without trying to excuse or to hide Giles' faults Mr. Anderson has given him a creditable place among the second rate statesmen of the formative period of our nation, and, in so doing, he has made a contribution to the history of Virginia. It is now possible for the first time to know Giles as he was known to the wisest and fairest of his contemporaries. Henceforth he will live as "the Charles James Fox of American debate;" as the loyal and fearless follower of Thomas Jefferson both in the paths of particularism and of nationalism; as the intellectual leader of the famous Smith faction; above all things else, as a most bitter and sarcastic orator, the venom of whose words was surpassed only by that of John Randolph's speeches. In spite of the latter characteristic, Giles was ever ready to make admissions of error and occasionally repented bitterly of his use of sarcasm. The love and esteem with which he came to regard Washington is proof of his forgiving spirit and of his patriotism.

Strange as it may seem, considering the long period of his retirement and his delicate health, the second period of Giles' political activity, that from 1825 to 1830, was more fruitful than his first in proportion to the time employed. In 1815, sick and under the ban, he withdrew from the political arena to the quiet of his farm in Amelia county; there he remained in retirement a quiet observer, during a period in which his state and section underwent a series of unprecedented economic ills. At last, alarmed and disgusted with the successful efforts of the friends of the American system, he reëntered the political arena in order to defend the theory of constitutional limitation on the powers of Congress; and in rapid succession numerous articles from his pen found their way into print. Thus he became the recognized leader of his state in the beginning of the nullification period and, as such, was promoted to the governorship, an office then held in higher esteem than most positions in the federal service.

In a thoughtful, scholarly, and entirely impartial study covering fifteen chapters Mr. Anderson has told the life story of this remarkable Virginian. The biography has a flavor of pleasant wholesomeness and soundness which sustains the interest of the reader. The proportions are good, emphasis being placed only on essentials. The only regrettable feature is the evident paucity of source materials, due in part to the fact that some of the debates in the senate for that period have never

been printed. The book is provided with numerous footnotes, an extensive and exhaustive bibliography, and a complete index. It is a new evidence of the growing tendency on the part of the sons of the South to delve deeply into her history.

CHARLES H. AMBLER

The American Indian as slaveholder and secessionist. An omitted chapter in the diplomatic history of the southern confederacy. By Annie Heloise Abel, Ph. D. In three volumes. Volume I. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1915. 394 p. \$5.00)

This volume presents a comprehensive survey of the general situation in the Indian country during the period from 1830 to 1860; it gives a detailed account of the activities by which Texas and Arkansas won neighboring Indians to the secession movement, and discusses the essentials in the negotiations which resulted in the alliance of the confederacy and the great tribes in the Indian territory; lastly, it notes the effects produced on the relations of the Indians to the confederated states and to the union by the battles which were fought in or near the Indian country in the first year of the civil war. The four chapters covering these subjects are followed by two appendices: "The Fort Smith papers," and "The Leeper or Wichita agency papers." In addition, the book contains a selected bibliography of ten pages; a carefully prepared index; two maps, one showing the free negro settlements in the Creek country and the other the line of retreat of those of the Cherokee Indians who remained loyal to the union; and portraits of Colonel Downing, John Ross, and Colonel Adair, famous Indian chieftains of the civil war period.

The volume here reviewed is the first of a series of three dealing with the slaveholding Indians as secessionists, as participants in the civil war, and as victims under reconstruction. Its sub-title has been purposely given in order that the peculiar position of the Indian in 1861 may thus be brought out in strong relief. In one sense he was regarded as inside the union and consequently entitled to a voice on the question of secession; on the other hand, he was considered as outside the union by the treaty making authorities of the confederacy. Although Miss Abel's accounts of the untiring and even subtle efforts of the confederacy are interesting enough in themselves, they are neither so interesting nor so instructive as is her history of the treaties concluded by Albert Pike, the Arkansas poet, which allied the great nations of the Indian territory to the confederacy. These treaties show the tremendous importance attached by the South to the friendship of the Indians; further, they mark a radical departure in the relations between the white man

and the red man, the political importance of the latter being recognized now for the first time in solemn treaty arrangements guaranteeing territorial and political integrity, providing for his representation along with the white man in a deliberative assembly, and offering the prospect of ultimate statehood for the larger of the Indian territories.

There is certainly nothing in the history of the individual states of which the confederacy was composed to show that it was actuated, in the negotiation of these treaties, by a traditional policy or by humanitarian motives. In this case, as usual, it was the Indian country that was desired rather than the aid and friendship of the Indian nations. The political and institutional consolidation of the South would have been impossible with an immense reservation of the great tribes, the wards of the union, driven wedgelike between Texas and Arkansas; hence, hard pressed though it was, the confederacy paid a high price for its Indian alliances. In its negotiations it conceded practically everything for which the Indians had contended for more than half a century. Whether they had now improved their lot depended wholly upon the success of the confederacy and on the Indians' ability to adapt themselves to the habits and institutions of a slaveholding society. The exigencies of the times at any rate, caused the confederacy completely to reverse the federal policy of treating the Indians as persons having no rights which white men were bound to respect.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Indian tribes, in 1861, looked to the "Great Father" for promised bounties and other favors, the authorities at Washington, with characteristic oversight and neglect, left their wards prey to the superior diplomacy and political resources of the confederacy and then later complained of the Indians' disloyalty. Certainly the northern authorities could not have expected that bounties and promised favors would preserve the Indians' loyalty to the federal government in its fight against the existence of a "peculiar institution" to which the red men themselves had long been accustomed. Some reliance was to be placed on the full-blooded Indians, few of whom owned negroes, and on such far-seeing and conscientious chieftains as John Ross of the Cherokee nation, who, having been educated in the North, saw the inconsistencies in the policy of the southern states towards the Indians, and who had a vision of the horrible consequences which would result from a sectional conflict between the North and the South. Nevertheless in the light of experience the neglect of the authorities at Washington was criminal.

The confederacy, on the other hand, through its authorized and unauthorized agents, took advantage of every recourse to win the highly prized friendship of the Indians. For example, they purposely confused

Seward's demand, made in 1854, for the evacuation of the Indian territory by its owners and their slaves, with his utterances in his famous Chicago speech of 1860 on "The national idea: its perils and triumphs," and the product was given to the Indians as expressing the policy of Lincoln and the abolitionists towards them. Further, the southern agents threatened that disloyalty to the confederacy on the part of the Indians would be followed by the forfeiture of the funds then held in trust for them by the federal government but owned chiefly in the southern states; ruin through the loss of their lands and slaves was represented as certain to result from the success of the union; Christian missionaries to the Indians defended the institution of negro slavery and the doctrines of secession; and the early victories of the confederacy upon the battlefields of the frontier, which had been planned precisely with a view to winning the savages, were heralded as certain indications of ultimate triumph for the seceders. Under the circumstances the Indians had little choice other than an alliance with the confederacy, and the federal authorities had still less cause to complain of their action.

This volume makes a good beginning of a story that is interesting and instructive. But not even the statement of the author's "British birth and antecedents" and the fact that she claims no particular section of the union as her adopted home can remove from the mind of the reviewer the suspicion that she would have been pleased to record a better showing on the part of the union in its dealings with the Indians in the early stages of the secession period. This inclination of the author has probably caused her to attribute too little of the success of the confederacy in handling its Indian problems to the superior ability and greater experience of its leaders and too much to their selfish desire to promote an unworthy cause.

CHAS. H. AMBLER

A history of banking and currency in Ohio before the civil war. By C. C. Huntington. [Ohio archaeological and historical quarterly, vol. xxiv, no. 3, pp. 235-533.] (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, 1915. 305 p. \$.75)

This monograph, which forms a part of the Carnegie Institution's work on the economic history of the United States, is devoted to a study of banks and banking in Ohio prior to 1863. The subject is treated in two parts: banking under special charters, 1803-1843; and banking under general laws, 1843-1863. During the earlier period note issue was based on general assets, while in the later period note issue was secured by safety funds or bond deposits. There are seven chapters given to each of the main divisions.

Part one describes the conditions under which banking began in the

early frontier days and which are typical of similar developments in many other states of the region during the progress of the settlement of the West. The isolation and difficulties of transportation in new communities made the problem of a money supply an urgent one. Banks were organized in connection with the river traffic from Cincinnati to New Orleans — the Miami Exporting company being “the first bank in Ohio, and perhaps the second west of the Alleghanies.”

The lack of metallic money in the country generally before the civil war necessitated the issue of some kind of paper currency. As Ohio grew in population and as production and business transactions increased, banks were organized and began to issue circulating notes. The usual results in early banking appeared. Notes were issued in excessive amounts; proper security was not provided; sound banking methods were not followed; and when periods of strain occurred the banks suspended payments and many of them failed.

The changing economic and business conditions, coupled with the inevitable readjustments necessary in a state developing as rapidly as Ohio was during these years, would have tested a sounder banking system, and they proved utterly demoralizing to the crude and unwise management of these early banks. The situation was complicated by the efforts of the United States bank from 1816 to 1836 to establish branches in Ohio which met with opposition and with attempts to tax the branches of the “foreign” institution out of existence. This controversy was brought to a close by the decision of the supreme court of the United States against the taxation of branches by the states.

By the end of the first period the people of the state had begun to realize that note issues must be regulated and sounder methods adopted.

Part two describes the development of banking for twenty years during which safety fund and bond deposit plans for the security of note issues were devised. The crude frontier banking of 1803 to 1843 became sounder and more conservative. Unfortunately banking facilities remained the football of politics as they had been during the earlier period. The whigs favored a system in which notes were “secured by a deposit of state stocks and providing for examinations and other safeguards.” They controlled the state government in every department, and in 1845 passed “the general law which dominated Ohio’s banking system for the next twenty years.”

At first there was general satisfaction with the new régime. New banks were formed and there was an increase of bank circulation and prices. Soon, however, the anti-bank party, the democrats, began to attack the new system, and in the constitutional convention of 1850 undertook to put a clause in the new constitution “requiring the legisla-

ture to abolish existing banks, prohibiting the creation of all banks of issue in the future, and making gold and silver the only constitutional currency in the state." There was considerable division of sentiment among the democrats in regard to banks, and by incessant effort the whigs prevented the insertion of the hard money clause by a margin of one vote. The new constitution, however, did contain the provision that "no act of the legislature authorizing banks should take effect until submitted to the people" at a general election and approved by a majority of the voters.

Many radicals were not opposed to banks so much as to the special privileges and monopoly power of the old banks. Furthermore, there was a widespread opinion prevalent that more banks were needed in various parts of the state. Under these circumstances "the legislature of 1851, though the Democrats had two-thirds of both branches, enacted another general banking law." About the same time similar laws were passed "in Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and a dozen other states." These laws provided for the security of the notes issued and in other ways regulated the business of the banks, while it opened the way for the establishment of banks under proper conditions. Thirteen new banks were organized before the new constitution stopped further progress by the requirement of submission to popular vote. A period of uncertainty and confusion followed culminating in the great national crisis of 1857. Before business conditions were again settled, the civil war had broken out and the national banking system had emerged to dominate state banking and to remove the abuses of note issues by state banks.

This monograph presents a careful, detailed account of the banking history of one of the older states of the middle West. Such studies form the necessary basis for a thorough history of banking and currency in the United States. There are in addition useful appendices, a bibliography of seven pages, and an ample index.

FRED E. HAYNES

History of poor relief legislation in Iowa. By John L. Gillin. [Iowa social history series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1914. 404)

The author of this volume states that his purpose is "to present an historical and analytical study of legislation for the relief of the poor in Iowa. Except incidentally, no attempt has been made to deal with the administrative side of public poor relief." (p. ix)

The work is divided into four parts. The first gives the history of poor relief legislation in the states from which Iowa inherited its laws (chapters 1-5); the second considers the contributing functions of Iowa

officials relative to poor relief legislation and the general methods obtaining in poor relief (chapters 6-10); part three attempts to summarize the methods Iowa has used in dealing with special classes of dependents and to indicate the degree to which state control has been developed (chapters 11-17); in part four the author summarizes the system of relief as it now obtains in Iowa and suggests changes which should be made in the system to bring it up to date and to make it thoroughly efficient (chapters 18-19). An appendix exhibits in tabular form the states from whose laws various sections of the code of 1851 relating to the relief of the poor were derived. Of the last seventy pages of the volume, fifty are devoted to notes and references which concern each of the nineteen chapters of the text, and twenty to a very complete index.

Mr. Gillin demonstrates that the poor relief system of Iowa in its essential aspects was inherited from the laws of the Northwest territory and of the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin; and that this inheritance dominated the Iowa system during the first fifty years of its existence. Outside the existence of state appointed boards governing the various state institutions which were established to care for the various classes of wards of the state, poor relief in general was left to the supervision and administration of the counties. There was not even centralized state control of the various state institutions devoted to the care of the backward classes. Not until in the seventies did there arise a conscious demand for protection from abuses by providing visiting boards. In 1872 a visiting committee for the insane hospital was established. During the next twenty-five years little or nothing was done to improve the situation, although a series of governors advocated visiting and controlling agencies of different sorts. In spite of the fact that governors Jackson and Drake had asserted that the state institutions were well and efficiently conducted, the joint committee of investigation appointed by the general assembly of 1898 found in those institutions irregularities, wastefulness, and conditions even more serious in certain instances. As a consequence a bill was passed providing for a state board of control which was approved by the governor March 26, 1898. The educational institutions which were included in the scope of this provision were later excepted, as were also the school for the deaf and the college for the blind, on the ground of their being neither charitable nor correctional in their nature. But the provisions were soon made to apply to county and private institutions in which insane were kept, because of the abuses discovered when investigations were made. The board was likewise given control over state care of soldiers, and soldiers' orphans and widows.

While large gains have been made toward giving Iowa an efficient

poor relief system, Mr. Gillin, upon the basis of his extensive investigation of the conditions existing in the state has some suggestions for further improvements of the system. While the state board of control has done much for the county insane asylums, patients are, as yet, given only the merest means of physical existence. Both expert care and some of the comforts should be provided. Likewise the county poorhouses are administered on the basis of mere physical existence. They are in the hands of men who may be kind-hearted but who know nothing about the best methods of caring for the poor. Outdoor relief is also badly administered in most cases, little provision being made for preventive relief. State control over poorhouses and provision of non-pauperizing methods for outdoor relief are urged.

Further remedial suggestions which may be noted are: supervision of the administration of the mothers' pension law by an expert or by a member of the board of control; laws to prevent keeping children over two years of age in county poorhouses, also to reserve such institutions for the aged and the infirm exclusively; establishment of qualifications for the stewards of poorhouses; provision for the establishment of district infirmaries for the insane; permission for adjoining counties to establish district sanitariums for tubercular patients in place of county institutions; substitution of the township plan for the county plan of poor relief; and assumption of the care of indigent insane by the state.

Poor relief legislation in Iowa is in every way a worthy work. It is thorough, scholarly, permeated with a large social vision, well organized, interestingly written, and critically constructive. The scientist, the administrator, and the statesman will find it a depository of extremely useful facts and principles.

JOHN M. GILLETTE

Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for the year 1913-1914. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1914. 397 p.)

This volume is a worthy publication, one of the best ever issued by the Association. In its contents will be found a number of papers of uncommon interest and not a little value. Mr. James Alton James's treatment of "Some phases of the history of the Northwest, 1783-1786" is especially to be commended. Since the appearance some years ago of Mr. James's volume of *George Rogers Clark papers*, we have learned to expect from him utterances of weight on matters relating to the earlier period of western history. A companion study is Mr. Paul C. Phillips's "American opinions regarding the West, 1778-1783," a well-digested contribution.

Mr. Warren Upham writes interestingly of "Explorations and sur-

veys of the Minnesotá and Red rivers," as does Mr. Doane Robinson of "The Verendrye plate." "The Hudson's Bay company's monopoly of the fur trade at the Red River settlement, 1821-1850," by Mr. Chester Martin, leaves much to be desired. Miss Mary Eleanor Peters offers a paper on "Texas trails," which is pleasant reading, but fortified by not a single foot-note. As if to add savor to the collection, Mr. R. C. Wallace writes of "The history of the salt industry in western Canada."

Politics receive their share of consideration in two papers of merit: "Stephen A. Douglas and the split in the democratic party," by Mr. O. M. Dickerson; and "The organization of the Jacksonian party in Indiana," by Mr. Logan Esarey. There is a group of short papers of sociological interest: "Some legal aspects of correctional work," by Mr. R. W. Craig; "The state and the immigrant," by Mr. J. S. Woodworth; and "Sociology and community welfare work," by Mr. J. L. Gillin. Discussions of various phases of problems connected with the teaching of history are contributed by Mr. O. M. Dickerson, Mr. S. H. Dodson, Mr. John M. Gillette, Mr. J. S. Young, and Miss Mary Eleanor Peters.

Mr. Clarence W. Alvord's "Critical analysis of the work of Reuben Gold Thwaites" is likely to find more readers than many of the other essays; for Mr. Thwaites was so well known that any word respecting his work is certain to be eagerly perused. Mr. Alvord approaches his subject in a becoming manner, and criticizes sanely and sympathetically Mr. Thwaites' truly monumental literary output. Much as we of the middle West would like to claim for Mr. Thwaites the honor of a seat with the best historians the country has produced, we are reluctantly compelled to admit that he did not reach the goal; he failed to produce any sustained piece of historical writing of really high rank. Nevertheless, by his work in collecting, editing, and publishing its source materials, he rendered to western history a service which finds no parallel in his time.

JOHN THOMAS LEE

Bibliography of Arizona. Being the record of literature collected by Joseph Amasa Munk, M.D., and donated by him to the Southwest Museum of Los Angeles, California. By Hector Alliot, Sc.D., officer French Academy, Curator Southwest Museum. (Los Angeles, California: The Southwest Museum, 1914. 431 p. \$3.50)

In 1884 Dr. Joseph Amasa Munk began to make a collection of Arizona. For over thirty years he has pursued the "self-imposed task of a bibliophile," until he has gathered over seven thousand items which directly or indirectly deal with Arizona. The library is now housed in the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles. Mr. Alliot's *Bibliography of*

Arizona is the catalogue of this library. It is handsomely printed and well illustrated. The curator has chosen the short title method of cataloguing, a method which may be defensible in a collection of this size; but the lack of extension of author's names is a serious defect. Otherwise the catalogue is all that could be desired. It is conveniently subdivided, the author catalogue covering pp. 17-238, the subject catalogue pp. 240-428, followed by a subject list of three pages.

Dr. Munk's intention has been to obtain books, pamphlets, magazine articles, newspapers, documents, maps, in fact any material which has anything to do with Arizona. Seemingly regardless of expense, and incidentally of value, he has been a ready purchaser. In his own words, "I am still adding every new book on Arizona that I can find. I do not now have to search for new items as formerly, since my fad has become known to the book trade and dealers in books notify me whenever a book in my line of collecting falls into their hands." Such a method must lead to the purchase of much that is trash, as an examination of the fiction section, pp. 294-309, discloses.

The section labeled history, pp. 327-341, is disappointing, for it contains a nondescript hodge-podge of uneven material ranging from items of the greatest value to pure advertising. Fortunately, however, most of the materials for history, and they are abundant, are to be found under other headings. The sections on agriculture, anthropology, archaeology, Arizona, discoveries and explorations, Indians, irrigation, law, maps, military, mining, occupation, religion, reclamation, railroads, Spanish occupation, surveys, philology, and travel, contain hundreds of items of rare secondary and invaluable source material. For Indians, industrial history, territorial and state organization, the collection is of first importance.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Munk will in the future add to his collection certain important Spanish works which are now lacking, and that he will be able to extend his endeavors to the collection of manuscript materials from the archives of Spain and Mexico, and diaries and journals of the early settlers.

THOMAS MAITLAND MARSHALL

Lands forlorn: a story of an expedition to Hearne's Coppermine river.

By George M. Douglas. With an introduction by James Douglas, LL.D. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914. 285 p. \$4.00 net)

This is a simple account of the adventures of three Canadians on a trip to the Arctic ocean for the purposes of exploring the copper deposits of the region. The remarkable feature of the expedition was that there was no guide or assistant employed; the explorers did their own

paddling and hauling, and yet they met with no obstacles which proved insurmountable to their energy and pluck.

Their journey as far as Great Bear river was made easy by the Hudson's Bay company's transportation facilities. From that place to the Coppermine river and the Arctic ocean the young men were left to their own devices. So careful had been their preparations that they suffered from no lack of food supplies. Generally fresh meat and fish, when wanted, were easily secured by gun and line. After leaving the Hudson's Bay company's employees only three white men, two trappers and a missionary crossed their paths; nor did they see many Indians or Eskimos.

The principal scientific contribution of the expedition is contained in appendix B, which is a "Report on a reconnaissance along the lower Coppermine river," by August Sandberg. There accompanies this report an excellent geological map of the lower river. The illustrations in the volume are reproductions of photographs taken by members of the party and are sufficiently numerous to give the reader an adequate idea of the country traversed. While the literary quality of the narrative will not place it among the great stories of adventure, the clearness and simplicity of the style add a certain charm which has made the reading of the volume a pleasure.

C. W. A.

The life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.
By Beckles Willson. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915. 544:533 p. \$6.50 net)

For more than fifty years Donald Alexander Smith was a part of Canada, and when in the jubilee year his services were recognized by the empire there was every reason to suppose that his new name, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, would submerge the old man beneath the placid waters of the unknown peerage, as other titles have so often done to other men. But for Strathcona it was not impossible to assume in his later seventies a new name, and a new function, that of high commissioner for Canada; and for nearly twenty more years he was the spokesman of the imperial relation. He and Kipling, Lord Northcliffe and Chamberlain, were, in the opinion of John Hay, the men who brought imperialism within the understanding of the kingdom and the colonies. Strathcona's last years made a notable ending to a notable career that illumines British history for three quarters of a century.

Mr. Beckles Willson, already well known as a writer on Canadian topics, is the official biographer of Lord Strathcona, and he has gone at his work with care, admiration, and sincerity. He has had to work

with inadequate materials, for Strathcona was distinctly a man of action rather than of record, and left few written sources for the story of his life. The letters that are printed add little that cannot be gleaned from other sources; they give no personal vision cutting across the record of public facts. They contain formal establishment of things already known, and give only a moderate amount of personality with them. But Mr. Willson makes the best of what he has.

The first thirty years of Smith's Canadian life cover the period from the rebellion of 1837 to the erection of the dominion government. In these years he was a young man working his way up through the hierarchy of the Hudson's Bay company. Labrador was his field. Thither he had been sent by Sir George Simpson, and there he remained until after the death of Simpson, when he was made general manager with offices in Toronto. The technique of life in Labrador differed from that in the Northwest, which is most commonly thought of as the field of the company, but Smith mastered it fully; and he learned to know men as well as fur-bearing animals. He had never visited the Northwest until the first Riel rebellion occasioned his despatch thither as representative of the Canadian government.

Mr. Willson is frankly enamored of his subject, but he is no apologist for the Hudson's Bay company. Rarely have changing conditions, and absentee finance produced worse results than those which were appearing at the time of the absorption of the Northwest into the dominion as Manitoba. By the amalgamation of 1821 the Hudson's Bay company and the Montreal traders ended their cut-throat competition and the former acquired great claims to the Saskatchewan country. The traders and their successors were gradually squeezed out of their claims to the lands that they had brought into the partnership, and the sale to the dominion by the company, for the benefit of the stockholders, of the lands in Manitoba appeared to the traders, mostly half-breeds, as rank confiscation of their interests. Smith always supported the traders' claims, and Mr. Willson is outspoken in criticism of the company's greed. But nothing stopped the process. The absentee owners appropriated the profits, and the traders, as the depletion of game brought poverty to them, saw the stockholders fatten on the general dry goods business. Smith personified the irreconcilable forces that were at play. He was factor, then manager, then governor of the great company, and as such was interested in keeping unpopulated the fur-bearing region. His predecessor, Simpson, had lied shamelessly about the agricultural future of the Northwest for the sake of his furs. But Smith was also business men and railway promoter. From the first appearance of the idea of a Canadian Pacific, he was its active spokesman. With his friend

James J. Hill, and his relative George Stephen, he established rail connections between Winnipeg and St. Paul, and then pushed through the continental line. His term as governor of the Hudson's Bay company was only reminiscent of the glories of that office, for the Canadian Pacific had ended the great day of the fur trade.

In his seventy-sixth year, in 1896, Sir Donald Smith assumed the office of high commissioner. The first American ambassador at the Court of St. James was still a novelty there when Canada, following the parallelism that prevails so continuously between dominion affairs and American, concentrated the functions of her various colonial agents, made an office worth while, and named it high commissioner. Smith had a large conception of the functions of his post, and dipped into his own pocket to materialize it. The idea of empire was in his mind, and the greatness of Canada, existing and to be, was to be made clear. Some have attacked Strathcona as a wicked captain of industry, wielding an influence with the evilest of his generation. Mr. Willson, however, has successfully concealed the cloven hoof, if it existed. The Strathcona of his letters was a man of visions and of practice, whose business was the business of his day, but whose ideals were those of the creative statesman. More than once he went too fast for the colonial office, and British opinion as a whole has never yet caught up with him; but in his own mind his imperial duty was clear. Strathcona's Horse, in the Boer war, was not only the exploit of the millionaire but was as well the symbol of a new spirit.

It is to be regretted that Strathcona left so few personal papers, but his biographer is to be congratulated upon his success with what material there is. The book ranks with Mr. Croly's *Hanna* and Mr. Oberholtzer's *Jay Cooke* in the light that it throws upon the civil life of our own times.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

The French revolution in San Domingo. By T. Lothrop Stoddard, A. M., Ph.D. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914. 410 p. \$2.00 net)

This book presents a somewhat unusual combination of the scientific and the popular. From both aspects its appearance is timely. The increasing interest of students in eighteenth century colonial history and the present desire of readers in general to know more of the unfortunate black republic should assure to the author a numerous audience. Both sets of readers will, indeed, find much to attract them. The complicated and terrible story is set forth on clear lines, in excellent proportion and with well distributed emphasis; yet the style is journalistic and no opportunity for dramatic effect is overlooked. The "general reader"

will supposedly sigh with satisfaction. The querulous "student" will enjoy himself but will ask why the demands of scholarship have not been answered more evenly, since, in most respects, they have been answered so well. The book opens with six chapters, reviewing conditions in the colony prior to 1789, which are based upon a careful comparison of numerous secondary works. In bringing out the causes of unrest in the island, and in supplying a striking parallel to the well-known conditions in the neighboring island of Jamaica, this section holds much of interest; but it is hard to see why the author did not make some use at least of the material lying ready to his hand in the French national archives. The lack of due emphasis on the question of absenteeism and some conflict of evidence in regard to statistics might, for example, have been corrected by reference to the *memoires du roi* scattered through the second series of the *correspondence générale*. The main part of the work shows much apt documentation and is free from any serious errors of fact. The fatal effects of the uninformed and inconsistent policy of the succession of French governments are portrayed with skill. One is at times disturbed, however, by the quite uncritical use of the *archives parlementaires* and of contemporary accounts which students of West Indian history have long since come to regard with deep distrust. There is also at times a disconcerting looseness of statement. It was scarcely "plain," after Louis' return to Paris in October, 1789, that "the radical minority might at any time enforce its will through pressure from the Paris mob" (p. 83). Finally there is cause for regret in the absence of an index and in occasional errors which mar the critical bibliography (e. g. Jean-Baptiste le Pons for Jean-Baptiste le Pers, p. 399). Yet when one has done with complaining and sits back to reflect that the book is distinctly sound, eminently readable, and the best in its field, he realizes that its merits far outweigh its defects.

HERBERT C. BELL

A social and industrial history of England. By F. W. Tickner, D.Lit., M.A., B.Sc. (Econ.). New York: Longmans, Green & Co., London: Edward Arnold, 1915. 721 p. \$1.00 net)

In this volume Mr. Tickner has compiled and set in order the leading facts which, in his opinion, should be taught and emphasized in a course in the history of English social and industrial life. The work differs from other histories of its class in that it includes a variety of materials that ordinarily do not find a place in the manuals of social history: in addition to the conventional economic subjects the author discusses government, education, literature, colonial affairs, and the army and navy. Mr. Tickner has carried out his plan quite successfully to

the close of the industrial revolution; but the great industrial and economic movements of the past two generations and the social legislation of the past decade are very inadequately treated; for instance, the old age pensions act is disposed of in a single line. The work does, however, contain a number of excellent chapters and it will no doubt be found useful as supplementary reading in elementary courses in English history.

L. M. LARSON

Readings in the history of the American nation. Collected and edited by Andrew C. McLaughlin, professor, and head of the department of history, University of Chicago. (New York and Chicago: D. Appleton and Company, 1914. 413 p. \$1.50 net)

This book has evidently been compiled as a companion volume to the author's *American nation* and like that work shows a meagre treatment of the period preceding the adoption of the constitution as compared with the period since. The subject matter is divided into twelve parts; there are some eighty selections from about sixty different sources.

Some features make this volume different from other books of readings. A number of the selections have been taken from standard secondary treatises particularly adapted to the needs of high school pupils. Others are taken from books of travel, memoirs, statutes of the United States, congressional reports, and similar sources. A number have been chosen from the publications of the American Historical Association — one of the first intimations from compilers of books of readings that such papers can serve useful historical purpose.

Industrial history, general social conditions, the development of the West, and the period since the civil war receive adequate treatment. The book needs a good index.

The editorial work is distinctive. Each selection is introduced with a clear, concise statement giving the source, the general worth, and the historical setting of the original from which the excerpt is taken, and each reading is followed by a list of questions intended to fix in the mind of the reader the main points. There is a question as to whether this form of pedagogical machinery is not too complex and whether a part of the space given to it might not better have been given to additional material.

O. M. DICKERSON

The story of our army for young Americans. From colonial days to the present time. By Willis John Abbott. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1914. 687 p. \$2.00 net)

This work reminds us that our military history is still an unsolved problem. Shall it be relegated to special books for young folks and

treated anecdotally; or shall it be considered a pious and patriotic fiction for the purpose of conserving military ideals and virtues, or shall it be written from the judge's standpoint, to praise the just and condemn the unworthy? The author, prominent in the newspaper world and a writer of several popular military history series, tells us (p. 10) that his object in part has been to show how the instinctive distrust of a regular army, one of the strongest features of our national character, has been gradually overcome.

The book is really a history of our wars and battles, from Bunker Hill to Manila, the revolution and the civil war being treated at greatest length (193 and 365 pages respectively). The story is not based on critical study but shows the author's wide acquaintance with the materials. The temptation to introduce fanciful anecdotes from unreliable memoirs and to enliven the narrative with imaginary conversations between the leaders is naturally great in a work of this character, and yielding to it has led to much false coloring and detail.

In the war of 1812 the author deals quite frankly with the shortcomings of the militia and volunteers and considers that the great lesson taught by the war was "that a regular army, even though a small one, was essential to the national defense."

But in the revolution the legendary glamour surrounding the minutemen, who "could be relied upon to be where they were needed and to maintain themselves against all comers" (p. 8) is all gold; the British play the role of villains throughout in black contrast to our revolutionist heroes. An anachronism here is found in the use of "rifle" for the musket of the period; the author discusses ranges at Bunker Hill and elsewhere under the assumption that the musket had the range of the modern rifle, which of course is far from being the case.

The civil war is described almost wholly from a northern viewpoint and with an uneven partisanship for certain generals. For example, at Williamsburg "Kearny hurried his troops on, past Sumner's soldiers standing idle in the road, past Smith's division listlessly lounging in the field. . . ." (p. 343). But in fact Kearny did not pass any of Sumner's corps, which was twelve miles in the rear, east of Yorktown; nor any of Smith's division, which was on another road and a large part of which, under Hancock, was advancing at the same time to turn the confederate left. The controversial character of the major portion of our civil war literature leads very naturally, as is the case here, to an over emphasis of the *who* and a tendency to lose sight of the *what* and *how*.

In the Spanish war the newspaper man's point of view comes in evidence: Shafter, "singularly ignorant of the practical art of war," is the foil to Miles in Porto Rico.

The illustrations are interesting but many of them, of the Philippines insurrection and Texas and other maneuver camps, bear no relation to the text and others, which do, are misplaced.

A. L. CONGER

The making of South Carolina. By Henry Alexander White, M.A., Ph.D., D.D., professor in Columbia Theological Seminary, Columbia, South Carolina. [Stories of the states.] (New York, Atlanta, Boston, Dallas, and Chicago: Silver, Burdett and Company, 1914. 344 p. \$.65)

Few states have a local history so rich and so intimately connected with the great stream of national life as has South Carolina. Here is a rare opportunity to teach national history in terms of local happenings and the author has made much of his opportunity. Nowhere does the narrative degenerate into an account of local happenings of merely antiquarian interest. Every event is given its proper setting among occurrences of greater importance. The American revolution and the civil war consume a great deal of space, the former receiving seventy-five pages and the latter about sixty pages, or a total of more than a third of the entire book. Prominent men of South Carolina are given much space; in fact the entire treatment resembles that of the common elementary histories of the United States. The volume is thoroughly well done from a mechanical point of view and is profusely illustrated. The style is simple, direct, and interesting. The school children of South Carolina are fortunate in having so interesting a history presented in such an excellent manner.

O. M. DICKERSON

Popular elementary history of New Mexico. By Benjamin M. Read. (Santa Fe, New Mexico: B. M. Read, 1914. 186 p. \$1.00)

European civilization in our great Southwest dates from about the same time as that on the Atlantic seaboard, but so different was its development and so little was it connected with the main stream of our national evolutions that its story reads like the history of a foreign country. Herein lies both the advantage and the danger of a study of local history in the schools of the Southwest; the danger of developing sectional patriotism at the expense of national life.

This particular volume was prepared expressly for the schools of New Mexico and has evidently been condensed from a larger work. Pedagogically it is not well done. It is packed with dates, incidents, and isolated facts. The printing, paper, and illustrations are unattractive. Consequently the book is thoroughly dry and uninteresting. The early period is treated with considerable detail and many facts are given. The period since the American occupation is not given its proper amount

of space, receiving only twenty-nine pages of material taken largely from current state publications. The wonderful story of the industrial development which has come during the last few years is scarcely referred to. Such a selection of material is unfortunate in a text book. As for accuracy, the author assures us on page eight that "The facts narrated in this small school history are absolutely correct."

O. M. DICKERSON

NEWS AND COMMENTS

The thirty-first annual meeting of the American Historical Association, held at Washington, December 27-31, 1915, was eminently satisfactory in every respect. The address of President Stephens on "Nationalism and history," — an exposition of the thesis that the historians of the past generation, swept along like the historians of all former ages by the prejudices of their time, had exaggerated the idea of nationality and thereby helped to provoke the great war, — was brilliantly and cleverly conceived and executed; the fact that it inspired at least one hearer to compose an editorial rebutting it is sufficient proof that it was a fitting and successful presidential address. The meeting as a whole gave the members an admirable opportunity to renew friendships with scholars in branches other than their own, and to learn of happenings in the broader reaches of scientific endeavor. Besides the American Economic and American Political Science associations eleven learned societies held their respective meetings in Washington at the end of December. The Pan-American Scientific Congress shared convention quarters with the American Historical Association in the New Willard hotel and the presence of its delegates at conferences and receptions gave to the assemblies a cosmopolitan touch.

The working out of the somewhat tense political situation that had existed in the association was eminently satisfactory. The committee of nine reported a measure of reorganization so comprehensive as to gain universal assent, and the extreme insurgents found that there was nothing to offset the debit account of personalities which they had run up in the last few months. But if their creditors can charitably cancel the account, no possible cause for discord appears to be left. The association in business meeting had only commendation for the work of its leaders in the past, and not only the leaders, but the rank and file as well seemed cordially agreed that the time had come for a broader basis of control in the organization.

A word or two of comment on parts of the program of interest to the readers of this review may be in order. A joint conference of the Mississippi Valley and American Historical associations considered the topic of "The definition of historical courses in secondary schools." At the conference of historical societies there appeared to be a general anxiety to inspire greater interest in the member societies and thereby

to prevent the conference from sinking into a mere meeting of the American Historical Association. The archive meeting of the societies assembled in Washington and the Pan-American Congress drew a large and enthusiastic audience to hear the welcome news that prospects were never brighter for a national archive at least partially adequate.

A new quarterly magazine has made its appearance with the new year, — the *Military historian and economist*, which is edited by Mr. A. L. Conger of the United States army, and Mr. R. M. Johnston of Harvard University and is printed by the Harvard University Press. The editors announce their intention to “view war in an evolutionary sense;” while neglecting no aspect of the subject, they propose to emphasize the economic factor, since they “believe that war almost inevitably arises from the clash of conflicting economic interests.” The broad scope of the journal may be appreciated from a glance at the contents of the initial number: “Hostile submarine action on the American seaboard,” by Contre Amiral Degouy; “Sources for the history of the Mexican war, 1846-48,” by Justin H. Smith; “Fort Donelson,” by A. L. C[onger]; “The question of Guam,” by B. H. Richard; “Financing the armed nation,” by O. M. W. Sprague; and a serial installment of “The personal memoirs of Major-General D. S. Stanley.” There is a department of “Tactical notes” and one of “Economic notes,” as well as the conventional “Comments;” and a number of books of military interest are reviewed. The magazine is well printed and on the whole makes a distinctly favorable impression; there can be no question as to its timeliness nor as to the high standing of the men who compose its editorial staff and advisory board. The MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW extends to the new venture its best wishes for success.

The publication of *Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, secretary of state to Charles II* by Violet Barbour (Washington, 1914) adds another number of excellent quality to the prize essay series issued by the American Historical Association. Miss Barbour has judiciously limited her field of research almost exclusively to the period of Arlington's greatest political activity and has made an important contribution to the knowledge of the stormy era of intrigue which followed the restoration.

American independence and the French revolution is one of a series of nineteen source books for English history published by G. Bell and Sons, Limited, London. This volume covers the period from 1760 to 1801; the compiler, Mr. S. E. Winbolt, has drawn his selections, thirty-nine in number, chiefly from the Home Office papers in the *Calendar of state papers*, the series of the *Acts of the Privy Council*, the *Gentleman's magazine*, and the *Annual register*.

In addition to a large number of classified reviews of books, abstracts of periodicals, and documents and reports, the *American economic review* contains articles on the "Expansion of Europe in population," "Third factor in variation of productivity," "Economic aspects of Japanese immigration," "Agricultural credit legislation and the tenancy problem," and "Economic aspects of the Panama canal."

Of general interest, in the January number of the *Catholic historical review*, will be found the very practical discussion of methods of preserving manuscripts, by Mr. J. C. Fitzpatrick of the manuscript division of the Library of Congress. Other papers are: "The rise of national Catholic churches in the United States," by N. A. Weber, S.M., D.D.; and "Chronology of the Catholic hierarchy in the United States," by Rev. Owen B. Corrigan.

The *Magazine of history* for July, 1915, contains two articles of interest to students of western history: a study of the pioneer and explorer James Bridger, by Grenville M. Dodge, and "The women and children of Fort St. Anthony, later named Fort Snelling," by Warren Upham.

An elementary history of the United States, by Sibyl Dunn Warden (1914. \$.45) states that its object is to give to grade school children a proper perspective of our nation's history, so that there will be no need for going over the subject several times. No such result, however, is likely to follow the use of the book. Anecdotes of slight historical value are presented as if they were events of importance; and the treatment of the Southwest is disproportionately full. The materials for the book are drawn very largely from common grade texts already familiar. The typographical work is excellent, and many of the illustrations are attractive.

A book of *Outlines of American industrial history* compiled for use in teaching by Raymond G. Taylor has recently been published by the Kansas State Agricultural College (1915. 91 p.).

Miss Kate Sanborn, who for many years has been a teacher, lecturer and literary journalist, has recently made out of her reminiscences a scrap-book that will attract the attention of her friends (*Memories and anecdotes*, 1915. 219 p.). Its general value is slight, for most of the critical opinions are not above the level of the numerous press clippings with which the work abounds. As interesting as any of the author's recollections is that in which John Jay figures as Cupid, in Mrs. Jarley's wax-works; in most of the episodes the characters pass across the pages without leaving any facts of novelty or value.

Albert Ulman and Grace C. Strachan have recently brought out a little book of a new vintage, called *Tales of old New York* (1914. 86 p.). It has been prepared for the children in the intermediate grades of the city of New York; it tells in interesting fashion the traditions of the Indian and Dutch periods, and calls attention to the tablets, statutes, and other tangible remains which abound in present day New York. Why should not our states and cities of the Mississippi valley place material of this kind in the hands of their school children? The opportunity for authors and the demand for efforts is almost unlimited.

The Pennsylvania magazine of history and biography for the last quarter of 1915 contains a variety of documentary materials. There are two serial installments, — material for a biography of Mrs. Elizabeth Fergusson, née Graeme, and extracts from the diary of Thomas Franklin Pleasants, 1814; the most interesting of the other documents are an account of a trip to Ballston and Saratoga Springs in 1813, and a description of a missionary's tour to Shamokin and the west branch of the Susquehanna, in 1753.

The *Virginia magazine of history and biography*, through Mr. William J. Hinke, has secured copies of the entire collection of manuscripts of Francis Louis Michel, and has begun the serial publication of them in English translation. Michel was a native of Berne, Switzerland, who is known to American history through his connection with Baron Graf-fenried and the establishment of the first German colony at New Berne, North Carolina. The most valuable of Michel's papers are his accounts of two journeys to America made by him between the years 1702 and 1704.

A brief sketch of the work of Mathew Fontaine Maury during the war, 1861-1865 has been published by Richard L. Maury. (Richmond, 1915). Mathew Maury was a commodore in the confederate navy who is chiefly noted for his part in introducing the use of torpedoes and submarine mines.

The issue of the *South Carolina historical and genealogical magazine* for July, 1915, consists entirely of documentary material; a series of letters to General Greene is the only portion which has more than local historical interest.

With Grant at Donelson, Shiloh and Vicksburg (1915. 190 p.) is a book of personal reminiscences by Wilbur F. Crummer of the Forty-fifth regiment of Illinois volunteers; it is quite without literary or historical value.

The leading article in the *Tennessee historical magazine* for Decem-

ber, 1915, is "The anti-slavery societies of Tennessee," by Mr. Asa E. Martin; it discusses a phase of the anti-slavery movement which is not generally known or appreciated. Mr. Albert V. Goodpasture contributes a sketch of Dr. James White, a pioneer lawyer of Tennessee; and Mr. Wallace McClure traces the development of the state constitution. Two groups of documents relating to William Walker's activities in Nicaragua are published with notes by Mr. W. O. Scroggs.

The October (1915) issue of the *Ohio archaeological and historical quarterly* is chiefly occupied with an account of the thirtieth annual meeting of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society; it also contains notice of the bequests for memorial and historical purposes made by Colonel and Mrs. Webb C. Hayes of Fremont, Ohio. The issue for January, 1916, contains eight articles, all of which treat some phase of early western education; particular attention is paid, naturally, to Ohio. The scheme of arranging in one number a group of papers relating to a certain field has many points in its favor; it should prove especially convenient for reference purposes.

The state of Indiana will be a hundred years old in 1916, and, naturally enough, the fact is arousing on the part of the people of the state an unprecedented degree of interest in their history. The legislature has led the way by creating a state historical commission with a two-fold purpose: first, to collect, edit, and publish documents relating to the history of Indiana; and, secondly, to prepare and execute plans for "an historical and educational centennial celebration." Mr. James A. Woodburn, in the *Indiana magazine of history* for December, gives an account of the activities and projects of this commission which should prove especially suggestive to other states which will reach their hundred-year mark in the near future.

The most notable articles in the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society for April, 1915, are: "The life and labors of Jonathan B. Turner," by Edmund J. James, president of the University of Illinois; "A chapter from the history of the underground railroad in Illinois," by John H. Ryan; "Historical sketches of part of the Wabash valley," by H. W. Beckwith; a study of the records of the soldiers of the American revolution who are buried in Illinois, by Mrs. Edwin S. Walker; and "Reminiscences of Fountain Green, Illinois," by C. C. Tyler.

A very suggestive paper from the pen of Mr. Robert G. Cleland, entitled "Jefferson Davis and the confederate congress," is printed in the latest issue of the *Southwestern historical quarterly*. Mr. Cleland does not claim to have done more than make a preliminary survey of a very wide field, but he calls attention to some of the vital problems of the

confederacy which are ordinarily given only scant consideration by its historians.

Hand-clasp of East and West (1914. 471 p. \$1.50) is a story of pioneer life on the western slope of Colorado. The authors, Henry and Martha Ripley, have thrown their pioneer recollections into the form of dialogue and fiction, and have printed brief articles from various sources to expand the work. A few of their photographs are interesting.

Across the plains to California in 1852 is the title under which the New York Public library has published (May, 1915) a manuscript journal in its possession which was written by Mrs. Lodisa Frizzell. The document has been edited by Mr. Victor H. Paltsits. The author describes the journey made by herself and her family from their home in Effingham county, Illinois, to Pacific Springs in Wyoming; and illustrates her account with some curious original sketches. The narrative, while simple, succeeds in giving the reader a realistic picture of the mode of transcontinental travel employed not only by this one family but by many hundreds of western pioneers.

"A new Vancouver journal on the discovery of Puget Sound, by a member of the Chatham's crew," which was published as a serial in the *Washington historical quarterly* in 1914-1915, has been assembled and printed separately by its editor, Edmond S. Meany, of the University of Washington (Seattle, 1915).

From the Atlantic to the Pacific (1915. 190 p. \$1.00) is the title of a volume of rambling recollections by an old soldier and pioneer; it has interest only for his family and friends.

Le bulletin des recherches historiques for November, 1915, publishes the final installment of the "Mémoire de Gédéon de Catalogne sur les plans des seigneuries et habitations des gouvernements de Québec, les Trois-Rivières et Montréal," and two articles on "La famille Viennay-Pachot" and "Le docteur Badelart." The December number has papers dealing with duels at Montreal during the French régime, with a bust of Louis XIV which was set up in Quebec in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and with the geneology of the Foucault family; in addition there are two articles on "Cyr de Mommerque sieur Dubreuil, ancêtre des Montmarquette," and "Le Capitaine de Saint-Cirque."

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